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Biſhop *BURNET's*

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

VOL. II.

FROM THE

REVOLUTION

TO THE

Concluſion of the Treaty of Peace at *Utrecht*,

IN THE

Reign of *Queen ANNE.*

To which is Added,

The AUTHOR's *LIFE*, by the *Editor.*

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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

IN THE

CONFEDERATION OF THE SWISS CANTONS.

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By J. GILCHRIST, M.A.

A

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THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK. V.

Of the Reign of King WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

NOW begin, on the first day of *May*, 1705, to prosecute this Work; and have before me a reign, that drew upon it an universal expectation of great things to follow, from such auspicious beginnings; and from so general a joy as was spread over these Nations, and all the neighbouring Kingdoms and States; of whom, some had apprehended a general depression, if not the total ruine of the Protestant Religion: and all of them saw such a progress made by the *French* in the design of enslaving the rest of *Europe*, that the check which the Revolution in *England* seemed to promise, put a new life in those, who before were sunk in despair. It seemed to be a double-bottomed Monarchy, where there were two Joint-Sovereigns; but those who knew the Queen's temper and principles, had no apprehensions of divided Counsels, or of a distracted Government. 1689

The hopes of the new reign.

1689

The effects of the King's ill health.

That which gave the moſt melancholy proſpect, was the ill ſtate of the King's health, whoſe ſtay ſo long at St. *James's* without exerciſe or hunting, which was ſo much uſed by him that it was become neceſſary, had brought him under ſuch a weakneſs, as was like to have very ill effects: And the face he forced himſelf to ſet upon it, that it might not appear too much, made an impreſſion on his temper. He was apt to be peeviſh: it put him under a neceſſity of being much in his cloſet, and of being ſilent and reſerved; which, agreeing ſo well with his natural diſpoſition, made him go off from what all his Friends had adviſed, and he had promiſed them he would ſet about, of being more viſible, open, and communicative. The Nation had been ſo much accuſtomed to this, in the two former reigns, that many ſtudied to perſwade him, it wou'd be neceſſary for his affairs to change his way, that he might be more acceſſible, and freer in his diſcourſe. He ſeemed reſolved on it; But he ſaid, his ill health made it impoſſible for him to execute it: And ſo he went on in his former way, or rather he grew more retired, and was not eaſily come at, nor ſpoke to. And in a very few days, after he was ſet on the Throne, he went out to *Hampton-Court*: And from that palace he came into Town only on Council days. So that the face of a Court, and the rendezvous, uſual in the publick rooms, was now quite broke. This gave an early and general diſguſt. The gaiety and the diverſions of a Court diſappeared. And, tho' the Queen ſet her ſelf to make up, what was wanting in the King, by a great vivacity and chearfulneſs; yet when it appeared that ſhe meddled not in buſineſs, ſo that few found their account in making their Court to her, tho' ſhe gave a wonderful content to all that came near her, yet few came.

The King found the air of *Hampton-Court* agreed ſo well with him, that he reſolved to live the greateſt part of the year there. But that palace was ſo very old built, and ſo irregular, that a deſign was formed of raiſing new buildings there, for the King and the Queen's Apartments. This ſhewed a Reſolution to live at a diſtance from *London*: And the entring ſo ſoon on ſo expenſive a building, afforded matter of cenſure to thoſe, who were diſpoſed enough to entertain it. And this ſpread a univerſal diſcontent in the City of *London*. And theſe ſmall and almoſt indiſcernable beginnings and ſeeds of ill humour, have ever ſince gone on in a very viſible encreaſe and progreſs.

A new Miniſtry.

The firſt thing the King did, was, to chooſe a Miniſtry, and to ſettle a Council. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was declared Secretary of State, and had the greateſt Share of the King's Confidence. No exception cou'd be made to the choice, except on account of his Youth. But he applied himſelf to buſineſs with great diligence, and maintained his candor and temper with more reſervedneſs, than was expected from one of his age. It was for ſome time under conſideration, who ſhould be the other Secretary; at laſt the Earl of *Nottingham* was pitched on. He had oppoſed the Settlement with great earneſtneſs, in his copious way of ſpeaking. But he had always ſaid, that, tho' he wou'd not make a King, yet upon his Principles, he cou'd obey him better than thoſe who were ſo much ſet on making one. The High-Church Party did apprehend, that the oppoſition they had given the King's Advancement, and the zeal that *others* had ſhewed for it, would alienate him from *them*, and throw him into *other* hands, from whom no good was to be expected for them: And they looked for ſevere revenges for the hardſhips they had put on *theſe* in the end of King *Charles's* Reign. This grew daily upon that Party, and made them begin to look back toward King *James*. So, not to provoke ſo great a Body too much, it was thought adviſeable to employ the Earl of *Nottingham*. The great Increaſe of Chancery Buſineſs had made many apprehend, it was too much to be truſted to one Perſon: So it was reſolved to put the Chancery in Commiſſion: And the Earl of *Nottingham* was propoſed to be the firſt in the Commiſſion, but he refuſed it. So *Maynard*, *Keck*, and *Rawlinſon*, three eminent Lawyers, were made the three Commiſſioners of the Great Seal. And ſoon after that, the Earl of *Nottingham* was appointed Secretary of State. This gave as much ſatisfaction to all the High-Party, as it begot jealouſies and diſtruſt in *others*. The one hoped for protection and favour by his Means: They reckoned, he would infuſe all the Prerogative Notions into the King; and give him ſuch a jealouſy of every ſtep that the *others* ſhould make in prejudice of theſe, that from thence the King would ſee cauſe to ſuſpect

The Earl of *Nottingham's* advancement unacceptable to the Whigs.

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all the ſhew of kindneſs that *they* might put on to him, when at the ſame time *they* were undermining ſome of thoſe Prerogatives, for which the Earl of *Nottingham* ſeemed to be ſo zealous. This had a great effect on the King, who being ignorant of our Conſtitution, and naturally cautious, ſaw cauſe enough to diſlike the heat he found among *thoſe*, who expreſſed much zeal for him, but who ſeemed, at the ſame time, to have with it a great mixture of Republican principles. *They*, on the other hand, were much offended at the employing of the Earl of *Nottingham*. And he gave them daily cauſe to be more diſpleaſed at it: For he ſet himſelf with a moſt eager Partiality againſt the whole Party, and againſt all the motions made by them: And he ſtudied to poſſeſs the King with a very bad opinion of them. And, whereas Secretaries of State have a particular Allowance for ſuch Spies, as they employ to procure intelligence, how exact ſoever he might be in procuring Foreign intelligence, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to have an account of all that paſſed in the City, and in other angry cabals: And he furniſhed the King very copiouſly that way; which made a deep Impreſſion on him, and had very bad effects. The Earl of *Danby* was made Marquiſs of *Carmarthen*, and Preſident of the Council: and Lord *Halifax* had the Privy Seal. The laſt of theſe had gone into all the Steps that had been made for the King, with great zeal, and by that means was hated by the High-Party, whom for diſtinction ſake I will hereafter call TORIES, and the other WHIGS: Terms that I have ſpoken much againſt, and have ever hated: But to avoid making always a longer deſcription, I muſt uſe them; they being now become as common as if they had been words of our Language. Lord *Halifax* ſoon ſaw that his friendſhip with the Whigs was not like to laſt long: His oppoſing the Excluſion ſtuck ſtill deep with them: And the buſineſs of the *Quo Warranto's*, and the delivering up of Charters, was caſt on him: The ſlowneſs of relieving *Ireland* was alſo charged on him; He had for ſome time great credit with the King; tho' his Mercurial Wit was not well ſuited with the King's Phlegm. Lord *Carmarthen* could not bear the equality, or rather the preference that ſeemed to be given to Lord *Halifax:* And therefore ſet on the ſtorm, that quickly broke out upon him. 1689

Lord *Mordaunt* was made Earl of *Monmouth*, and firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury: And Lord *De La Mere*, made Earl of *Warrington*, was Chancellor of the Exchequer: Lord *Godolphin* was likewiſe brought into the Treaſury, to the great grief of the other Two; who ſoon ſaw, that the King conſidered him more than them both. For, as he underſtood Treaſury buſineſs well, ſo his calm and cold way ſuited the King's temper. The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington*, tho' both moſt violent Whigs, became great enemies: The former was generous, and gave the inferior Places freely; but fought out the men, who were moſt noted for Republican Principles, for them all: And the other, they ſaid, ſold every thing that was in his Power. The Privy Council was compoſed chiefly of Whigs.

Nothing gave a more general ſatisfaction than the naming of the Judges; the King ordered every Privy Counſellor, to bring a liſt of twelve: And out of theſe, twelve very learned and worthy Judges were choſen. This nomination was generally well received over the Nation. The firſt of theſe was Sir *John Holt*, made Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, then a young man for ſo high a poſt, who maintained it all his time with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great diſpatch. So that ſince the Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale's* time, that Bench has not been ſo well filled, as it was by him. The Judges well choſen.

The King's chief perſonal favour, lay between *Benthinck* and *Sidney:* The former was made Earl of *Portland*, and Groom of the Stole, and continued for ten years to be entirely truſted by the King; and ſerved him with great fidelity and obſequiouſneſs: But he could never bring himſelf to be acceptable to the *Engliſh* Nation. The other was made firſt, Lord *Sidney*, and then Earl of *Rumney:* And was put in ſeveral great poſts. He was made Secretary of State, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Maſter of the Ordnance: But he was ſo ſet on pleaſure, that he was not able to follow buſineſs with a due application. The Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Dorſet* had the White Staffs: The firſt was Lord Steward, and the other was Lord Chamberlain: And they being both Whigs, the houſhold was made up of ſuch, except where there were buyers for places, which

1689 were ſet to ſale: And tho' the King ſeemed to diſcourage that, yet he did not encourage propoſitions, that were made for the detecting thoſe practices. Thus was the Court, the Miniſtry, and the Council compoſed. The Admiralty was put in Commiſſion: And *Herbert* made Earl of *Torrington*, was firſt in the Commiſſion. He tried to dictate to the Board: And, when he found that did not paſs upon them, he left it; and ſtudied all he could to diſparage their conduct: And it was thought, he hoped to have been advanced to that high Truſt alone.

The Convention turned to a Parliament.

The firſt thing propoſed to be done, was to turn the Convention into a Parliament, according to the precedent ſet in the year 1660. This was oppoſed by all the Tories. They ſaid, Writs were indiſpenſible to the being of a Parliament. And, tho' the like was done at the Reſtoration, yet it was ſaid, that the Convention was then called, when there was no King nor Great Seal in *England*: And it was called by the conſent of the lawful King, and was done upon a true and viſible, and not on a pretended neceſſity: And they added that, after all, even then the Convention was not looked on as a legal Parliament: Its acts were ratified in a ſubſequent Parliament; and from thence they had their Authority. So it was moved, that the Convention ſhould be diſſolved, and a new Parliament ſummoned: For in the Joy which accompanied the Revolution, men well-affected to it were generally choſen: And it was thought, that the damp, which was now ſpread into many parts of the Nation, would occaſion great changes in a new election. On the other hand, the neceſſity of affairs was ſo preſſing, that no time was to be loſt: A delay of forty days might be the total loſs of *Ireland*; and ſtop all our preparations at Sea: Nor was it adviſeable, in ſo critical a time, to put the Nation into the ferment, which a new election would occaſion. And it was reaſonable to expect, that thoſe who had ſet the King on the Throne, would be more zealous to maintain him there, than any new ſet of men could poſſibly be: And thoſe who ſubmitted to a King, *de facto*, muſt likewiſe ſubmit to a Parliament, *de facto*. So the Bill paſt: And a day was ſet for the call of both Houſes, and for requiring the Members to take the Oaths.

Some Biſhops leave the Parliament.

Eight Biſhops abſented themſelves, who were *Sancroft* of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* of *Worceſter*, *Lake* of *Chicheſter*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lloyd* of *Norwich*, *Ken* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Frampton* of *Gloceſter*, and *White* of *Peterborough*. But in the mean while, that they might recommend themſelves by a ſhew of Moderation, ſome of them moved the Houſe of Lords, before they withdrew from it, for a bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehenſion: And theſe were drawn and offered by the Earl of *Nottingham*: And, as he ſaid to me, they were the ſame that he had prepared for the Houſe of Commons in King *Charles*'s time, during the Debates of the Excluſion: But then things of that kind were looked on as Artifices, to lay the heat of that Time, and to render the Church Party more popular. After theſe motions made, the Biſhops that were in the Houſe withdrew: *Sancroft*, *Thomas*, and *Lake*, never came: The two laſt died ſoon after. *Ken*, was a Man of a warm imagination: And at the time of the King's firſt landing, he declared heartily for him, and adviſed all the Gentlemen, that he ſaw, to go and join with him. But during the Debates in the Convention, he went with great heat into the notion of a Prince Regent. And now, upon the call of the Houſe, he withdrew into his Dioceſe. He changed his Mind again, and wrote a paper, perſwading the Clergy to take the Oaths, which he ſhewed to Dr. *Whitby*, who read it, as the Dr. has told me often. His Chaplain, Dr. *Eyre*, did alſo tell me, that he came with him to *London*, where at firſt he owned he was reſolved to go to the Houſe of Lords, and to take the Oaths. But the firſt Day after he came to Town, he was prevailed on to change his mind: And he has continued ever ſince in a very warm oppoſition to the Government. *Sancroft* went on in his unactive ſtate, ſtill refuſing the Oaths, but neither acting or ſpeaking, except in great confidence, to any againſt their taking them. Theſe Biſhops did one thing very inconſiſtent with their other actions, and that could not be eaſily reconciled to the rules of good conſcience. All preſentations are directed to Biſhops, or to their Chancellors. But, by a general agreement in the year 1660, the Biſhops reſolved to except out of the Patents, that they gave their Chancellors, the power of giving Inſtitution into Cures, which before that, the Chancellors were im-

impowered to give in the Biſhop's abſence. Now the Biſhops were bound to ſee that the Clergy, before they gave them Inſtitution, took the Oaths to the Government. In order therefore to decline the doing this, and yet avoid the actions of *Quare Impedit*, that they would be liable to, if they did not admit the Clerks preſented to them, they gave new Patents to their Chancellors, empowering them to give Inſtitution; which they knew could not be done, but by tendring the Oaths. So they gave authority to Lay-men, to admit men to Benefices, and to do that which they thought unlawful, as was the ſwearing to an Uſurper againſt the lawful King. Thus it appeared, how far the Engagement of intereſt and parties can run men into contradictions. 1689

Upon the Biſhops refuſing the Oaths, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, requiring all Perſons to take them by a prefixed Day, under ſeveral forfeitures and penalties. The Clergy that took them not, were to fall under ſuſpenſion for ſix months, and at the end of thoſe, they were to be deprived. This was followed with a particular eagerneſs by ſome, who were known enemies to the Church: And it was then generally believed, that a great part of the Clergy would refuſe the Oaths. So they hoped to have an advantage againſt the Church by this means. *Hambden* perſwaded the King, to add a period to a Speech he made, concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, in which he propoſed the admitting all Proteſtants to ſerve in that War. This was underſtood, to be intended, for taking off the Sacramental Teſt, which was neceſſary by the Law, to qualify men for employments, and was looked on, as the chief ſecurity the Church of *England* had, as it excluded Diſſenters from all employments. And it was tried, if a bargain could be made, for excuſing the Clergy from the Oaths, provided the Diſſenters might be excuſed from the Sacrament. The King put this into his Speech, without communicating it to the Miniſtry: And it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both Houſes; but it very much heightened the prejudices againſt the King, as bearing no great affection to the Church of *England*, when he propoſed the opening ſuch a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this, made the Act impoſing the Oaths to be driven on with the more zeal. This was in debate, when I came into the Houſe of Lords: For *Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, died this Winter: Many ſpoke to the King in my favour, without my knowledge. The King made them no anſwer. But a few days after he was ſet on the Throne, he of his own motion named me to that See: And he did it in terms more obliging, than uſually fell from him. When I waited on the Queen, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped I would now put in practice thoſe notions, with which I had taken the liberty often to entertain her. All the forms of the *congè d' elire*, and my Election, were carried on with diſpatch. But a great difficulty was in view. *Sancroft* would not ſee me; and he refuſed to conſecrate me. So by Law, when the Mandate was brought to him, upon not obeying it, he muſt have been ſued in a *Premunire*: And for ſome Days, he ſeemed determined to venture that: But as the danger came near, he prevented it, by granting a Commiſſion to all the Biſhops of his Province, or to any three of them, in Conjunction with the Biſhop of *London*, to exerciſe his Metropolitical authority during pleaſure. Thus he did authorize others to conſecrate me, while yet he ſeemed to think it an unlawful Act. This was ſo mean, that he himſelf was aſhamed of it afterwards. But he took an odd way to overthrow it: For he ſent for his original Warrant: And ſo took it out of the Office, and got it into his own Hands.

I was made Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

I happened to come into the Houſe of Lords, when two great debates were managed with much heat in it. The one was about the Toleration and Comprehenſion, and the other was about the Impoſing the Oaths on the Clergy. And I was engaged at my firſt coming there, to bear a large ſhare in both.

That which was long inſiſted on, in the Houſe of Lords, was, that inſtead of the Clauſe poſitively enacting, that the Clergy ſhould be obliged to take the Oaths, the King might be impowered to tender them, and then the refuſal was to be puniſhed according to the Clauſe, as it ſtood in the Act. It was thought, ſuch a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual reſtraint upon them: They would be kept quiet at leaſt by it: Whereas, if

Debates concerning the Oaths.

1689 they came under Deprivation, or the apprehenſions of it, that would make them deſperate, and ſet them on to undermine the Government. It was ſaid, that the Clergy, by the Offices of the Church, did ſolemnly own their Allegiance to God, in the ſight of all their people; that no Oath could lay deeper Engagements on them, than thoſe Acts of religious Worſhip did: And if they ſhould either paſs over thoſe Offices, or perform them, otherwiſe than as the Law required, there was a clear method, purſuant to the Act of Uniformity, to proceed ſeverely againſt them. It was alſo ſaid, that in many different changes of Government, Oaths had not proved ſo effectual a ſecurity as was imagined: Diſtinctions were found out, and ſenſes were put on words, by which they were interpreted ſo, as to ſignify but little, when a Government came to need ſtrength from them: And it ill became thoſe, who had formerly complained of theſe impoſitions, to urge this with ſo much vehemence. On the other hand, it was urged, that no man ought to be truſted by a Government, chiefly in ſo ſacred a concern, who would not give ſecurity to it; eſpecially, ſince the Oath was brought to ſuch low and general terms. The Expedient that was propoſed, would put a hardſhip upon the King, which was always to be carefully avoided. The day prefixed was at the diſtance of ſome months: So that Men had time ſufficient given them to ſtudy the point: And, if in that time they could not ſatisfy themſelves, as to the lawfulneſs of acknowledging the Government, it was not fit that they ſhould continue in the higheſt Poſts of the Church. An exception of Twelve was propoſed, who ſhould be ſubject to the Law, upon refuſing the Oaths, when required to it by the King; but that was rejected: And all the mitigation that was obtained, was a power to the King, to reſerve a third part of the profits of any twelve Benefices he ſhould name, to the Incumbents who ſhould be deprived by virtue of this Act: And ſo it paſſed. I was the chief Manager of the Debate, in favour of the Clergy; both in the Houſe of Lords, and at the Conferences with the Commons. But, ſeeing it could not be carried, I acquieſced the more eaſily; becauſe, tho' in the beginning of theſe Debates I was aſſured, that thoſe who ſeemed reſolved not to take the Oaths, yet prayed for the King in their Chappels; yet I found afterwards this was not true, for they named no King nor Queen, and ſo it was eaſy to gueſs, whom they meant by ſuch an indefinite deſignation. I alſo heard many things, that made me conclude, they were endeavouring to raiſe all the Oppoſition to the Government poſſible.

An Act of Toleration.

The Bill of Toleration paſſed eaſily. It excuſed Diſſenters from all penalties, for their not coming to Church, and for going to their ſeparate Meetings. There was an exception of *Socinians*: But a proviſion was put in it, in favour of *Quakers*: And, tho' the reſt were required to take the Oaths to the Government, They were excuſed, upon making in lieu thereof a ſolemn Declaration. They were to take out Warrants for the Houſes they met in: And the Juſtices of Peace were required to grant them. Some propoſed, that the Act ſhould only be temporary, as a neceſſary reſtraint upon the Diſſenters, that they might demean themſelves, ſo as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered ſhould end. But this was rejected: There was now an univerſal inclination to paſs the Act: But it could not be expected, that the Nation would be in the ſame good diſpoſition towards them at another time. I ſhewed ſo much zeal for this Act, as very much ſunk my Credit, which had riſen from the approbation I had gained, for oppoſing That which enacted the taking the Oaths. As for the Act of Comprehenſion, ſome progreſs was made in it. But a Proviſo was offered, that, in imitation of the Acts paſſed in King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth's time, a number of perſons, both of the Clergy and Laity, might be empowered to prepare ſuch a Reformation of things, relating to the Church, as might be offered to King and Parliament, in order to the healing our Diviſions, and the correcting what might be amiſs or defective in our Conſtitution. This was preſſed with great earneſtneſs by many of the temporal Lords. I at that time did imagine, that the Clergy would have come into ſuch a deſign with zeal and unanimity: And I feared this would be looked on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands: And for that reaſon I argued ſo warmly againſt this, that it was carried by a ſmall Majority

A motion for a Comprehenſion.

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to let it fall. But I was convinced ſoon after, that I had taken wrong meaſures; and that the method propoſed by theſe Lords, was the only one like to prove effectual: But this did not ſo recommend me to the Clergy, as to balance the cenſure I came under, for moving, in another Proviſo of that Bill, that the Subſcription, inſtead of *Aſſent* and *Conſent*, ſhould only be to *ſubmit* with a promiſe of Conformity. There was a Proviſo likewiſe, in the Bill, for diſpenſing with kneeling at the Sacrament, and being baptized with the Sign of the Croſs, to ſuch as, after conference upon thoſe heads, ſhould ſolemnly proteſt, they were not ſatisfied as to the lawfulneſs of them. That concerning Kneeling, occaſioned a vehement Debate: For, the Poſture being the chief exception that the Diſſenters had, the giving up this was thought to be the opening a way for them to come into Employments. Yet it was carried in the Houſe of Lords. And I declared my ſelf zealous for it. For ſince, it was acknowledged, that the Poſture was not eſſential in itſelf, and that Scruples, how ill grounded ſoever, were raiſed upon it, it ſeemed reaſonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice, as it was in its nature. 1689

Thoſe who had moved for this Bill, and afterwards brought It into the Houſe, acted a very diſingenuous part: For, while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves by this ſhew of Moderation, they ſet on their Friends to oppoſe it: And ſuch as were very ſincerely and cordially for it, were repreſented as the Enemies of the Church, who intended to ſubvert it. When the Bill was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was let lie on the Table. And, inſtead of proceeding in it, they made an Addreſs to the King, for ſummoning a Convocation of the Clergy to attend, according to cuſtom, on the Seſſion of Parliament. The Party, that was now beginning to be formed againſt the Government, pretended great zeal for the Church; and declared their apprehenſions that it was in danger, which was imputed by many to the Earl of *Nottingham*'s management. Theſe, as they went heavily into the Toleration, ſo they were much offended with the Bill of Comprehenſion, as containing matters relating to the Church, in which the Repreſentative Body of the Clergy had not been ſo much as adviſed with.

Nor was this Bill ſupported by thoſe, who ſeemed moſt favourable to the Diſſenters: They ſet it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a ſtrong faction both in Church and State; And they thought it was not agreeable to that, to ſuffer ſo great a Body as the Presbyterians to be made more eaſy, or more inclinable to unite to the Church: They alſo thought, that the Toleration would be beſt maintained, when great Numbers ſhould need it, and be concerned to preſerve it: So this good Deſign being zealouſly oppoſed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the Ground.

The Clergy began now to ſhew an implacable hatred to the Nonconformiſts, and ſeemed to wiſh for an occaſion to renew old Severities againſt them. But wiſe and good men did very much applaud the quieting the Nation by the Toleration. It ſeemed to be ſuitable, both to the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the Intereſt of the Nation. It was thought very unreaſonable, that, while we were complaining of the Cruelty of the Church of *Rome*, we ſhould fall into ſuch practices among our ſelves; chiefly, while we were engaging in a War, in the progreſs of which we would need the united ſtrength of the whole Nation. *An ill humour ſpread among the Clergy.*

This Bill gave the King great content. He in his own Opinion always thought that Conſcience was God's Province, and that it ought not to be impoſed on: And his experience in *Holland* made him look on Toleration, as one of the wiſeſt meaſures of Government: He was much troubled to ſee ſo much ill humour ſpreading among the Clergy, and by their means over a great part of the Nation. He was ſo true to his Principle herein, that he reſtrained the heat of ſome, who were propoſing ſevere Acts againſt Papiſts. He made them apprehend the advantage, which that wou'd give the *French*, to alienate all the Papiſts of *Europe* from us; who from thence might hope to ſet on foot a new Catholick League, and make the War a Quarrel of Religion; which might have very bad Effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the Proteſtants in many places of *Germany*, and in *Hungary*, unleſs he could cover the Papiſts in *England*, from all Severities on the account of their Religion. This was ſo carefully infuſed into many, and ſo well *Great Gentleneſs towards Papiſts.*

1689 well underſtood by them, that the Papiſts have enjoy'd the real effects of the Toleration, tho' they were not comprehended within the Statute that enacted it.

War proclaimed againſt *France*.

While domeſtick matters were raiſing great heats at home, we ſaw the neceſſity of making vigorous Preparations for the War abroad, and in *Ireland*. The King laid before both Houſes the Alliances, formerly made by the Crown of *England*, with the States, and with the Empire, together with the new ones that were now propoſed, which made a Rupture with *France* neceſſary. So, by the Advices of both Houſes, War was declared againſt *France*: And the neceſſary Supplies, both for the *Quota* that the King was to furniſh, and for the Reduction of *Ireland*, were provided.

Debates concerning the Revenue.

The next care was a Revenue, for the Support of the Government. By a long courſe, and the practice of ſome Ages, the Cuſtoms had been granted to our Kings for life: So the King expected, that the like regard ſhould be ſhewn for him. But mens minds were much divided in that matter. Some Whigs, who by a long Oppoſition, and jealouſy of the Government, had wrought themſelves into ſuch Republican Principles, that they could not eaſily come off from them, ſet it up as a maxim not to grant any Revenue, but from year to year, or at moſt, for a ſhort term of years. This, they thought, would render the Crown precarious, and oblige our Kings to ſuch a popular method of Government, as ſhould merit the conſtant Renewal of that Grant. And they hoped, that ſo uncertain a Tenure, might more eaſily bring about an entire change of Government. For, by the denying the Revenue at any time (except upon intolerable conditions) they thought That might be eaſily effected, ſince it would render our Kings ſo feeble, that they would not be able to maintain their Authority. The Tories obſerving this, made great uſe of it, to beget in the King jealouſies of his Friends, with too much colour, and too great ſucceſs. They reſolved to reconcile themſelves to the King by granting it, but at preſent only to look on, till the Whigs, who now carried every thing, to which they ſet their full ſtrength, ſhould have refuſed it.

The Chimney-money diſcharged.

The King, as he had come through the Weſtern Countries, from his firſt Landing, had been in many places moved to diſcharge the Chimney-money: And had promiſed to recommend it to the Parliament. He had done that ſo effectually, that an Act paſt diſcharging it; tho' it was ſo much oppoſed by the Tories, that it ran a great hazard in the Houſe of Lords. Thoſe who oppoſed it, pretended, that it was the only ſure Fund, that could never fail in War, ſo that Money would be freely advanced upon it: They ſaid, a few regulations would take away any grievance, that might ariſe from it: But it was thought, they were not willing that ſuch an Act ſhould paſs, as would render the King acceptable to the Body of the Nation. It was alſo thought, that the proſpect they then had of a ſpeedy Revolution, in favour of King *James*, made ſome of them unwilling to paſs an Act, that ſeemed to lay an obligation on him, either to maintain it, or by reſuming his Revenue, to raiſe the hatred of the Nation higher againſt him. When the ſettling the King's Revenue was brought under Conſideration, it was found, there were anticipations and charges upon it, from which it ſeemed reaſonable to clear it. So many Perſons were concerned in this, and the Seaſon of the year was ſo far advanced, that it was pretended, they had not time to examine that matter with due care: And therefore, by a Proviſional Act, they granted the King the Revenue for one year: And many intended never to carry the Grant but from year to year. This touched the King very ſenſibly. And many diſcourſes, that paſt among four Whigs in their Cabals, were communicated to him by the Earl of *Nottingham*, by which he concluded, he was in the Hand of Perſons, that did not intend to uſe him well.

A Bill concerning the Militia.

A Bill was prepared, concerning the Militia, which upon the matter, and in conſequence of many clauſes in it, took it in a great meaſure both from the Crown, and out of the Lords Lieutenants; who being generally Peers, a Bill that leſſened their authority ſo much, was not like to paſs in the Houſe of Lords: So it was let lie on the Table. By this likewiſe, which was chiefly promoted by the Whigs; the King came to think, that thoſe who had raiſed him to the Throne, intended to depreſs his Prerogative, as much as they had exalted his

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Perſon. He ſeemed to grow tender and jealous upon theſe points, the importance of every one of them being much aggravated by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had furniſhed him with a ſcheme of all the points of the Prerogative, and of their dependance one upon another: And he ſeemed ſo poſſeſſed with this, that many of thoſe who had formerly moſt of his confidence, found a coldneſs growing upon him, which increaſed their diſguſt, and made them apprehend, they ſhould again ſee a Reign full of Prerogative maxims. One thing the Houſe of Commons granted, which was very acceptable to the King: They gave the States about 600,000 *l.* for the charge they had been at in the Fleet and Army, which they furniſhed the King with at the Revolution. 1689

Debates concerning an Act of Indemnity.

They could not be brought to another point, tho' often and much preſſed to it by the King. He thought nothing would ſettle the minds of the Nation ſo much as an Act of Indemnity, with proper exceptions of ſome Criminals, that ſhould be left to Juſtice. *Jefferies* was in the Tower; *Wright*, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſome of the Judges, were in Newgate; *Graham* and *Burton*, who had been the wicked Solicitors in the former Reigns, were in Priſon; but the hotteſt of the Whigs would not ſet this on. They thought it beſt to keep many under the laſh; they intended ſevere revenges for the Blood that had been ſhed, and for the many unjuſt things that had been done in the end of King *Charles*'s Reign; they ſaw, that the clogging the Indemnity, with many comprehenſive Exceptions, would create King *James* a great Party; ſo they did not think it proper to offer at that: Yet they reſolved to keep them ſtill in their power, till a better opportunity for falling on them ſhould offer itſelf: Therefore they proceeded ſo ſlowly in that matter, that the Bill could not be brought to a ripeneſs during this Seſſion. It is true, the great mildneſs of the King's temper, and the gentleneſs of his Government, which was indeed rather liable to cenſure, as being too remiſs, ſet people's minds much at eaſe: And, if it gave too much boldneſs to thoſe, who began to ſet up an open oppoſition to him, yet it gained upon the greater part of the Nation, who ſaw none of thoſe moving ſpectacles, that had been ſo common in former Reigns: And all promiſed themſelves happy days, under ſo merciful a Prince. But angry men put a wicked conſtruction on the earneſtneſs the King ſhewed for an Act of Indemnity; They ſaid, he intended to make uſe of a ſet of Prerogative men, as ſoon as legally he could; And therefore he deſired the Inſtruments of King *James*'s illegal Government might be once ſecured, that ſo he might employ them. The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington* were infuſing jealouſies of the King into their party, with the ſame induſtry that the Earl of *Nottingham* was, at the ſame time, inſtilling into the King jealouſies of them: And both acted with too much ſucceſs; which put matters much out of joint. For tho' the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Devonſhire* did all they could, to ſtop the progreſs and effects of thoſe ſuſpicions, with which the Whigs were poſſeſſed, yet they had not credit enough to do it. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, tho' he had more of the King's favour, yet he had not ſtrength to reſiſt the Earl of *Nottingham*'s pompous and tragical Declamations.

The Bill of Rights.

There was a Bill of great importance ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, that was not finiſhed this Seſſion. It was a Bill, declaring the Rights and Liberties of *England*, and the Succeſſion to the Crown, as had been agreed by both Houſes of Parliament, to the King and Queen and their Iſſue, and after them, to the Princeſs *Anne* and her Iſſue, and after theſe, to the King and his Iſſue. A Clauſe was inſerted, diſabling all Papiſts from ſucceeding to the Crown, to which the Lords added, *or ſuch as ſhould marry Papiſts*. To this I propoſed an additional Clauſe, abſolving the Subjects, in that caſe, from their Allegiance. This was ſeconded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: And it paſſed without any oppoſition, or debate: which amazed us all, conſidering the importance of it. But the King ordered me to propoſe the naming the Dutcheſs of *Hanover*, and her Poſterity, next in the Succeſſion. He ſignified his pleaſure in this alſo to the Miniſters. But he ordered me to begin the Motion in the Houſe, becauſe I had already ſet it on foot. And the Duke of *Hanover* had now other thoughts of the matter, and was ſeparating himſelf from the Intereſts of *France*. The Lords agreed to the propoſition without any oppoſition. So it was ſent down to the Commons. There were great Debates there upon it. *Hambden* pref-

1689 preſſed it vehemently. But *Wildman*, and all the Republican Party, oppoſed it. Their ſecret Reaſon ſeemed to be, a deſign to extinguiſh Monarchy, and therefore to ſubſtitute none, beyond the three that were named, that ſo the Succeſſion might quickly come to an end. But it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal Succeſſion, after the three that were named, who were then of the Church of *Rome*, the leaving to them a poſſibility to ſucceed, upon their turning Proteſtants, might have a good effect on them, and diſpoſe them to hearken to Inſtruction; all which would be defeated by a Declaration in favour of the Dutcheſs.

To this it was anſwered, in a free Conference, that for that very reaſon it was fit to make this Declaration: Since nothing could bring us into a more certain danger, than a pretended Converſion of a falſe Convert, who might by ſuch a diſguiſe aſcend the Throne, and ſo work our ruine by ſecret artifices. Both Houſes adhered, after the free Conference. So the Bill fell for that time: But it was reſolved to take it up at the opening of the next Seſſion. And the King thought, it was not then convenient to renew the motion of the Dutcheſs of *Hanover*, of which he ordered me to write her a particular account. It was fit once to have the Bill paſſed, that enacted the perpetual Excluſion of all Papiſts: For that, upon the matter, brought the Succeſſion to their door. And if any in the Line, before Her, ſhould pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, ſo it would not be eaſily believed. So it was reſolved to carry this matter no further at this time. The Bill paſſed without any oppoſition, in the beginning of the next Seſſion; which I mention here, that I might end this matter all at once. The preſent Seſſion was drawn to a great length, and was not ended till *Auguſt*: And then it broke up with a great deal of ill humour.

King *James*'s Great Seal found in the *Thames*.

One accident happen'd this Summer, of a pretty extraordinary nature, that deſerves to be remembred. A Fiſher-man, between *Lambeth* and *Vaux-hall*, was drawing a Net pretty cloſe to the Channel; and a great weight was, not without ſome difficulty, drawn to the Shore, which, when taken up, was found to be the Great Seal of *England*. King *James* had called for it from the Lord *Jefferies*, the night before he went away, as intending to make a ſecret uſe of it, for Pardons or Grants. But it ſeems, when he went away, he thought either, that the Bulk or Weight of it made it inconvenient to be carried off, or that it was to be hereafter of no more uſe to him: And therefore, that it might not be made uſe of againſt him, he threw it into the *Thames*. The Fiſher-man was well rewarded, when he brought the Great Seal to the King: And by his Order it was broke.

The State of Affairs in *Ireland*.

But now I muſt look over to the affairs of *Ireland*, and to King *James*'s motions. Upon his coming to the Court of *France*, he was received with great ſhews of Tenderneſs and Reſpect; the *French* King aſſuring him, that, as they had both the ſame Intereſts, ſo he would never give over the War, till he had reſtored him to his Throne. The only proſpect he now had, was to keep up his Party in *Ireland* and *Scotland*. The Meſſage from *Tyrconnel*, for ſpeedy Supplies, was very preſſing: And his Party in *Scotland* ſent one *Lindſay* over to him, to offer him their Service, and to ask what aſſiſtance they might depend upon. The *French* Miniſtry was at this time much divided. *Louvois* had the greateſt credit, and was very ſucceſsful in all his Counſels: ſo that he was moſt conſidered. But *Seignelay* was believed to have more perſonal favour, and to be more entirely united to Madam *Maintenon*. Theſe two were in a high competition for favour, and hated one another. *Seignelay* had the Marine, as the other had the Army, for his province. So, King *James* having the moſt dependance on the Marine, and looking on the Secretary for that Poſt, as the moſt powerful favourite, made his chief application to him; which ſet *Louvois* to croſs and retard every thing, that was propoſed for his ſervice. So that matters for him went on ſlowly, and very defectively. There was another circumſtance in King *James*'s affairs, that did him much hurt. *Lauſun*, whoſe adventures will be found in the *French* Hiſtory, had come over to King *James*, and offered him his ſervice, and had attended on the Queen, when ſhe went over to *France*. He had obtained a promiſe of King *James*, that he ſhould have the Command of ſuch Forces, as the King of *France* would aſſiſt him with. *Louvois* hated *Lauſun*; nor did the King of *France* like to employ him: So *Louvois* ſent to King *James*, deſiring him

him to ask of the King of *France*, *Souvray*, a Son of his, whom he was breeding to ſerve in War, to command the *French* Troops. But King *James* had ſo engaged himſelf to *Lauſun*, that he thought he could not in honour depart from it. And ever after that, we were told, that *Louvois* ſtudied, by all the ways he could think of to diſparage him, and all the Propoſitions he made: Yet he got about 5000 *Frenchmen*, to be ſent over with him to *Ireland*, but no great Supplies in money. Promiſes were ſent the *Scots* of great aſſiſtance, that ſhould be ſent them from *Ireland*: They were incouraged to make all poſſible oppoſition in the Convention: And, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would admit of it, they were ordered to gather together in the High-lands, and to keep themſelves in ſafe places there, till further Orders ſhould be ſent them. With theſe, and with a ſmall ſupply in money, of about five or ſix thouſand Pounds, for buying Ammunition and Arms, *Lindſay* was ſent back. I had ſuch a character given me of him, that I entertained good thoughts of him. So, upon his Return, he came firſt to me, and pretended he had gone over on private affairs, being deeply engaged in debt for the Earl of *Melfort*, whoſe Secretary he had been. I underſtood from him, that King *James* had left *Paris* to go for *Ireland*: So I ſent him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Office: But there was a ſecret management with one of the under Secretaries there for King *James*: So he was not only diſmiſſed, but got a Paſs Warrant from Dr. *Wynne*, to go to *Scotland*. I had given the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ſuch a character of the man, that he did more eaſily believe him; but he knew nothing of the Paſs Warrant. So, my eaſineſs to think well of people, was the chief occaſion of the miſchief that followed, on his not being clapt up and more narrowly examined. Upon King *James*'s landing in *Ireland*, he marched his Army from *Kinſale* to *Ulſter*. And, when it was all together, it conſiſted of 30,000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe. It is true, the *Iriſh* were now as inſolent, as they were undiſciplined: And they began to think they muſt be maſters of all the King's Counſels. A jealouſy aroſe between them and the *French*: They were ſoon on very bad Terms, and ſcarce ever agreed in their Advices: All King *James*'s party, in the Iſle of *Britain*, preſſed his ſettling the affairs of *Ireland* the beſt he could, and his bringing over the *French*, and ſuch of the *Iriſh*, as he could beſt govern, and depend on; and adviſed him to land in the North of *England*, or in the Weſt of *Scotland*.

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King *James* came over thither.

But the firſt thing that was to be done, was to reduce *Londonderry*. In order to this, two different Advices were offered. The one was, to march with a great Force, and to take it immediately: for the Town was not capable of reſiſting, if vigorouſly attack'd. The other was, to block it up ſo, that it ſhould be forced in a little time to ſurrender; and to turn to other more vigorous deſigns. But, whereas either of theſe Advices might have been purſued with Advantage, a third Advice was offered, but I know not by whom, which was the only bad one, that could be propoſed; and yet, by a ſort of fatality, which hung over that King, it was followed by him; and that was, to preſs the Town by a ſlow Siege, which, as was given out, would bring the *Iriſh* into the methods of War, and would accuſtom them to Fatigue and Diſcipline. And this being reſolved on, King *James* ſent a ſmall Body before it, which was often changed: And by theſe he continued the Siege above two months, in which the poor Inhabitants formed themſelves into great Order, and came to generous Reſolutions of enduring the laſt extremities. They made ſome Sallies, in which the *Iriſh* always ran away, and left their Officers; ſo that many of their beſt Officers were killed. Thoſe within ſuffered little, but by hunger, which deſtroyed near two thirds of their Number. One Convoy, with two Regiments, and Proviſions, was ſent to their relief: But they looked on the Service as deſperate, being deceived by *Lundy*, who was the Governour of the Place, and had undertaken to betray it to King *James*; but he finding them jealous of him, came to the Convoy, and perſuaded them that nothing could be done: So they came back, and *Lundy* with them. Yet the poor Inhabitants, tho' thus forſaken, reſolved ſtill to hold out; and ſent over ſuch an account of the State they were in, that a ſecond and greater Convoy was ſent, with about 5000 men, commanded by *Kirk*, who, after he came in ſight, made not that haſte to relieve them that was neceſſary, conſidering the miſery they were in. They had a River that came up to their Town: But the *Iriſh* had laid a Boom and Chains croſs it, and had planted

The Siege of *Londonderry*.

1689 Batteries for defending it. Yet a Ship ſailing up with Wind and Tide broke through: And ſo the Town was relieved, and the Siege raiſed in great confuſion.

Was at laſt raiſed.

Iniskillin had the ſame Fate: The Inhabitants entred into Reſolutions of ſuffering any thing, rather than fall into the hands of the *Iriſh*: A conſiderable Force was ſent againſt them: but thro' their courage, and the cowardice of the *Iriſh*, they held out.

Duke *Schomberg* with an Army went to *Ireland*.

All this while, an Army was preparing in *England*, to be ſent over for the Reduction of *Ireland*, commanded by *Schomberg*, who was made a Duke in *England*, and to whom the Parliament gave 100,000 Pounds for the ſervices he had done. The Levies were carried on in *England* with great zeal: And the Bodies were quickly full. But, tho' both Officers and Soldiers ſhewed much courage and affection to the ſervice; yet they were raw, without experience, and without skill. *Schomberg* had a quick and happy paſſage; with about 10,000 men. He landed at *Belfaſt*, and brought the Forces that lay in *Ulſter* together. His Army, when ſtrongeſt, was not above 14,000 men; and he had not above 2000 Horſe. He marched on to *Dundalk*; and there poſted himſelf. King *James* came to *Ardee*, within five or ſix miles of him, being above thrice his number. *Schomberg* had not the Supplies from *England*, that had been promiſed him: Much treachery or ravenouſneſs appeared in many, who were employed. And he finding his numbers ſo unequal to the *Iriſh*, reſolved to lie on the defenſive. He lay there ſix weeks in a very rainy Seaſon. His men, for want of due care and good management, contracted ſuch Diſeaſes, that he loſt almoſt the one half of his Army. Some blamed him for not putting things more to hazard: It was ſaid, that he meaſured the *Iriſh* by their Numbers, and not by their Want of Senſe and Courage. Such complaints were ſent of this to the King, that he wrote twice to him, preſſing him to put ſomewhat to the venture: But he ſaw the Enemy was well poſted, and well provided: And he knew they had ſeveral good Officers among them. If he had puſhed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole Army, and conſequently all *Ireland*, would have been loſt: For he could not have made a regular Retreat. The ſure game was to preſerve his Army: And that would ſave *Ulſter*, and keep matters entire for another year. This was cenſured by ſome; But better Judges thought, the managing this Campaign as he did, was one of the greateſt parts of his Life. The *Iriſh* made ſome poor attempts to beat up his Quarters: But even where they ſurpriſed his Men, and were much ſuperior in number, they were ſo ſhamefully beat back, that this encreaſed the contempt, the *Engliſh* naturally had for them. In the end of *October*, all went into Winter Quarters.

Affairs at Sea.

Our operations on the Sea were not very proſperous. *Herbert* was ſent with a Fleet, to cut off the communication between *France* and *Ireland*. The *French* had ſent over a Fleet, with a great Tranſport of Stores and Ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of *Bantry* Bay, *Herbert* engaged them. The wind was againſt him: So that it was not poſſible for the greateſt part of the Fleet to come up, and enter into Action: And ſo thoſe who engaged were forced to retire with ſome diſadvantage. But the *French* did not purſue him. He came back to *Portſmouth*, in order to refit ſome of his Ships; and went out again, and lay before *Breſt*, till the end of Summer. But the *French* Fleet did not come out any more all that Summer: So that ours lay ſome months at Sea to no purpoſe. But, if we loſt few of our Seamen in the Engagement, we loſt a great many, by reaſon of the bad Victualling. Some excuſed this, becauſe it was ſo late in the year, before Funds were made for it: while others imputed it to baſe practices, and worſe deſigns. So affairs had every where a very melancholy face.

Affairs in *Scotland*.

I now turn to give an Account of the Proceedings in *Scotland*. A Convention of the States was ſummoned there, in the ſame manner as in *England*. Duke *Hamilton* was choſen Preſident. And, a Letter being offered to them, from King *James* by *Lindſay*, they would not receive, nor read it: But went on to ſtate the ſeveral Violations of their Conſtitution and Laws, made by King *James*. Upon theſe it was moved, that a Judgment ſhould be given, declaring, that he had forfeited his Right to the Crown. Upon this, three Parties were formed: One was compoſed of all the Biſhops, and ſome of the Nobility, who oppoſed theſe

Proceedings

Proceedings againſt the King, as contrary to their Laws and Oaths: Others thought, that their Oaths were only to the King, as having the executive Power, to ſupport him in that; but that, if he ſet himſelf to invade and aſſume the Legiſlature, he renounced his former Authority by ſubverting that, upon which it was founded: So they were for proceeding to a declaratory Judgment: A third Party was formed, of thoſe who agreed with the former in their Concluſion: But not in coming to ſo ſpeedy a determination. They thought, it was the Intereſt of *Scotland* to be brought under the Laws of *England*, and to be united to the Parliament of *England*; and that this was the propereſt time for doing that to the beſt advantage; ſince *England* would be obliged, by the preſent ſtate of Affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were therefore willing to proceed againſt King *James*: But they thought it not reaſonable to make too much haſte in a new Settlement; and were for maintaining the Government, in an Interregnum, till the Union ſhould be perfected, or at leaſt put in a probable way. This was ſpecious, and many went into it: But, ſince it tended to the putting a Stop to a full Settlement, all that favoured King *James* joined in it: For by this more time was gained. To this Project it was objected, that the Union of the two Kingdoms muſt be a work of time; ſince many difficulties would ariſe in any Treaty about it: whereas the preſent circumſtances were critical, and required a ſpeedy deciſion, and quick proviſion to be made for their ſecurity; ſince, if they continued in ſuch a neutral State, they would have many Enemies, and no Friends: And the zeal that was now working among them for Presbytery, muſt raiſe a greater averſion than ordinary, in the Body that was for the Church of *England*, to any ſuch Treaty with them.

1689 Debates in the Convention.

While much heat was occaſioned by this Debate, great Numbers came armed from the Weſtern Counties, on pretence to defend the Convention: For the Duke of *Gordon* was ſtill in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and could have done them much harm, tho' he lay there in a very inoffenſive ſtate. He thought the beſt thing he could do was, to preſerve that place long for King *James*; ſince to provoke the Convention, would have drawn a Siege and Ruine upon him, with too much precipitation, while there was not a Force in the Field ready to come and aſſiſt him. So it was ſaid, there was no need of ſuch armed Companies, and that they were come to over-awe and force the Convention.

The Earl of *Dundee* had been at *London*, and had fixed a correſpondence both with *England* and *France*: tho' he had employed me to carry Meſſages, from him to the King, to know what Security he might expect, if he ſhould go and live in *Scotland* without owning his Government. The King ſaid, If he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him: To this he anſwered, that, unleſs he were forced to it, he would live quietly. But he went down with other reſolutions; and all the Party reſolved to ſubmit to his command. Upon his coming to *Edinburgh*, he pretended he was in danger from thoſe armed multitudes: And ſo he left the Convention; and went up and down the Highlands, and ſent his Agents about, to bring together what Force they could gather. This ſet on the Concluſion of the Debates of the Convention.

A Riſing deſigned there.

They paſſed the Judgment of Forfeiture on King *James*. And on the 11th of *April*, the day in which the King and Queen were crowned, with the ordinary Solemnities at *Weſtminſter*, they declared *William* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*. But with this, as they ordered the Coronation-Oath to be tendered to them, ſo they drew up a Claim of Rights, which they pretended, were the fundamental and unalterable Laws of the Kingdom. By one of theſe it was declared, that the Reformation in *Scotland*, having been begun by a parity among the Clergy, all Prelacy in that Church was a great and inſupportable Grievance to that Kingdom. It was an abſurd thing to put this in a Claim of Rights; for which not only they had no Law, but which was contrary to many Laws then in being: So that, tho' they might have offered it as a Grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a National Right. But they had a Notion among them, that every Article, that ſhould be put in the Claim of Rights, became an unalterable Law, and a Condition upon which the Crown was to be held: whereas Grievances were ſuch things, as were ſubmitted to the King and Parliament to be redreſſed, or not, as they ſhould ſee cauſe: But the

King *James* was judged there.

They paſs a Claim of Rights.

1689 Biſhops, and thoſe who adhered to them, having left the Convention, the Preſbyterians had a majority of Voices to carry every thing as they pleaſed, how unreaſonable ſoever. And upon this, the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, was made a neceſſary Article of the new Settlement.

Epiſcopacy by this was aboliſhed.

Soon after the King came to St. *James's*, the Epiſcopal Party there, had ſent up the Dean of *Glaſgow*, whom they ordered to come to me: And I introduced him to the then Prince. He was ſent to know, what his Intentions were with relation to them. He anſwered, he would do all he could to preſerve them, granting a full Toleration to the Presbyterians: But this was, in caſe they concurred in the new Settlement of that Kingdom: For if they oppoſed that, and if, by a great Majority in Parliament, Reſolutions ſhould be taken againſt them, the King could not make a War for them: but yet he would do all that was in his Power to maintain ſuch of them, as ſhould live peaceably in their Functions. This he ordered me likewiſe to write back, in anſwer to what ſome Biſhops and others had writ to me upon that ſubject. But the Earl of *Dundee*, when he went down, poſſeſſed them with ſuch an opinion of another ſpeedy Revolution, that would be brought about in favour of King *James*, that they reſolved to adhere firmly to his Intereſts: So, they declaring in a body, with ſo much zeal, in oppoſition to the new Settlement, it was not poſſible for the King to preſerve that Government there: All thoſe who expreſſed their zeal for him, being equally zealous againſt that Order.

Among thoſe who appeared in this Convention, none diſtinguiſhed himſelf more, than Sir *James Montgomery*, a Gentleman of good Parts, but of a moſt unbridled heat, and of a reſtleſs ambition: He bore the greateſt ſhare in the whole Debate, and promiſed himſelf a great Poſt in the new Government. Duke *Hamilton* preſided with great diſcretion and courage: So that the bringing the Settlement ſo ſoon to a calm concluſion, was chiefly owing to him. A Petition of Grievances, relating to the Lords of the Articles, the Judges, the Coin, and ſeveral other matters, was alſo ſettled: And three Commiſſioners were ſent, one from every State, to the King and Queen, with the Tender of the Crown, with which they were alſo to tender them the Coronation-Oath, and the Claim of Rights: And when the Oath was taken, they were next to offer the Petition, for the Redreſs of Grievances. The three Commiſſioners were, the Earl of *Argyle* for the *Lords*, Sir *James Montgomery* for the *Knights*, or, as they call them, for the Barons, and Sir *John Dalrymple* for the *Burroughs*. When the King and Queen took the Oaths, the King explained one word in the Oath, by which he was bound *to repreſs Hereſies*, that he did not by this bind himſelf to perſecute any for their Conſcience. And now he was King of *Scotland*, as well as of *England* and *Ireland*.

A Miniſtry in *Scotland*.

The firſt thing to be done was, to form a Miniſtry in *Scotland*, and a Council; and to ſend Inſtructions, for turning the Convention into a Parliament, in which the Duke of *Hamilton* was to repreſent the King, as his Commiſſioner. Before the King had left the *Hague*, *Fagel* had ſo effectually recommended *Dalrymple*, the Father, to him, that he was reſolved to rely chiefly on him for advice. And, tho' he had heard great complaints of him, as indeed there was ſome ground for them, yet, ſince his Son was ſent One of the Three, upon ſo great a Deputation, he concluded from thence that the Family was not ſo much hated, as he had been informed: So he continued ſtill to be adviſed by him. The Epiſcopal Party were afraid of *Montgomery's* being made Secretary, from whom they expected nothing but extream ſeverities: So they ſet themſelves to divert that, and the Lord *Melvill*, who had married the Dutcheſs of *Monmouth's* Siſter, and had continued from 1660, firm to Presbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the Kingdom, was looked on as an eaſy Man, who would have credit enough to reſtrain the fury of that Party. So he was made ſole Secretary of State; which proved a very unhappy ſtep: for, as he was by his Principle bigotted to Presbytery, and ready to ſacrifice every thing to their humours, ſo he proved to be in all reſpects a narrow-hearted man, who minded his own Intereſt more, than either that of the King or of his Country. This choice gave a great diſtaſte: And that was followed by a Miniſtry, in the framing of which he had the chief hand; who were weak and paſſionate men. All

Offices

Offices were ſplit into Commiſſions, that many might have ſome ſhare: But it rendred them all contemptible: And, tho' *Montgomery* had a conſiderable Poſt offered him, yet his miſſing that he aimed at ſtuck deep, and began to work in him an averſion to the King, which broke out afterwards into much fury and plotting againſt him. Nor did Duke *Hamilton* think, that he was conſidered, in the new model of the Miniſtry, as he deſerved, and might juſtly have expected. 1689

A faction raiſed in *Scotland.*

The Parliament there was opened with much ill humour: And they reſolved to carry the Redreſs of Grievances very far. Lord *Melvill* hoped to have gained the Presbyterian Party, by ſending Inſtructions to Duke *Hamilton*, to open the Seſſion with an Act in favour of Presbytery: But the Majority reſolved to begin with their Temporal Concerns. So the firſt Grievance, to which a Redreſs was deſired, was the Power of the Lords of the Articles; that relating ſo immediately to the Parliament it ſelf. The King conſented to a proper Regulation: as that the number ſhould be enlarged and changed, as often as the Parliament ſhould deſire it, and that the Parliament might bring matters before them, tho' they were rejected by the Lords of the Articles. This anſwered all the juſt complaints, that had been made of that part of the Conſtitution: But the King thought it was the Intereſt of the Crown, to preſerve it thus regulated: Yet it was pretended, that, if the name and ſhadow of that were ſtill kept up, the Parliament would in ſome time be inſenſibly brought under all thoſe Reſtraints, that were now to be provided againſt. So they moved to take it quite away. Duke *Hamilton* writ long Letters, both to the King and to the Lord *Melvill*, giving a full account of the progreſs of an ill humour, that was got among them, and of the ill conſequence it was like to have: But he had no anſwer from the King: And Lord *Melvill* writ him back dark and doubtful orders: So he took little care how matters went, and was not ill pleaſed to ſee them go wrong. The Revenue was ſettled on the King for life: And they raiſed the Money, which was neceſſary for maintaining a ſmall Force in that Kingdom, tho' the greateſt part of an Army of 6000 men was paid by *England*. But even the Presbyterians began to carry their Demands high; They propoſed to have the King's Supremacy, and the Right of Patronage taken away: And they asked ſo high an Authority to their Government, that Duke *Hamilton*, tho' of himſelf indifferent as to thoſe matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought, theſe broke in too much on their Temporal Concerns; and would eſtabliſh a Tyranny in Presbytery, that could not be eaſily born. He writ to me very fully on that head, and I took the liberty to ſpeak ſometimes to the King on thoſe ſubjects; my deſign being chiefly to ſhelter the Epiſcopal Clergy, and to keep the change, that was now to be made, on ſuch a foot, that a door might ſtill be kept open: But Lord *Melvill* had poſſeſſed the King with a notion, that it was neceſſary for his ſervice, that the Presbyterians ſhould know, that I did not at all meddle in thoſe matters, otherwiſe they would take up a jealouſy of every thing that was done; and that this might make them carry their demands much further: So I was ſhut out from all meddling in thoſe matters: And yet I was then, and ſtill continue to be much loaded with this prejudice, that I did not ſtudy to hinder thoſe changes, that were then made in *Scotland*. And all the King's enemies in *England* continued ſtill to charge him, for the alterations then made in *Scotland*; tho' it was not poſſible, had he been ever ſo zealous for Epiſcopacy, to have preſerved it at that time: And I could do no more than I did, both for the Order it ſelf, and for all thoſe who adhered to it there. A new debate was ſet on foot in that Parliament, concerning the Judges. By the Law there, when the King names a Judge, he ought to be examined by other Judges, whether he is qualified as the Law directs: But, in the year 1661, becauſe the Bench was to be filled with a new ſett of Judges, ſo that there was none to examine the reſt, the nomination the King then made, was read in Parliament: And, no objection being made to any of them, they did upon that ſit and act as Judges. It was expected, that the ſame method ſhould be followed at this time. But inſtead of that, the King continued ſuch a number of the former Judges, as was ſufficient to examine thoſe, who were now to be advanced: So that was ordered to be done. Upon this, thoſe, who oppoſed

1689 every thing, pretended, that the Nomination ought to be made in Parliament: and they had prepared Objections againſt every one, that was upon the Liſt; intending by this to put a publick Affront on one of the Firſt, and moſt important Actions of the King's Government. Duke *Hamilton* had a poſitive Inſtruction ſent him, not to ſuffer this matter to be brought into Parliament: Yet he ſaw the Party was ſo ſet, and ſo ſtrong, that they had a clear Majority: Nor did he himſelf very much approve of the Nomination, chiefly that of old *Dalrymple*, ſoon after made Lord *Stair*, to be Preſident. So he diſcontinued the Parliament.

A Riſing in *Scotland.*

But, while thoſe animoſities were thus fomented, the Earl of *Dundee* had got together a conſiderable body of Gentlemen, with ſome Thouſands of Highlanders. He ſent ſeveral Meſſengers over to *Ireland*, preſſing King *James* to come, either to the North of *England*, or to *Scotland*. But, at the ſame time he deſired, that he would not bring the Lord *Melfort* over with him, or employ him more in *Scotch* Buſineſs; and that he would be contented with the exerciſe of his own Religion. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that all this went againſt the grain with King *James*; and that the Lord *Melfort* diſparaged all the Earl of *Dundee*'s undertakings. In this he was much ſupported by the *French* near that King, who had it given them in charge (as a main inſtruction) to keep him up to a high owning of his Religion, and of all thoſe who were of it; and not to ſuffer him to enter into any Treaty or Conditions with his Proteſtant Subjects, by which the Papiſts ſhould in any ſort ſuffer, or be ſo much as diſcouraged. The *Iriſh* were willing enough to croſs the Seas to *England*, but would not conſent to the going over to *Scotland*. So the Earl of *Dundee* was furniſhed with ſome ſmall ſtore of Arms and Ammunition, and had kind promiſes, encouraging him, and all that joined with him.

Mackay, a General Officer, that had ſerved long in *Holland* with great reputation, and who was the piouſeſt man I ever knew, in a Military way, was ſent down to command the Army in *Scotland*. He was one of the beſt Officers of the Age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute Orders; for he was both diligent, obliging and brave: But he was not ſo fitted for command. His Piety made him too apt to miſtruſt his own Senſe, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing, where there might be a needleſs effuſion of blood. He followed the Earl of *Dundee*'s motions, who was leſs encumber'd with Cannon and other Baggage, and ſo marched quicker than it was poſſible for him to follow: His men were for the moſt part new-levied, and without experience; but he had ſome old Bodies, on whom he depended. The heads of the Clanns among the Highlanders, promiſed to join him: but moſt of them went to the Earl of *Dundee*. At laſt, after many marches and motions, they came to an engagement at *Gillicranky* ſome few miles above *Dunkell*: The Ground was narrow: And Lord *Dundee* had the advantage: He broke through *Mackay*'s Army, and they ran for it: And probably, if the Earl of *Dundee* had out-lived that day, the Victory might have been purſued far: But a random ſhot put an end to his life, and to the whole deſign: For *Mackay* rallied his men, and made ſuch a ſtand, that the other ſide fell into great diſorder, and could never be formed again into a conſiderable Body: A Fort was ſoon after built at *Innerlocky*, which was called *Fort William*, and ſerved to cut off the communication between the Northern and Southern Highlanders.

During all theſe publick diſorders, that happen'd in ſo many different places, the Trade ſuffered conſiderably: For the *French*, not ſetting out a Fleet any more, ſent out ſo many Cruiſers and Privateers into our Seas, that *England* thereby ſuffered great loſſes; there not being at that time a ſufficient number of Frigates to convey and ſecure the Merchant-men. We ſeemed to be Maſters at Sea, and yet were great Loſers there.

Foreign Affairs.

Affairs went much better on the *Rhine*. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, took *Mentz*, which the *French* had entred, after they took *Philipsburg*: The Siege was ſlow and long, but proſperous in its concluſion: And by this means *Franconia*, which before lay expoſed, was now covered. The Elector of *Brandenburg* came down with an Army, and cleared the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, which was before poſſeſſed by *French* Garriſons. *Keizerwart* and

and *Bonne* held him ſome time: but the reſt were ſoon taken. So now the *Rhine* was open all up to *Mentz*. Nothing paſſed in *Flanders*, where Prince *Waldeck* commanded: And the Campaign ended without any misfortunes on that ſide. 1689

A jealouſy of the King ſpread among the *Engliſh* Clergy.

I now return to the affairs of *England*, during the Receſs. The Clergy generally took the Oaths, tho' with too many reſervations and diſtinctions, which laid them open to ſevere cenſures, as if they had taken them againſt their Conſcience. The King was ſuſpected by them, by reaſon of the favour ſhewed to Diſſenters, but chiefly for his aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and his conſenting to the ſetting up Presbytery there. This gave ſome credit to the Reports, that were with great induſtry infuſed into many of them, of the King's coldneſs at beſt, if not his averſion, to the Church of *England*. The leading men in both Univerſities, chiefly *Oxford*, were poſſeſſed with this; and it began to have very ill effects over all *England*. Thoſe who did not carry this ſo far as to think, as ſome ſaid they did, that the Church was to be pulled down; yet ſaid, a Latitudinarian Party was like to prevail, and to engroſs all Preferments. Theſe were thought leſs bigotted to outward Ceremonies. So now it was generally ſpread about, that men zealous for the Church would be neglected, and that thoſe who were more indifferent in ſuch matters, would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the Controverſies with the Church of *Rome* with ſo much clearneſs, and with that ſucceſs, that the Papiſts, to revenge themſelves, and to blaſt thoſe, whom they conſidered as their moſt formidable Enemies, had caſt aſperſions on them as *Socinians*, and as men that denied all Myſteries. And now, ſome angry men at *Oxford*, who apprehended that thoſe Divines were likely to be moſt conſidered in this Reign, took up the ſame method of Calumny; and began to treat them as *Socinians*. The Earl of *Clarendon*, and ſome of the Biſhops, who had already incurred the Suſpenſion, for not taking the Oaths to the Government, took much ill-natur'd pains to ſpread theſe Slanders. Six Biſhopricks happened to fall within this year: *Salisbury*, *Cheſter*, *Bangor*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Briſtol*. So that the King named ſix Biſhops within ſix months. And the Perſons promoted to theſe Sees were, generally, men of thoſe principles. The Proceedings in *Scotland* caſt a great load on the King: He could not hinder the change of the Government of that Church, without putting all his affairs in great diſorder. The Epiſcopal Party went almoſt univerſally into King *James*'s Intereſts: So that the Presbyterians were the only Party, that the King had in that Kingdom. The King did indeed aſſure us, and my ſelf in particular, that he would reſtrain and moderate the violence of the Presbyterians. Lord *Melvill* did alſo promiſe the ſame thing very ſolemnly: And at firſt he ſeemed much ſet upon it. But when he ſaw ſo great a Party formed againſt himſelf: And, ſince many of the Presbyterians inclined to favour them, and to ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to the Court, he thought it was the King's Intereſt, or at leaſt his own, to engage that Party entirely: And he found nothing could do that ſo effectually, as to abandon the Miniſters of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion to their fury. He ſet up the Earl of *Crawford*, as the head of his Party; who was paſſionate in his temper, and was out of meaſure zealous in his Principles: He was choſen to be the Preſident of the Parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints, that were made of the Epiſcopal Miniſters: The Convention, when they paſſed the Votes, declaring the King and Queen, order'd a Proclamation to be read the next Sunday, in all the Churches of *Edinburgh*; and in all the other Churches in the Kingdom, by a certain prefixed day; but which was ſo near at hand, that it was ſcarce poſſible to lay Proclamations, all round the Nation, within the time; and it was abſolutely impoſſible for the Clergy to meet together, and come to any reſolution among themſelves: For the moſt part, the Proclamations were not brought to the Miniſters till the morning of the Sunday, in which they were ordered to be read; ſo, this having the face of a great change of Principles, many could not on the ſudden reſolve to ſubmit to it: Some had not the Proclamations brought to them till the day was paſt; Many of theſe read it the Sunday following. Some of thoſe, who did not think fit to read the Proclamation, yet obeyed it; and continued, after that, to pray for the King and Queen. Complaints were brought to the Council of all thoſe, who had not read nor obeyed the Proclamation; And they were in a ſum-

1689 many way deprived of their Benefices. In the executing this, Lord *Crawford* ſhewed much eagerneſs and violence. Thoſe who did not read the Proclamation on the day appointed, had no favour, tho' they did it afterwards. And upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary Prayers, or Sermons, that ſhewed diſaffection to the Government, they were alſo deprived: All theſe things were publiſhed up and down *England*, and much aggravated: And raiſed the averſion, that the friends of the Church had to the Presbyterians ſo high, that they began to repent their having granted a Toleration to a Party, that where They prevailed, ſhewed ſo much fury againſt thoſe of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion. So that ſuch of us, as had laboured to excuſe the change, that the King was forced to conſent to, and had promiſed in his Name, great Moderation towards our friends in that Kingdom, were much out of countenance, when we ſaw the Violence with which matters were carried there. Theſe things concurred to give the Clergy ſuch ill impreſſions of the King, that we had little reaſon to look for ſucceſs, in a deſign that was then preparing for the Convocation, for whom a Summons was iſſued out to meet, during the next Seſſion of Parliament.

A Comprehenſion endeavoured.

It was told, in the Hiſtory of the former Reign, that the Clergy did then expreſs an inclination, to come to a temper with relation to the Presbyterians, and ſuch other Diſſenters as could be brought into a Comprehenſion with the Church: The Biſhops had mentioned it in the Petition to King *James*, for which they were tried; And his preſent Majeſty had promiſed, to endeavour an Union between the Church and the Diſſenters, in that Declaration, that he brought over with him: But it ſeemed neceſſary to prepare and digeſt that matter carefully, before it ſhould be offered to the Convocation. Things of ſuch a nature ought to be judged of by a large number of Men; but muſt be prepared by a ſmaller number well choſen: Yet it was thought a due reſpect to the Church, to leave the matter wholly in the Hands of the Clergy. So, by a ſpecial Commiſſion under the Great Seal, Ten Biſhops and Twenty Divines were empowered to meet, and prepare ſuch Alterations, in the Book of Common-Prayer and Canons, as might be fit to lay before the Convocation. This was become neceſſary, ſince by the Submiſſion, which the Clergy in Convocation made to King *Henry* VIII, which was confirmed in Parliament, they bound themſelves not to attempt any new Canons, without obtaining the King's leave firſt, and that under the pains of a *Premunire*. It was looked on therefore, as the propereſt way, to obtain the King's leave, to have a Scheme of the whole matter put in order, by a number of Biſhops and Divines: Great care was taken to name theſe ſo impartially, that no exceptions could lie againſt any of them: They, upon this, ſate cloſely to it, for ſeveral weeks: They had before them all the Exceptions, that either the Puritans before the War, or the Nonconformiſts ſince the Reſtoration, had made to any part of the Church-Service: They had alſo many Propoſitions and Advices that had been offered, at ſeveral times, by many of our Biſhops and Divines, upon thoſe heads: Matters were well conſidered, and freely and calmly debated: And all was digeſted into an entire Correction of every thing, that ſeemed liable to any juſt objection: We had ſome very rigid, as well as very learned men among us; tho' the moſt rigid, either never came to our Meetings, or they ſoon withdrew from us, declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with every thing of that nature; ſome telling us plainly, that they were againſt all alterations whatſoever. They thought, too much was already done for the Diſſenters, in the Toleration that was granted them; but that they would do nothing to make that ſtill eaſier. They ſaid further, that the altering the Cuſtoms and Conſtitution of our Church, to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate Party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more inſolent; as if the Church, by offering theſe Alterations, ſeemed to confeſs that ſhe had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought, this attempt would divide us among our ſelves, and make our People loſe their eſteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted Correction. They alſo excepted to the manner of preparing matters, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, as limiting the Convocation, and impoſing upon it: And to load this with a word of an ill ſound, they called this a new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. But in anſwer to all this, it was ſaid; that, if by a few Corrections or Explanations, we offered all juſt ſatisfaction to the chief Objections

jections of the Diſſenters, we had reaſon to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at leaſt of the People, if not of the Teachers among them; or if the prejudices of education wrought too ſtrongly upon the preſent Age, yet, if ſome more ſenſible Objections were put out of the way, we might well hope, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If theſe condeſcenſions were made ſo, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Non-conformiſts had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the Church: But, ſuch offers being made only, in regard to their Weakneſs, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the Church, who ſhewed her ſelf a true Mother, by her care to preſerve her Children. It was not offered, that the ordinary poſture, of receiving the Sacrament kneeling, ſhould be changed: That was ſtill to be the received and favoured poſture: Only ſuch, as declared they could not overcome their Scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another Poſture, Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be ſo: All the neceſſity of them aroſe only, from the Authority in Church and State, that had enacted them. Therefore it was an unreaſonable ſtiffneſs, to deny any abatement, or yielding in ſuch matters, in order to the healing the wounds of our Church. Great Alterations had been made in ſuch things, in all the Ages of the Church. Even the Church of *Rome* was ſtill making ſome alterations in her Rituals. And Changes had been made among our ſelves, often ſince the Reformation, in King *Edward*, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Second's reigns. Theſe were always made upon ſome great turn: Critical times being the moſt proper for deſigns of that Kind. The Toleration, now granted, ſeemed to render it more neceſſary than formerly, to make the terms of Communion, with the Church, as large as might be; that ſo we might draw over to us the greater number, from thoſe who might now leave us more ſafely: And therefore we were to uſe the more care in order to gaining of them. And, as for the manner of preparing theſe overtures, the King's Supremacy ſignified little, if he could not appoint a ſelect number to conſider of ſuch matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. This did no way break in upon their full freedom of Debate; it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the Propoſitions that ſhould be offered to them. But, while men were arguing this matter on both ſides, the Party that was now at work for King *James*, took hold of this occaſion to enflame mens minds. It was ſaid, the Church was to be pulled down, and Presbytery was to be ſet up; that all this now in Debate was only intended to divide and diſtract the Church, and to render it, by that means, both weaker and more ridiculous, while it went off from its former Grounds, in offering ſuch conceſſions. The Univerſities took fire upon this; and began to declare againſt it, and againſt all that promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the Church: Severe Reflections were caſt on the King, as being in an Intereſt contrary to the Church: For the Church was as the word given out by the Jacobite Party, under which they thought they might more ſafely ſhelter themſelves: Great canvaſſings were every where, in the Elections of Convocation-Men; a thing not known in former times: So that it was ſoon very viſible, that we were not in a temper, cool or calm enough, to encourage the further proſecuting ſuch a deſign. 1689

A Convocation met, but would not agree to it.

When the Convocation was opened, the King ſent them a Meſſage by the Earl of *Nottingham*, aſſuring them of his conſtant Favour and Protection, and deſiring them to conſider ſuch things, as by his order ſhould be laid before them, with due care, and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the Church. But the Lower Houſe of Convocation expreſſed a reſolution not to enter into any Debates with relation to alterations: So that they would take no notice of the ſecond part of the King's Meſſage: And it was, not without difficulty, carried to make a decent Addreſs to the King, thanking him for his Promiſe of Protection. But, becauſe, in the draught which the Biſhops ſent them, they acknowledged the Protection that the Proteſtant Religion in general, and the Church of *England* in particular, had received from him, the lower Houſe thought, that this imported their owning ſome common Union with the foreign Proteſtants: So they would not agree to it. There was at this time but a ſmall number of Biſhops in the upper Houſe of Convocation: And they had not their Metropolitan with them:

1689 So they had not ſtrength nor Authority to ſet things forward. Therefore they adviſed the King to ſuffer the Seſſion to be diſcontinued. And thus, ſeeing they were in no diſpoſition to enter upon buſineſs, they were kept from doing miſchief by Prorogations, for a courſe of ten Years. This was in reality a favour to them; for, ever ſince the Year 1662, the Convocation had indeed continued to ſit, but to do no buſineſs; ſo that they were kept at no ſmall charge in Town to do nothing, but only to meet, and read a Latin Litany. It was therefore an caſe, to be freed from ſuch an attendance to no purpoſe. The ill reception, that the Clergy gave the King's meſſage, raiſed a great and juſt out-cry againſt them: Since all the promiſes made in King *James*'s time were now ſo entirely forgot.

But there was a very happy direction of the Providence of God obſerved in this matter. The Jacobite Clergy, who were then under Suſpenſion, were deſigning to make a Schiſm in the Church, whenſoever they ſhould be turned out, and their Places ſhould be filled up by others. They ſaw, it would not be eaſy to make a Separation upon a private and perſonal account; They therefore wiſhed to be furniſhed with more ſpecious pretences: And, if we had made alterations in the Rubrick, and other parts of the Common-Prayer, they would have pretended, that they ſtill ſtuck to the Antient Church of *England*, in oppoſition to thoſe who were altering it, and ſetting up new models: And, as I do firmly believe that there is a wiſe Providence, that watches upon human Affairs, and directs them, chiefly thoſe that relate to Religion; ſo I have with great Pleaſure obſerved this, in many Inſtances relating to the Revolution. And, upon this occaſion, I could not but ſee, that the Jacobites among us, who wiſhed and hoped that we ſhould have made thoſe Alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for ſerving their ends, were the inſtruments of raiſing ſuch a clamour againſt them, as prevented their being made. For by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a Majority in the Convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

I now turn to a more important, as well as a more troubleſome ſcene. In Winter, a Seſſion of Parliament met, full of jealouſy and ill humour. The ill conduct of affairs was imputed chiefly to the Lord *Haliſax*; ſo the firſt attack was made on him. The Duke of *Bolton* made a motion in the Houſe of Lords, for a Committee to examine, who had the chief Hand in the Severities and Executions in the end of King *Charles*'s Reign, and in the *Quo Warranto*'s, and the delivering up the Charters: The Enquiry laſted ſome weeks, and gave occaſion to much heat: But nothing appeared that cou'd be proved, upon which Votes or Addreſſes could have been grounded: Yet the Lord *Haliſax* having, during that time, concurred with the Miniſtry in Council; he ſaw, it was neceſſary for him to withdraw now from the Miniſters, and quit the Court. And ſoon after he reconciled himſelf to the Tories, and became wholly theirs: He oppoſed every thing that looked favourably towards the Government, and did upon all occaſions ſerve the Jacobites, and protect the whole Party. But the Whigs began to loſe much of the King's good opinion, by the heat that they ſhewed in both Houſes againſt their enemies; and by the coldneſs that appeared in every thing, that related to the Publick, as well as to the King in his own particular. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire to have the Revenue of the Crown ſettled on him for life: He ſaid, he was not a King, till that was done; Without that, the title of a King was only a pageant. And he ſpoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence: So that ſometimes he ſaid, he would not ſtay, and hold an empty name, unleſs that was done: He ſaid once to my ſelf, He underſtood the good of a Commonwealth, as well as of a Kingly Government: And it was not eaſy to determine, which was beſt: But he was ſure, the worſt of all Governments was, that of a King without Treaſure, and without Power. But a jealouſy was now infuſed into many, that he would grow arbitrary in his Government, if he once had the Revenue; and would ſtrain for a high ſtretch of Prerogative, as ſoon as he was out of Difficulties and Neceſſities. Thoſe of the Whigs, who had lived ſome Years at *Amſterdam*, had got together a great many ſtories, that went about the City, of his ſullenneſs, and imperious way of dictating: The *Scotch*, who were now come up, to give an account of the proceedings in Parliament, ſet about many things that heightened their apprehenſions. One *Simpſon*, a *Scotch* Presby-

The King grew jealous of the Whigs.

Presbyterian, was recommended to the Earl of *Portland*, as a man whom he might truſt; who would bring him good Intelligence: So he was often admitted, and was entertain'd as a good Spy: But he was in a ſecret confidence with one *Nevill Payne*, the moſt active and dextrous of all King *James*'s Agents, who had indeed loſt the reputation of an honeſt man entirely: And yet had ſuch arts of management, that even thoſe who knew what he was, were willing to employ him. *Simpſon* and he were in a cloſe League together; And he diſcovered ſo much of their ſecreteſt intelligence to *Simpſon*; that he might carry it to the Earl of *Portland*, as made him paſs for the beſt Spy the Court had. When he had gained great credit, he made uſe of it to infuſe into the Earl of *Portland* jealouſies of the King's beſt Friends; And, as the Earl of *Portland* hearkened too attentively to theſe, ſo by other hands it was conveyed to ſome of them, that the Court was now become jealous of them, and was ſeeking Evidence againſt them. 1689

Conſpiracy againſt the Government.

Sir *James Montgomery* was eaſily poſſeſſed with theſe reports; and he and ſome others, by *Payne*'s management, fell a treating with King *James*'s Party in *England*: They demanded an aſſurance for the ſettlement of Presbytery in *Scotland*, and to have the chief Poſts of the Government ſhared among them: Princes in exile are apt to grant every thing that is asked of them; for they know that, if they are reſtored, they will have every thing in their Power; Upon this they entered into a cloſe Treaty, for the way of bringing all this about. At firſt they only asked money, for furniſhing themſelves with Arms and Ammunition; But afterwards they inſiſted on demanding 3000 men, to be ſent over from *Dunkirk*; becauſe, by Duke *Schomberg*'s being poſted in *Ulſter*, their communication with *Ireland* was cut off. In order to the carrying on this deſign, they reconciled themſelves to the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the other Lords of the Epiſcopal Party; And on both Sides it was given out, that this Union of thoſe, who were formerly ſuch violent Enemies, was only to ſecure and ſtrengthen their Intereſt in Parliament: The Epiſcopal Party pretending, that ſince the King was not able to protect them, they, who ſaw themſelves marked out for deſtruction, were to be excuſed for joining with thoſe, who could ſecure them. *Simpſon* brought an account of all this to the Earl of *Portland*, and was preſſed by him to find out witneſſes to prove it againſt *Montgomery*: He carried this to them, and told them, that the whole Buſineſs was diſcovered, and that great Rewards were offered to ſuch, as would merit them by ſwearing againſt them. With this they alarmed many of their Party, who did not know what was at Bottom, and thought that nothing was deſigned, but an oppoſition to Lord *Melvill* and Lord *Stair*; And they were poſſeſſed with a fear, that a new bloody ſcene of Sham-plots and ſuborned Witneſſes was to be opened. And when it began to be whiſpered about, that they were in Treaty with King *James*, that appeared to be ſo little credible, that it began to be ſaid, by ſome diſcontented men, What cou'd be expected from a Government, that was ſo ſoon contriving the ruine of its beſt Friends? Some feared, that the King himſelf might too eaſily receive ſuch Reports; and that the common practices of Miniſters, who ſtudy to make their Maſters believe, that all their own enemies are likewiſe his, were like to prevail in this Reign, as much as they had formerly done. *Montgomery* came to have great credit with ſome of the Whigs in *England*, particularly with the Earl of *Monmouth*, and the Duke of *Bolton*: And he employed it all, to perſuade them not to truſt the King, and to animate them againſt the Earl of *Portland*: This wrought ſo much, that many were diſpoſed to think, they could have good terms from King *James*: And, that he was now ſo convinced of former Errors, that they might ſafely truſt him. The Earl of *Monmouth* let this out to my ſelf twice; but in a ſtrain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it: but he ſet forth the reaſons for it with great advantage, and thoſe againſt it very faintly. Matters were truſted to *Montgomery* and *Payne*; And *Ferguſon* was taken into it, as a man that naturally loved to embroil things. So, a deſign was managed, firſt to alienate the City of *London* ſo entirely from the King, that no Loans might be advanced on the Money Bills; which, without credit upon them, could not anſwer the end, for which they were given. It was ſet about, that King *James* would give a full Indemnity, for all that was paſt; and that, for the future, he would ſeparate himſelf entirely from the *French* Intereſt, and be con-

1689 tented with a ſecret connivance at thoſe of his own Religion. It was ſaid, he was weary of the Inſolence of the *French* Court, and ſaw his error, in truſting to it ſo much as he had done. This corrupted Party had gone ſo far, that they ſeemed to fancy, that the reſtoring him would be not only ſafe, but happy to the Nation. I confeſs, it was long before I could let my ſelf think, that the matter was gone ſo far; But I was at laſt convinced of it.

Diſcovered to the Author.

I received a Letter from an unknown hand, with a direction how to anſwer it: The ſubſtance of it was, that he could diſcover a Plot, deeply laid againſt the King, if he might be aſſured not to be made a Witneſs; and to have his friends, who were in it, pardoned: By the King's order, I promiſed the firſt; But an indefinite promiſe of Pardon, was too much to ask: He might, as to that, truſt to the King's mercy. Upon this he came to me, and I found he was *Montgomery*'s Brother: He told me a Treaty was ſettled with King *James*; Articles were agreed on; And an Invitation was ſubſcribed, by the whole Cabal, to King *James* to come over: which was to be ſent to the Court of *France*; both becauſe the Communication was eaſier, and leſs watched, when it went thro' *Flanders*, than with *Ireland*; And to let the Court ſee how ſtrange a Party he had, and by that means to obtain the Supplies and Force that was deſired. He ſaid, he ſaw the writing, and ſome hands to it; but he knew many more were to ſign it; And he undertook to put me in a method to ſeize on the Original Paper. The King could not eaſily believe the matter had gone ſo far; Yet he ordered the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to receive ſuch advices, as I ſhould bring him, and immediately to do what was proper: So a few days after this, *Montgomery* told me, one *Williamſon* was that day gone to *Dover*, with the original Invitation: I found the Earl of *Shrewsbury* inclined enough to ſuſpect *Williamſon*. He had for ſome days ſolicited a Paſs for *Flanders*, and had got ſome perſons, of whom it was not proper to ſhew a Suſpicion, to anſwer for him. So one was ſent Poſt after him, with orders to ſeize him in his bed, and to take his Clothes and Portmanteau from him, which were ſtrictly examined; But nothing was found: Yet, upon the news of this, the Party was grievouſly affrighted; But ſoon recovered themſelves: The true ſecret of which was afterwards diſcovered. *Simpſon* was (it ſeems) to go over with *Williamſon*; but firſt to ride to ſome Houſes that were in the way to *Dover*; whereas the other went directly in the Stage-Coach. It was thought ſafeſt for *Simpſon* to carry theſe Papers; for there were many different Invitations, as they would not truſt their hands to one common paper: *Simpſon* came to the Houſe at *Dover*, where *Williamſon* was in the Meſſenger's hands: Thereupon he went away immediately to *Deal*, and hired a boat, and got ſafe to *France* with his Letters. *Montgomery*, finding that nothing was diſcovered, by the way which he had directed me to, upon that fancied he would be deſpiſed by us, and perhaps ſuſpected by his own ſide; And went over ſoon after, and turned Papiſt: But I know not what became of him afterwards. The fear of this Diſcovery ſoon went off: *Simpſon* came back with large aſſurances: And 12000 Pounds were ſent to the *Scotch*, who undertook to do great matters. All pretended Diſcoveries were laughed at, and looked on as the fictions of the Court: And upon this, the City of *London* were generally poſſeſſed with a very ill opinion of the King. The Houſe of Commons granted the Supplies, that were demanded for the Reduction of *Ireland*, and for the *Quota*, to which the King was obliged by his Alliances: And they continued the gift of the Revenue for another year. But one great error was committed by the Court, in accepting remote Funds; whereby the Intereſt of the money, then advanced on a Fund, payable at the diſtance of ſome years, did not only eat up a great deal of the Sum, but ſeemed ſo doubtful, that great Premiums were to be offered to thoſe, who advanced money upon a Security, which was thought very contingent; ſince few believed that the Government would laſt ſo long. So here was a ſhew of great Supplies, which yet brought not in the half of what they were eſtimated at.

A Bill concerning Corporations.

The Tories, ſeeing the Whigs grow ſullen, and that they would make no advances of money, began to treat with the Court, and promiſed great advances, if the Parliament might be diſſolved, and a new one be ſummoned. Thoſe propoſitions came to be known; ſo the Houſe of Commons prepared a Bill, by

which

which they hoped to have made ſure of all future Parliaments; In it they declared, that Corporations could not be forfeited, nor their Charters ſurrendred; And they enacted, that all Mayors and Recorders, who had been concerned in the private delivering up of Charters, without the conſent of the whole Body, and who had done that in a clandeſtine manner, before the Judgment that was given againſt the Charter of *London*, ſhould be turned out of all Corporations, and be incapable of bearing Office in them for Six years. This was oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, by the whole ſtrength of the Tory Party; for they ſaw the carrying it was the total ruine of their Intereſt, thro' the whole Kingdom. They ſaid a great deal againſt the declaratory part; But whatſoever might be in that, they ſaid, ſince the thing had been ſo univerſal, it ſeemed hard to puniſh it with ſuch Severity: It was ſaid, that by this means, the Party for the Church would be diſgraced, and that the Corporations would be caſt into the hands of Diſſenters. And now both Parties made their Court to the King; The Whigs promiſed every thing that he deſired, if he would help them to get this Bill paſſed; And the Tories were not wanting in their promiſes, if the Bill ſhould be ſtopp'd, and the Parliament diſſolved. The Bill was carried in the Houſe of Commons by a great Majority: When it was brought up to the Lords, the firſt point in debate was, upon the declaratory part, whether a Corporation could be forfeited or ſurrendred; *Holt*, and two other Judges, were for the Affirmative, but all the reſt were for the Negative: No Precedents for the Affirmative were brought, higher than the reign of King *Henry* VIII, in which the Abbies were ſurrendred; which was at that time ſo great a point of State, that the authority of theſe Precedents ſeemed not clear enough for regular times: The Houſe was ſo equally divided, that it went for the Bill only by one Voice: After which, little doubt was made of the paſſing the Act. But now the applications of the Tories were much quickned; They made the King all poſſible Promiſes: And the promoters of the Bill ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Corporations, which were to feel the effects of this Bill, ſo ſenſibly, that they made as great promiſes on their part: The matter was now at a critical iſſue; The paſſing the Bill put the King and the Nation in the hands of the Whigs; as the rejecting it, and diſſolving the Parliament upon it, was ſuch a truſting to the Tories, and ſuch a breaking with the Whigs, that the King was long in ſuſpence what to do. 1689

He was once very near a deſperate reſolution; He thought he could not truſt the Tories, and he reſolved he would not truſt the Whigs; So he fancied, the Tories would be true to the Queen, and confide in her, tho' they would not in him. He therefore reſolved to go over to *Holland*, and leave the Government in the Queen's hands: So he called the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*, with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and ſome few more, and told them, he had a Convoy ready, and was reſolved to leave all in the Queen's hands; ſince he did not ſee how he could extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, into which the animoſities of Parties had brought him: They preſſed him vehemently to lay aſide all ſuch deſperate reſolutions, and to comply with the preſent neceſſity; Much paſſion appeared among them: The Debate was ſo warm, that many tears were ſhed; In concluſion, the King reſolved to change his firſt Deſign, into another better Reſolution of going over in perſon, to put an end to the War in *Ireland*: This was told me ſome time after by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; But the Queen knew nothing of it, till ſhe had it from me; So reſerved was the King to her, even in a matter that concerned her ſo nearly. The King's deſign, of going to *Ireland*, came to be ſeen by the Preparations, that were ordered; But a great Party was formed in both Houſes to oppoſe it: Some did really apprehend the air of *Ireland* would be fatal to ſo weak a Conſtitution; And the Jacobites had no mind that King *James* ſhould be ſo much preſſed, as he would probably be, if the King went againſt him in perſon: It was by concert propoſed in both Houſes, on the ſame day, to prepare an Addreſs to the King againſt this Voyage: So the King, to prevent that, came the next day, and prorogued the Parliament; and that was ſoon after followed by a Diſſolution.

1690

A new Parliament.

This Seſſion had not raiſed all the money, that was demanded for the following Campaign; So it was neceſſary to iſſue out Writs immediately for a new Parliament. There was a great Struggle all *England* over in Elections; But the Corporation Bill did ſo highly provoke all thoſe, whom it was to have diſgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new Parliament. One thing was a part of the Bargain, that the Tories had made, that the Lieutenancy of *London* ſhould be changed: For upon the King's coming to the Crown, he had given a Commiſſion, out of which they were all excluded; which was ſuch a Mortification to them, that they ſaid, they could not live in the City with credit, unleſs ſome of them were again brought into that Commiſſion: The King recommended it to the Biſhop of *London*, to prepare a Liſt of thoſe, who were known to be Church-men, but of the more moderate, and of ſuch as were liable to no juſt exception; that ſo the two Parties in the City might be kept in a Balance: The Biſhop brought a Liſt of the moſt violent Tories in the City, who had been engaged in ſome of the worſt Things, that paſſed in the end of King *Charles*'s Reign: A Committee of Council was appointed to examine the Liſt; But it was ſo named, that they approved of it. This was was done to the great grief of the Whigs, who ſaid that the King was now putting himſelf in his Enemies hands; and that the Arms of the City were now put under a ſett of Officers, who, if there was a poſſibility of doing it without hazard, would certainly uſe them for King *James*. This matter was managed by the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*; but oppoſed by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was much troubled at the ill conduct of the Whigs, but much more at this great change in the King's Government. The Elections of Parliament went generally for men, who would probably have declared for King *James*, if they could have known how to manage matters for him. The King made a change in the Miniſtry, to give them ſome ſatisfaction; The Earls of *Monmouth* and *Warrington* were both diſmiſſed; Other leſſer changes were made in inferior places: So that Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; And both ſtudied to court the King, by making advances upon the Money Bills.

A Bill recognizing the King, Queen, and the Acts of the Convention.

The firſt great Debate aroſe, in the Houſe of Lords, upon a Bill that was brought in, acknowledging the King and Queen to be their Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns; and declaring all the Acts of the laſt Parliament to be good and valid. The firſt part paſſed, with little contradiction; tho' ſome excepted to the words *Rightful* and *Lawful*, as not at all neceſſary. But the ſecond Article bore a long and warm debate. The Tories offered to enact, that theſe ſhould be all good Laws, for the time to come, but oppoſed the doing it in the declaratory way. They ſaid, it was one of the fundamentals of our Conſtitution, that no Aſſembly could be called a Parliament, unleſs it was called and choſen upon the King's Writ. On the other hand it was ſaid, that whatſoever tended to the calling the authority of that Parliament in queſtion, tended likewiſe to the weakning of the preſent Government and brought the King's Title into queſtion. A real neceſſity, upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions, muſt ſuperſede forms of Law: Otherwiſe the preſent Government was under the ſame nullity. Forms were only Rules for peaceable times: But, in ſuch a juncture, when all that had a right to come, either in perſon, or by their Repreſentatives, were ſummoned and freely elected; and when, by the King's Conſent, the Convention was turned to a Parliament, the eſſentials, both with relation to King and People, were ſtill maintained in the Conſtitution of that Parliament. After a long debate, the Act paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, with this temper, declaring and enacting, that the Acts of that Parliament were and are good and valid: Many Lords proteſting againſt it, at the head of whom was the Earl of *Nottingham*, notwithſtanding his great Office at Court. It was expected, that great and long Debates ſhould have been made in the Houſe of Commons upon this Act. But, to the wonder of all People, it paſſed in two days in that Houſe, without any Debate or Oppoſition. The Truth was, the Tories had reſolved to commit the Bill; and in order to that, ſome trifling exceptions were made to ſome words, that might want correction; for Bills are not committed, unleſs ſome amendments are offered: And when it was committed, it was then reſolved to oppoſe it. But one of them diſcovered

covered this too early; for he queſtioned the Legality of the Convention, ſince it was not ſummoned by Writ: *Somers*, then Sollicitor-General, anſwered this with great Spirit; He ſaid, if that was not a Legal Parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the Oaths, enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of High-Treaſon; the Laws repealed by it were ſtill in force, ſo they muſt preſently return to King *James*; All the money levied, collected, and paid, by virtue of the Acts of that Parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal: This he ſpoke with much zeal, and ſuch an aſcendant of Authority, that none was prepared to anſwer it; So the Bill paſſed without any more oppoſition. This was a great Service, done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raiſe *Somers*'s character. 1690

The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sir *John Trevor*, was a bold and dextrous man; and knew the moſt effectual ways of recommending himſelf to every Government: He had been in great favour in King *James*'s time, and was made Maſter of the Rolls by him; And, if Lord *Jefferies* had ſtuck at any thing, he was looked on as the man, likelieſt to have had the Great Seal: He now got himſelf to be choſen Speaker, and was made Firſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal: Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that Party, provided he was furniſhed with ſuch ſums of money, as might purchaſe ſome Votes; And by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the King had kept to ſtricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method; He ſaid, he hated it as much as any man could do; But he ſaw, it was not poſſible, conſidering the Corruption of the Age, to avoid it, unleſs he would endanger the whole.

The Houſe of Commons gave the King the Cuſtoms for five Years, which they ſaid made it a ſurer Fund, for borrowing money upon, than if they had given it for life: The one was ſubject to accidents, but the other was more certain. They alſo continued the other branches of the Revenue for the ſame number of years. It was much preſſed to have it ſettled for life; But it was taken up as a general Maxim, that a Revenue for a certain and ſhort term, was the beſt ſecurity that the Nation could have for frequent Parliaments. The King did not like this; He ſaid to my ſelf, why ſhould they entertain a jealouſy of him, who came to ſave their Religion and Liberties; when they truſted King *James* ſo much, who intended to deſtroy both? I anſwered, they were not jealous of him, but of thoſe who might ſucceed him; And if he would accept of the Gift for a term of years, and ſettle the Precedent, he would be reckoned the Deliverer of ſucceeding Ages, as well as of the preſent; And, it was certain, that King *James* would never have run into thoſe Counſels that ruined him, if he had obtained the Revenue only for a ſhort term; which probably would have been done, if *Argyle*'s and *Monmouth*'s Invaſions had not ſo over-awed the Houſe, that it would then have looked like being in a Conſpiracy with them, to have oppoſed the King's demand: I ſaw the King was not pleaſed, tho' he was perſuaded to accept of the Grant, thus made him. The Commons granted a Poll-Bill, with ſome other Supplies, which they thought would anſwer all the occaſions of that year: But as, what they gave, did not quite come up to what was demanded; So when the Supply was raiſed, it came far ſhort of what they eſtimated it at. So that there were great Deficiencies to be taken care of, in every Seſſion of Parliament: which run up every year, and made a great noiſe, as if the Nation was, thro' miſmanagement, running into a great Arrear. An Act paſſed in this Seſſion, putting the Adminiſtration in the Queen, during the King's abſence out of the Kingdom; but with this Proviſo, that the Orders which the King ſent ſhould always take place. In all this Debate, the Queen ſeemed to take no notice of the matter, nor of thoſe who had appeared for it, or againſt it: The Houſe of Commons, to the great grief of the Whigs, made an Addreſs to the King, thanking him for the Alterations he had made in the Lieutenancy of *London*.

The Revenue given for years.

But the greateſt Debate in this Seſſion, was concerning an Abjuration of King *James*; ſome of the Tories were at firſt for it, as were all the Whigs: The Clergy were excepted out of it, to ſoften the oppoſition that might be made; But ſtill the main body of the Tories declared, they would never take any ſuch Oath

Debates for and againſt an Abjuration of King *James*.

1690 Oath; So they oppoſed every ſtep that was made in it, with a great copiouſneſs of long and vehement arguing: They inſiſted much on this; that when the Government was ſettled, Oaths were made to be the Ties of the Subject to it, and that all new Impoſitions were a Breach made on That, which might be called the Original-Contract of the preſent Settlement: Things of that kind ought to be fixed and certain, and not mutable and endleſs; By the ſame reaſon, that the Abjuration was now propoſed, another Oath might be prepared every year; and every Party, that prevailed in Parliament, would bring in ſome diſcriminating Oath or Teſt, ſuch as could only be taken by thoſe of their own ſide; And thus the largeneſs and equality of Government would be loſt, and contracted into a Faction. On the other ſide it was ſaid, that this was only intended to be a ſecurity to the Government, during the War; For, in ſuch a time it ſeemed neceſſary, that all who were employed by the Government, ſhould give it all poſſible ſecurity: It was apparent, that the comprehenſive Words in the Oaths of Allegiance had given occaſion to much equivocation; Many who had taken them having declared, which ſome had done in print, that they conſidered themſelves as bound by the Oaths, only while the King continued in peaceable Poſſeſſion; but not to aſſiſt or ſupport his Title, if it was attacked or ſhaken; It was therefore neceſſary, that men in publick Truſts ſhould be brought under ſtricter Ties. The Abjuration was debated in both Houſes, at the ſame time; I concurred with thoſe that were for it. The Whigs preſſed the King to ſet it forward; They ſaid, every one who took it, would look on himſelf as impardonable, and ſo would ſerve him with the more Zeal and Fidelity; whereas thoſe, that thought the Right to the Crown was ſtill in King *James*, might perhaps ſerve faithfully as long as the Government ſtood firm; but, as they kept ſtill meaſures with the other ſide, to whom they knew they would be always welcome, ſo they would never act with that life and zeal, which the preſent ſtate of affairs required. At the ſame time, the Tories were as earneſt in preſſing the King to ſtop the further progreſs of thoſe Debates: Much time was already loſt in them; And it was evident, that much more muſt be loſt, if it was intended to carry it on, ſince ſo many branches of this Bill, and incidents that aroſe upon the ſubject of it, would give occaſion to much heat and wrangling: And it was a doubt, whether it would be carried, after all the time that muſt be beſtowed on it, or not: Thoſe who oppoſed it would grow ſullen, and oppoſe every thing elſe that was moved for the King's ſervice: And, if it ſhould be carried, it would put the King again into the hands of the Whigs, who would immediately return to their old practices, againſt the Prerogative: And it would drive many into King *James*'s Party, who might otherwiſe ſtick firm to the King, or at leaſt be Neutrals: Theſe reaſons prevailed with the King, to order an Intimation to be given in the Houſe of Commons, that he deſired they would let that Debate fall, and go to other matters, that were more preſſing.

This gave a new diſguſt to the Whigs, but was very acceptable to the Tories; And it quickned the advances of Money upon the Funds that were given: It had indeed a very ill effect abroad; For both friends and enemies looked on it, as a ſign of a great decline in the King's Intereſt with his people: And the King's interpoſing, to ſtop further Debates in the matter, was repreſented, as an artifice only to ſave the affront of its being rejected. The Earl of *Shrewſbury* was at the head of thoſe who preſſed the Abjuration moſt; So, upon this change of Counſels, he thought, he could not ſerve the King longer with reputation or ſucceſs: He ſaw the Whigs, by uſing the King ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought, theſe would ſerve the King with more zeal, if he left his Poſt. The credit, that the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* had gained, was not eaſy to him: So he reſolved to deliver up the Seals. I was the firſt Perſon, to whom he diſcovered this; And he had them in his hands, when he told me of it; Yet I prevailed with him not to go that night; He was in ſome heat. I had no mind, that the King ſhould be ſurpriſed, by a thing of that kind; and I was afraid, that the Earl of *Shrewsbury* might have ſaid ſuch things to Him, as ſhould have provoked him too much; So I ſent the King word of it. It troubled him more than, I thought, a thing of that ſort could have

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*. left the Court.

have done; He loved the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; And apprehended, that his leaving his ſervice at this time, might alienate the Whigs more entirely from him; For now they, who thought him before of too cold a Temper, when they ſaw how firm he was, came to conſider and truſt him more than ever. The King ſent *Tillotſon*, and all thoſe, who had moſt credit with the Earl, to divert him from his Reſolution: But all was to no purpoſe. The agitation of mind, that this gave him, threw him into a Fever, which almoſt coſt him his life. The King preſſed him to keep the Seals, till his return from *Ireland*, tho' he ſhould not act as Secretary; But he could not be prevailed on. The Debate, for the Abjuration, laſted longer in the Houſe of Lords; it had ſome Variation, from that which was propoſed in the Houſe of Commons: and was properly an Oath of a ſpecial Fidelity to the King, in oppoſition to King *James*: The Tories offered, in Bar to this, a Negative Engagement, againſt aſſiſting King *James*, or any of his Inſtruments, knowing them to be ſuch, with ſevere Penalties on ſuch as ſhould refuſe it. In oppoſition to this, it was ſaid, this was only an Expedient to ſecure all King *James*'s Party, whatever ſhould happen; ſince it left them the entire merit of being ſtill in his Intereſts, and only reſtrained them from putting any thing to hazard for him. The Houſe was ſo near an equality, in every Diviſion, that what was gained in one Day, was loſt in the next; And by the heat and length of thoſe Debates, the Seſſion continued till *June*. A Bill, projected by the Tories, paſſed, relating to the City of *London*, which was intended, to change the hands that then governed it; But thro' the haſte or weakneſs of thoſe who drew it, the Court of Aldermen was not comprehended in it; So, by this Act, the Government of the City was fixed in their hands: And they were generally Whigs. Many diſcoveries were made of the practices from St. *Germains* and *Ireland*; But few were taken up upon them: And thoſe were too inconſiderable, to know more than, that many were provided with Arms and Ammunition, and that a method was projected, for bringing men together upon a call. And indeed things ſeemed to be in a very ill diſpoſition, towards a fatal Turn. 1689

The King's ſenſe of Affairs.

The King was making all poſſible haſte to open the Campaign, as ſoon as things could be ready for it, in *Ireland*: The day before he ſet out, he called me into his Cloſet; He ſeemed to have a great weight upon his ſpirits, from the ſtate of his affairs, which was then very cloudy: He ſaid, for his own part, he truſted in God, and would either go thro' with his buſineſs, or periſh in it: He only pitied the poor Queen, repeating that twice with great tenderneſs, and wiſhed, that thoſe who loved him, would wait much on her, and aſſiſt her: He lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the Biſhops and Clergy, inſtead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them: But he was pleaſed to make an exception of my ſelf: He ſaid, the going to a Campaign was naturally no unpleaſant thing to him: He was ſure, he underſtood that better, than how to govern *England*: He added, that tho' he had no doubt nor miſtruſt of the cauſe he went on, yet the going againſt King *James*, in perſon, was hard upon him, ſince it would be a vaſt trouble both to himſelf and to the Queen, if he ſhould be either killed or taken Priſoner: He deſired my Prayers, and diſmiſſed me, very deeply affected with all he had ſaid.

The King's Tenderneſs for King *James*'s Perſon.

I had a particular occaſion to know, how tender he was of King *James*'s perſon, having learnt an inſtance of it from the firſt hand: A propoſition was made to the King, that a third Rate Ship, well mann'd by a faithful Crew, and commanded by one, who had been well with King *James*, but was ſuch a one as the King might truſt, ſhould ſail to *Dublin*, and declare for King *James*. The perſon, who told me this, offered to be the man, that ſhould carry the meſſage to King *James*, (for he was well known to him) to invite him to come on Board, which he ſeemed to be ſure he would accept of; and when he was aboard, they ſhould ſail away with him, and land him either in *Spain* or *Italy*, as the King ſhould deſire; and ſhould have twenty thouſand Pounds to give him, when he ſhould be ſet aſhore: The King thought it was a well formed deſign, and likely enough to ſucceed; But would not hearken to it: He ſaid he would have no hand in Treachery: And King *James* would certainly carry ſome of his Guards, and of his Court aboard with him: And probably they would make ſome oppo-

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ſition; and in the ſtruggle, ſome accident might happen to King *James*'s Perſon; In which he would have no hand. I acquainted the Queen with this; And I ſaw in her a great tenderneſs for her Father's Perſon; and ſhe much was touched with the anſwer the King had made.

The King ſailed to *Ireland*.

He had a quick paſſage to *Ireland*, where matters had been kept, in the ſtate they were in, all this Winter; *Charlemont* was reduced, which was the only place in *Ulſter*, that was then left in King *James*'s hands. The King had a great Army; There were about 36,000 men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal; He loſt no time, but advanced in ſix days from *Belfaſt*, where he landed, to the River of *Boyne*, near *Drogheda*. King *James* had abandoned the Paſſes, between *Newry* and *Dundalk*, which are ſo ſtrait for ſome miles, that it had been eaſy to have diſputed every inch of ground; King *James* and his Court were ſo much liſted up, with the news of the Debates in Parliament, and of the diſtractions of the City of *London*, that they flattered themſelves with falſe hopes, that the King durſt not leave *England*, nor venture over to *Ireland:* He had been ſix days come, before King *James* knew any thing of it. Upon that, he immediatly paſſed the *Boyne*, and lay on the South ſide of it. His Army conſiſted of 26,000 men; His Horſe were good; And he had 5000 *French* Foot, for whom he had ſent over, in exchange, 5000 *Iriſh* Foot. He held ſome Councils of War, to conſider what was fit to be done; whether he ſhould make a ſtand there, and put all to the deciſion of a Battle, or if he ſhould march off, and abandon that River, and by conſequence all the Country on to *Dublin*.

Advices given to King *James*.

All his Officers, both *French* and *Iriſh*, who diſagreed almoſt in all their advices, yet agreed in this, that, tho' they had there a very advantageous Poſt to maintain, yet their Army being ſo much inferior, both in number, and in every thing elſe, they would put too much to hazard, if they ſhould venture on a Battle. They therefore propoſed the ſtrengthening their Garriſons, and marching off to the *Shannon* with the Horſe, and a ſmall body of Foot, till they ſhould ſee how matters went at Sea: For the *French* King had ſent them aſſurances, that he would, not only ſet out a great Fleet, but that, as ſoon as the Squadron that lay in the *Iriſh* Seas, to guard the Tranſport Fleet, and to ſecure the King's paſſage over, ſhould ſail into the Channel, to join our grand Fleet, he would then ſend into the *Iriſh* Seas a Fleet of ſmall Frigates and Privateers, to deſtroy the King's Tranſports. This would have been fatal, if it had taken effect; and the executing of it ſeemed eaſy and certain. It would have ſhut up the King within *Ireland*, till a new Tranſport Fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of ſome months: So that *England* might have been loſt, before he could have paſſed the Seas with his Army. And the deſtruction of his Tranſports muſt have ruined his Army: For his Stores, both of Bread and Ammunition, were ſtill on Board; and they ſailed along the Coaſt, as he advanced on his march: Nor was there, in all that Coaſt, a ſafe Port to cover and ſecure them. The King indeed reckoned, that by the time the Squadron, which lay in the *Iriſh* Seas, ſhould be able to join the reſt of the Fleet, they would have advanced, as far as the Chops of the Channel, where they would guard both *England* and *Ireland:* But things went far otherwiſe.

The Queen in the Adminiſtration.

The Queen was now in the Adminiſtration. It was a new ſcene to her; She had, for above ſixteen months, made ſo little figure in buſineſs, that thoſe, who imagined, that every woman of ſenſe loved to be meddling, concluded that ſhe had a ſmall proportion of it, becauſe ſhe lived ſo abſtracted from all affairs. Her behaviour indeed was very exemplary; She was exactly regular, both in her private and publick devotions: She was much in her Cloſet, and read a great deal; She was often buſy at work, and ſeemed to employ her time and thoughts, in any thing, rather than matters of State; Her converſation was lively and obliging; Every thing in her was eaſy and natural; She was ſingular in great Charities to the Poor of whom, as there are always great numbers about Courts, ſo the crouds of Perſons of Quality, that had fled over from *Ireland*, drew from her liberal Supplies: All this was nothing to the Publick. If the King talked with her of Affairs, it was in ſo private a way, that few ſeemed to believe it; The Earl of *Shrewsbury* told me, that the King had, upon many occaſions, ſaid to him, that tho' he could not hit on the right way of pleaſing *England*, he was confident ſhe would;

would; and that we ſhould all be very happy under her. The King named a Cabinet Council of eight Perſons, on whoſe Advice ſhe was chiefly to rely; four of them were Tories, and four were Whigs: Yet the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* and the Earl of *Nottingham*, being of the firſt ſort, who took moſt upon them, and ſeemed to have the greateſt credit, the Whigs were not ſatisfied with the nomination. The Queen balanced all things, with an extraordinary Temper; and became univerſally beloved and admired by all about her. 1690

Affairs at Sea.

Our concerns at Sea were then the chief thing to be looked to: An unhappy Complement, of ſending a Fleet to convoy a Queen to *Spain*, proved almoſt fatal to us. They were ſo long delay'd by contrary winds, that a deſign of blocking up *Toulon*, was loſt by it. The great Ships, that lay there, had got out before our Fleet could reach the Place. Our Squadron returned back, and went into *Plymouth* to refit there; and it was joined by that which came from the *Iriſh* Seas. Theſe two Squadrons conſiſted of above thirty Ships of the line: The Earl of *Torrington*, that had the chief command, was a man of pleaſure, and did not make the haſte that was neceſſary, to go about and join them: Nor did the *Dutch* Fleet come over ſo ſoon as was promiſed: So that our main Fleet lay long at *Spithead*. The *French* underſtood, that our Fleets lay thus divided, and ſaw the advantage of getting between them: So they came into the Channel, with ſo fair a Wind, that they were near the Iſle of *Wight*, before our Fleet had any advice, of their being within the Channel. The Earl of *Torrington* had no advice Boats out to bring him News; And tho' notice thereof was ſent poſt over Land, as ſoon as the *French* came within the Channel, yet their Fleet ſailed as faſt, as the Poſt could ride: But then the Wind turned upon them; otherwiſe they would, in all probability, have ſurprized us. But after this firſt advantage, the Winds were always contrary to them, and favourable to us. So that the *French* Officers in *Ireland*, had reaſon to look for that Fleet of ſmaller Veſſels, which was promiſed to be ſent, to deſtroy the King's Tranſport Ships. And for theſe reaſons, all King *James*'s Officers were againſt bringing the War, to ſo ſpeedy a deciſion.

In oppoſition to all their Opinions, King *James* himſelf was poſitive, that they muſt ſtay and defend the *Boyne*: If they marched off and abandoned *Dublin*, they would ſo loſe their reputation, that the People would leave them, and capitulate; It would alſo diſpirit all their Friends in *England*: Therefore he reſolved to maintain the Poſt he was in, and ſeemed not a little pleaſed to think, that he ſhould have one fair Battle for his Crown. He ſpoke of this with ſo much ſeeming pleaſure, that many about him apprehended, that he was weary of the ſtruggle, and even of Life, and longed to ſee an end of it at any rate: and they were afraid that he would play the Heroe a little too much. He had all the advantages he could deſire: The River was deep, and roſe very high with the Tide: There was a Moraſs to be paſs'd, after the paſſing the River, and then a riſing ground.

A Cannon Ball wounded the King.

On the laſt of *June*, the King came to the Banks of the River: And as he was riding along, and making a long ſtop in one place, to obſerve the Grounds, the Enemy did not loſe their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of Cannon: And, with the firſt firing, a Ball paſſed along the King's Shoulder, tore off ſome of his Cloaths, and about a hand-breadth of the Skin, out of which about a ſpoon-full of Blood came. And that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined, how much terror this ſtruck into all, that were about him: He himſelf ſaid, it was nothing: Yet he was prevailed on to alight, till it was waſhed, and a plaiſter put upon it, and immediately he mounted his Horſe again, and rode about all the Poſts of his Army: It was indeed neceſſary to ſhew himſelf every where, to take off the apprehenſions, with which ſuch an unuſual accident filled his Soldiers. He continued that day, nineteen hours on horſeback: But upon his firſt alighting from his horſe, a Deſerter had gone over to the Enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into *France*, where it was taken for granted, that he could not out-live ſuch a Wound: So it ran over that Kingdom, that he was dead. And upon it, there were more publick rejoicings, than had been uſual upon their greateſt Victories: Which gave that Court afterwards a vaſt Confuſion, when they knew that he was ſtill alive; and ſaw, that they had

1690 raiſed, in their own people, a high opinion of him, by this inhuman joy, when they believed him dead.

But, to return to the Action of the *Boyne:* The King ſent a great body of Cavalry, to paſs the River higher, while he reſolved to paſs it in the face of the Enemy: And the Duke of *Schomberg* was to paſs it in a third place, a little below him. I will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave that to Military men.

The Battle of the *Boyne.*

It was a compleat victory: And thoſe, who were the leaſt diſpoſed to Flattery, ſaid, it was almoſt wholly due to the King's Courage and Conduct. And, tho' he was a little ſtiff by reaſon of his Wound, yet he was forced to quit his Horſe in the Moraſs, and to go through it on foot: But he came up in time, to ride almoſt into every body of his Army: He charged in many different places; and nothing ſtood before him. The *Iriſh* Horſe made ſome reſiſtance, but the Foot threw down their Arms, and ran away. The moſt amazing Circumſtance was, that King *James* ſtaid all the while with his Guards, at a ſafe diſtance, and never came into the places of Danger or of Action. But, when he ſaw his Army was every where giving ground, was the firſt that ran for it, and reached *Dublin*, before the Action was quite over; for it was dark before the King forſook the purſuit of the *Iriſh*. His Horſe and Dragoons were ſo weary, with the fatigue of a long action, in a hot day, that they could not purſue far: nor was their Camp furniſhed with neceſſary refreſhments, till next morning; for the King had marched faſter, than the waggons could poſſibly follow. The Army of the *Iriſh* was ſo entirely forſaken by their Officers, that the King thought they would have diſperſed themſelves, and ſubmitted; and that the following them would have been a mere butchery, which was a thing he had always abhorred. The only allay to this Victory was the loſs of the Duke of *Schomberg:* He paſſed the River in his Station, and was driving the *Iriſh* before him, when a party of deſperate men ſet upon him, as he was riding very careleſly, with a ſmall number about him. They charged, and in the diſorder of that Action he was ſhot: But it could not be known by whom; for moſt of all the Party was cut off. Thus that great man, like another *Epaminondas*, fell on the day, on which his ſide triumphed.

King *James* came to *Dublin*, under a very indecent Conſternation; He ſaid, all was loſt; He had an Army in *England*, that could have fought, but would not: and now he had an Army, that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gratefully, nor decently ſpoken by him, who was among the firſt that fled. Next morning he left *Dublin*; He ſaid, too much Blood had been already ſhed; It ſeemed, God was with their Enemies; The Prince of *Orange* was a merciful Man; So he ordered thoſe, he left behind him, to ſet the Priſoners at liberty, and to ſubmit to the Prince: He rode that day from *Dublin* to *Duncannon* Fort: But, tho' the place was conſiderably ſtrong, he would not truſt to that, but lay aboard a *French* Ship, that anchored there, and had been provided, by his own ſpecial directions to Sir *Patrick Trant*. His Courage ſunk with his Affairs, to a degree, that amazed thoſe, who had known the former Parts of his Life. The *Iriſh* Army was forſaken by their Officers for two days: If there had been a hot purſuit, it would have put an end to the War of *Ireland:* But the King thought his firſt care ought to be to ſecure *Dublin:* And King *James's* Officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the Army, only in hopes of a good Capitulation. *Dublin* was thus forſaken; and no harm done, which was much apprehended: But the fear the *Iriſh* were in was ſuch, that they durſt not venture on any thing, which muſt have drawn ſevere revenges after it. So the Proteſtants there, being now the Maſters, they declared for the King. *Drogheda* did alſo Capitulate.

The Battle of *Fleurus.*

But, to balance this great ſucceſs, the King had, the very day after the Battle at the *Boyne*, the news of a Battle fought in *Flanders*, between Prince *Waldeck* and the Marſhal *Luxembourg*, in which the former was defeated. The Cavalry did at the firſt charge run, but the Foot made an amazing ſtand. The *French* had the honour of a Victory, and took many Priſoners, with the Artillery: Yet the ſtand the Infantry made was ſuch, that they loſt more than they got by

by the day: Nor were they able to draw any advantage from it. This was the Battle of *Flerus*, that, in the Conſequence of it, proved the means of preſerving *England*. 1690

On the day before the Battle of the *Boyne*, the two Fleets came to a great Engagement at Sea. The Squadron, that lay at *Plymouth*, could not come up to join the great Fleet, the Wind being contrary; So it was under debate, what was fitteſt to be done: The Earl of *Torrington* thought he was not ſtrong enough, and adviſed his coming in, till ſome more Ships, that were fitting out, ſhould be ready: Some began to call his courage in queſtion, and imputed this to fear; They thought, this would too much exalt our Enemies, and diſcourage our Allies, if we left the *French* to triumph at Sea, and to be the maſters of our Coaſt and Trade; For our Merchants richeſt Ships were coming home; So that the leaving them, in ſuch a ſuperiority, would be both very unbecoming, and very miſchievous to us. The Queen ordered *Ruſſel* to adviſe, both with the Navy Board, and with all that underſtood Sea affairs; And, upon a view of the ſtrength of both Fleets, they were of opinion, that tho' the *French* were ſuperior in Number, yet our Fleet was ſo equal in ſtrength to them, that it was reaſonable to ſend orders to our Admiral, to venture on an Engagement: Yet the Orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a Council of War. The two Fleets engaged near *Beachy* in *Suſſex*; The *Dutch* led the Van; and, to ſhew their courage, they advanced too far out of the Line, and fought, in the beginning, with ſome advantage, the *French* plying before them; And our Blue Squadron engaged bravely: But the Earl of *Torrington* kept in his Line, and continued to fight at a diſtance: The *French*, ſeeing the *Dutch* came out ſo far before the Line, fell on them furiouſly, both in front and flank, which the Earl of *Torrington* neglected for ſome time; And, when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was ſuch, that he could not come up. The *Dutch* ſuffered much; and their whole Fleet had periſhed, if their Admiral, *Calembourg*, had not ordered them to drop their Anchors, while their Sails were all up; This was not obſerved by the *French:* So they were carried by the Tide, while the others lay ſtill; And thus in a few minutes the *Dutch* were out of danger. They loſt many men, and ſunk ſome of their Ships, which had ſuffered the moſt, that they might not fall into the Enemies hands. It was now neceſſary to order the Fleet to come in, with all poſſible haſte; Both the *Dutch* and the Blue Squadron complained much of the Earl of *Torrington*; And it was a general opinion, that if the whole Fleet had come up to a cloſe Fight, we muſt have beat the *French:* And, conſidering how far they were from *Breſt*, and that our Squadron at *Plymouth* lay between them and home, a Victory might have had great conſequences. Our Fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; And if the *French* had not loſt the night's Tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have deſtroyed many of our Ships: Both the Admirals were almoſt equally blamed; Ours for not fighting, and the *French* for not purſuing his Victory.

An Engagement at Sea.

Our Fleet came in ſafe; And all poſſible diligence was uſed in refitting it: The Earl of *Torrington* was ſent to the Tower, and three of our beſt Sea-Officers had the joint command of the Fleet; But it was a Month before they could ſet out; And, in all that time, the *French* were maſters of the Sea, and our Coaſts were open to them. If they had followed the firſt conſternation, and had fallen to the burning our Sea Towns, they might have done us much miſchief, and put our affairs in great diſorder; for we had not above ſeven thouſand men then in *England*. The Militia was raiſed, and ſuſpected perſons were put in priſon: In this melancholy conjuncture, tho' the Harveſt drew on, ſo that it was not convenient for people, to be long abſent from their labour, yet the Nation expreſſed more zeal and affection to the Government, than was expected; and the Jacobites, all *England* over, kept out of the way, and were afraid of being fallen upon by the Rabble. We had no great loſſes at Sea: for moſt of our Merchantmen came ſafe into *Plymouth:* The *French* ſtood over, for ſome time, to their own Coaſt; And we had many falſe alarms of their ſhipping Troops, in order to a Deſcent. But they had ſuffered ſo much in the Battle at *Flerus*, and the *Dutch* uſed ſuch diligence, in putting their Army in a condition to take the Field again, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, bringing his Troops to act in conjunc-

The *French* maſters of the Sea.

1690 tion with theirs, gave the *French* ſo much work, that they were forced, for all their Victory, to lie upon the defenſive, and were not able to ſpare ſo many men, as were neceſſary for an Invaſion. The *Dutch* did indeed ſend poſitive Orders to Prince *Waldeck*, not to hazard another Engagement, till the Fleet ſhould be again at Sea: This reſtrained the Elector, who, in conjuction with the *Dutch*, was much ſuperior to *Luxembourg*: And afterwards, when the *Dutch* ſuperſeded thoſe Orders, the Elector did not think fit to hazard his Army. Such is the fate of Confederate Armies, when they are under a different direction; that when the one is willing, or at leaſt ſeems to be ſo, the other ſtands off. The *French* riding ſo long, ſo quietly in our Seas, was far from what might have been expected, after ſuch an advantage: We underſtood afterwards, that they were ſtill waiting, when the Jacobites ſhould, according to their promiſes, have begun a Riſing in *England*; but they excuſed their failing in that, becauſe their Leaders were generally clapp'd up.

That Party began to boaſt, all *England* over, that it was viſible the *French* meant no harm to the Nation; but only to bring back King *James*; ſince now, tho' our Coaſts lay open to them, they did us no harm. And this might have made ſome impreſſion, if the *French* had not effectually refuted it. Their Fleet lay for ſome days in *Torbay*; Their Equipages were weakned; And by a veſſel, that carried a Pacquet from *Tourville*, to the Court of *France*, which was taken, it appeared, that they were then in ſo bad a condition, that if our Fleet (which upon this was haſtened out all that was poſſible) could have overtaken them, we ſhould have got a great Victory very cheap. But before they ſailed, they made a Deſcent on a miſerable Village, called *Tinmouth*, that happened to belong to a Papiſt; They burnt it, and a few Fiſher-Boats that belonged to it; But the Inhabitants got away; and, as a Body of Militia was marching thither, the *French* made great haſte back to their Ships: The *French* publiſhed this in their Gazettes, with much pomp, as if it had been a great Trading Town, that had many Ships, with ſome Men of War in Port: This both render'd them ridiculous, and ſerved to raiſe the hatred of the Nation againſt them; for every Town, on the Coaſt, ſaw what they muſt expect, if the *French* ſhould prevail.

The Queen's behaviour upon this occaſion.

In all this time of fear and diſorder, the Queen ſhewed an extraordinary firmneſs; For tho' ſhe was full of diſmal thoughts, yet ſhe put on her ordinary chearfulneſs, when ſhe appeared in publick, and ſhewed no indecent concern: I ſaw her all that while once a week, For I ſtaid that Summer at *Windſor*; Her behaviour was, in all reſpects, heroical: She apprehended the greatneſs of our danger; But ſhe committed herſelf to God; And was reſolved to expoſe herſelf, if occaſion ſhould require it; For ſhe told me, ſhe would give me leave to wait on her, if ſhe was forced to make a Campaign in *England*, while the King was in *Ireland*.

The King came to *Dublin*.

Whilſt the misfortunes in *Flanders*, and at Sea, were putting us in no ſmall agitation, the news firſt of the King's preſervation from the Cannon ball, and then of the Victory, gained the day after, put another face on our affairs: The Earl of *Nottingham* told me, that when he carried the news to the Queen, and acquainted her in a few words, that the King was well; that he had gained an entire Victory; and that the late King had eſcaped; he obſerved her Looks, and found that the laſt Article made her joy compleat, which ſeemed in ſome ſuſpence, till ſhe underſtood that. The Queen and Council, upon this, ſent to the King, preſſing him to come over with all poſſible haſte; ſince, as *England* was of more importance, ſo the ſtate of Affairs required his Preſence here: For it was hoped, the Reduction of *Ireland* would be now eaſily brought about. The King, as he received the news of the Battle of *Flerus*, the day after the Victory at the *Boyne*, ſo on the day, in which he entred *Dublin*, he had the news of the misfortune at Sea, to temper the joy, that his own Succeſſes might give him; He had taken all the Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s papers in the Camp; And he found all King *James*'s papers, left behind him in *Dublin*: By theſe he underſtood the deſign, the *French* had of burning his Tranſport Fleet, which was therefore firſt to be taken care of; and ſince the *French* were now Maſters at Sea, he ſaw nothing that could hinder the execution of that Deſign.

1690

A Deſign to aſſaſſinate the King.

Among the Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s papers, there was one Letter writ to Queen *Mary* at *St. Germains*, the night before the Battle; But it was not ſent. In it, he ſaid, he looked on all as loſt; And ended it thus; *I have now no hope in any thing but in* Jones's *buſineſs*. The Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* told me, that ſome weeks before the King went to *Ireland*, he had received an advertiſement, that one named *Jones*, an *Iriſh* man, who had ſerved ſo long in *France* and *Holland*, that he ſpoke both Languages well, was to be ſent over to murder the King. And Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, that he, as Secretary of State for *Ireland*, had looked into all *Tyrconnel*'s papers, and the copies of the Letters he wrote to Queen *Mary*, which he had ſtill in his poſſeſſion: And he gave me the Copies of two of them. In one of theſe he writes, that *Jones* was come; that his propoſition was more probable, and liker to ſucceed, than any yet made; His demands were high; but he added, *if any thing can be high for ſuch a ſervice*. In another, he writes, that *Jones* had been with the King, who did not like the thing at firſt; But he added, we have now ſo ſatisfied him both in Conſcience and Honour, that every thing is done that *Jones* deſires. *Southwell* further told me, that *Neagle*, the Attorney-General, had furniſhed him with money, and a Poignard of a particular compoſition; and that they ſought long for a Bible, Bound without a Common Prayer-Book, which he was to carry in his pocket, that ſo he might paſs, if ſeized on, for a Diſſenter. Some perſons of great quality waited on him to the Boat, that was to carry him over: He was for ſome time delayed in *Dublin*; and the King had paſſed over to *Ireland*, before he could reach him; We could never hear of him more; So it is likely he went away with his money. A paper was drawn of all this matter, and deſigned to be publiſhed; But, upon ſecond thoughts, the King and Queen had that tenderneſs for King *James*, that they ſtopp'd the publiſhing to the world ſo ſhameful a practice. The King ſaid, upon this, to my ſelf, that God had preſerved him out of many dangers, and he truſted he would ſtill preſerve him; He was ſure he was not capable of retaliating in that way. The eſcape of a Cannon Ball, that touched him, was ſo ſignal, that it ſwallowed up leſſer ones: Yet, in the Battle at the *Boyne*, a Musket Ball ſtruck the Heel of his Boot, and recoiling, killed a Horſe near him; And one of his own men, miſtaking him for an Enemy, came up to ſhoot him: but he gently put by his piſtol, and only ſaid, *Do not you know your friends?*

At *Dublin* he publiſhed a Proclamation of Grace, offering, to all the inferior ſort of the *Iriſh*, their Lives and perſonal Eſtates, reſerving the conſideration of the real Eſtates of the better ſort to a Parliament, and indemnifying them only for their Lives: It was hoped, that the fulneſs of the pardon of the Commons might have ſeparated them from the Gentry; and that, by this means, they would be ſo forſaken, that they would accept of ſuch terms, as ſhould be offered them. The King had intended to have made the Pardon more comprehenſive; hoping by that, to bring the War ſoon to an end: But the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* oppoſed this. They thought the preſent Opportunity was not to be let go, of breaking the great *Iriſh* Families, upon whom the inferior ſort would always depend. And, in compliance with them, the Indemnity, now offered, was ſo limited, that it had no effect: For the Prieſts, who governed the *Iriſh* with a very blind and abſolute authority, prevailed with them to try their fortunes ſtill. The news of the Victory, the *French* had at Sea, was ſo magnified among them, that they made the people believe, that they would make ſuch a Deſcent upon *England*, as muſt oblige the King to abandon *Ireland*. The King was preſſed to purſue the *Iriſh*, who had retired to *Athlone* and *Limerick*, and were now joined by their Officers, and ſo brought again into ſome Order: But the main concern was, to put the Tranſport Fleet in a ſafe ſtation. And that could not be had, till the King was maſter of *Waterford* and *Duncunnon* Fort, which commanded the entrance into the River: Both theſe places capitulated; and the Tranſports were brought thither. But they were not now ſo much in danger, as the King had reaſon to apprehend; for King *James*, when he ſailed away from *Duncannon*, was forced by contrary winds, to go into the Road of *Kinſale*, where he found ſome *French* Frigates, that were already come to burn our Fleet: He told them, it was now too late, all was loſt in *Ireland*. So he carried them back, to convoy him over to *France*; where he had but a cold reception: For the miſcarriage of affairs in *Ire-*

1690 *land*, was imputed both to his ill conduct, and his want of courage. He fell under much contempt of the people of *France*; Only that King continued ſtill to behave himſelf decently towards him.

The King ſent his Army towards the *Shannon*; and he himſelf came to *Dublin*, intending, as he was adviſed, to go over to *England*, But he found there Letters of another ſtrain; Things were in ſo good a Poſture, and ſo quiet in *England*, that they were no more in any apprehenſion of a Deſcent: So the King went back to his Army, and marched towards *Limerick*. Upon this *Lauſun*, who commanded the *French*, left the Town; and ſent his Equipage to *France*, which periſhed in the *Shannon*. It was hoped, that *Limerick*, ſeeing it ſelf thus abandoned, would have followed the example of other Towns, and have capitulated. Upon that confidence, the King marched towards it, tho' his Army was now much diminiſhed: He had left many Garriſons in ſeveral places, and had ſent ſome of his beſt Bodies over to *England*; So that he had not now above 20,000 men together. *Limerick* lies on both Sides of the *Shannon*, and on an Iſland, that the River makes there: The *Iriſh* were yet in great numbers in *Connaught*; ſo that, unleſs they had been ſhut up on that ſide, it was eaſie to ſend in a conſtant ſupply both of men and proviſions: Nor did it ſeem adviſeable to undertake the Siege of a place ſo ſituated, with ſo ſmall an Army, eſpecially in that Seaſon, in which it uſed to rain long; and by that means, both the *Shannon* would ſwell, and the ground, which was the beſt ſoil of *Ireland*, would be apt to become deep, and ſcarce practicable for carriages. Yet the cowardice of the *Iriſh*, the conſternation they were in, and their being abandoned by the *French*, made the King reſolve to ſit down before it. Their outworks might have been defended for ſome time; But they abandoned theſe in ſo much diſorder, that it was from hence believed, they would not hold out long. They alſo abandoned the Poſts, which they had on the other ſide of the *Shannon*: Upon which the King paſt the River, which was then very low, and viewed thoſe Poſts; but he had not men to maintain them: So he continued to preſs the Town on the *Munſter* ſide.

The Siege of *Limerick.*

He ſent for ſome more Ammunition, and ſome great Guns; They had only a guard of two Troops of Horſe, to convoy them, who deſpiſed the *Iriſh* ſo much, and thought they were at ſuch diſtance, that they ſet their Horſes to graſs, and went to bed. *Sarsfield* one of the beſt Officers of the *Iriſh*, heard that the King rode about very careleſly, and upon that, had got a ſmall Body of reſolute men together, on deſign to ſeize his Perſon; But now, hearing of this Convoy, he reſolved to cut it off: The King had advertiſement of this brought him in time, and ordered ſome more troops to be ſent, to ſecure the convoy; They, either through Treachery or Careleſneſs, did not march till it was night, tho' their orders were for the morning; But they came a few hours too late. *Sarsfield* ſurpriſed the Party, deſtroyed the Ammunition, broke the Carriages, and burſt one of the Guns, and ſo marched off: *Lanier*, whom the King had ſent with the Party, might have overtaken him; but the general obſervation made of him (and of moſt of thoſe Officers, who had ſerved King *James*, and were now on the King's ſide) was, that they had a greater mind to make themſelves rich, by the continuance of the War of *Ireland*, than their Maſter great and ſafe by the ſpeedy concluſion of it.

By this, the King loſt a Week, and his Ammunition was low; for a great ſupply, that was put on Ship-board in the River of *Thames*, before the King left *London*, ſtill remained there, the *French* being Maſters of the Channel. Yet the King preſſed the Town ſo hard, that the Trenches were run up to the Counterſcarp; And when they came to lodge there, the *Iriſh* ran back ſo faſt, at a Breach that the Cannon had made, that a body of the King's men run in after them; And if they had been ſeconded, the Town had been immediately taken; But none came in time, ſo they retired: And tho' the King ſent another Body, yet they were beaten back with loſs. As it now began to rain, the King ſaw that, if he ſtaid longer there, he muſt leave his great Artillery behind him: He went into the Trenches every day; And it was thought he expoſed himſelf too much. His Tent was pitched within the reach of their Cannon; They ſhot often over it, and beat down a Tent very near it; So he was prevailed on, to let it be removed to a greater diſtance: Once, upon receiving a Packet from *England*, he ſat down in the

the open Field for ſome hours, reading his Letters, while the Cannon Balls were flying round about him. The *Iriſh* fired well; and ſhewed, they had ſome courage, when they were behind Walls, how little ſoever they had ſhewn in the Field. 1690

The King lay three Weeks before *Limerick*; But at laſt the rains forced him to raiſe the Siege: They within did not offer to ſally out, and diſorder the Retreat; this laſt Action proving unlucky, had much damped the joy, that was raiſed by the firſt Succeſs of this Campaign. The King expreſſed a great equality of temper, upon the various accidents that happened at this time. Dr. *Hutton*, his firſt Phyſician, who took care to be always near him, told me, He had obſerved his Behaviour very narrowly, upon two very different occaſions. The Siege raiſed.

The one was, after the return from the Victory at the *Boyne*; when it was almoſt midnight, after he had been ſeventeen hours in conſtant fatigue, with all the ſtiffneſs that his Wound gave him: He expreſſed neither joy, nor any ſort of Vanity; Only he looked chearful; and when thoſe about him made ſuch Complements, as will be always made to Princes, even tho' they do not deſerve them, he put all that by, with ſuch an unaffected neglect, that it appeared how much ſoever he might deſerve the acknowledgments, that were made him, yet he did not like them. And this was ſo viſible to all about him, that they ſoon ſaw, that the way to make their Court was, neither to talk of his Wound, nor of his behaviour on that day. As ſoon as he ſaw his Phyſician, he ordered him to ſee that care ſhould be taken of the wounded men, and he named the Priſoners as well as his own Soldiers. And tho' he had great reaſon to be offended with *Hamilton*, who had been employed to treat with the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and was taken priſoner in his ſight, and was preſerved by his Order: yet ſince he ſaw he was wounded, he gave particular directions to look after him. Upon the whole matter, the King was as grave and ſilent as he uſed to be; and the joy of a day, that had been both ſo happy and ſo glorious to him, did not ſeem to alter his temper or deportment in any way.

He told me, he was alſo near him, when it was reſolved to raiſe the Siege of *Limerick*; and ſaw the ſame calm, without the leaſt depreſſion, diſorder, or peeviſhneſs: From this he concluded, that either his mind was ſo happily balanced, that no accident could put it out of that ſituation; or that, if he had commotions within, he had a very extraordinary command over his temper, in reſtraining or concealing them. The equality of the King's temper.

While he lay before *Limerick*, he had news from *England*, that our Fleet was now out, and that the *French* were gone to *Breſt*: So, ſince we were Maſters of the Sea, the Earl of *Marlborough* propoſed, that five thouſand men, who had lain idle all this Summer in *England*, ſhould be ſent to *Ireland*; and with the aſſiſtance of ſuch men as the King ſhould order to join them, they ſhould try to take *Cork* and *Kinſale*. The King approved of this; and ordered the Earl to come over with them: And he left orders for about five thouſand more, who were to join him. And ſo he broke up this Campaign, and came over to *Briſtol*, and from thence to *London*. The contrary winds ſtopp'd the Earl of *Marlborough* ſo, that it was *October* before he got to *Ireland*. He ſoon took *Cork* by ſtorm: and four thouſand men, that lay there in Garriſon, were made Priſoners of War. In this action, the Duke of *Grafton* received a ſhot, of which he died in a few days: He was the more lamented, as being the perſon of all King *Charles*'s Children, of whom there was the greateſt hope: He was brave, and probably would have become a great man at Sea. From *Cork*, the Earl of *Marlborough* marched to *Kinſale*, where he found the two Forts, that commanded the Port, to be ſo much ſtronger, than the Plans had repreſented them to be, that he told me, if he had known their true ſtrength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a ſeaſon ſo far advanced; yet in a few days the place capitulated. The *Iriſh* drew their forces together, but durſt not venture on raiſing the Siege; But to divert it, they ſet the Country about, which was the beſt built of any in *Ireland*, all in a flame. The Earl of *Marlborough* propoſes the taking *Cork* and *Kinſale* in Winter, and effects it.

Thus, thoſe two important places were reduced in a very bad ſeaſon, and with very little loſs; which cut of the quick communication between *France* and *Ireland*. Count *Lauſun* with the *French* Troops, lay all this while about *Gallway*, The *French* left *Ireland*.

1690 without attempting any thing; He ſent over, to *France*, an account of the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, and deſired Ships might be ſent for the Tranſport of their Forces: That was done; yet the Ships came not till the Siege of *Limerick* was raiſed: Probably, if the Court of *France* had known, how much the ſtate of affairs was altered, they would have ſent contrary orders: But *Lauſun* was weary of the ſervice, and was glad to get out of it; So he ſailed away, without ſtaying for new orders; by which he loſt the little reputation, that he was beginning to recover at the Court of *France*. The Earl of *Tyrconnel* went over with him, and gave full aſſurances, that tho' the *Iriſh* were like to ſuffer great hardſhips next winter; yet they would ſtand it out, if they were ſtill ſupported from *France*. It had appeared, upon many occaſions, that the *French* and the *Iriſh* Soldiers did not agree well together: therefore he propoſed, that no more Soldiers, but only a number of good Officers, together with Arms, Ammunition, and Clothes, might be ſent over to them. In the mean while the *Iriſh* formed themſelves into many bodies, which by a new name, were called *Rapparees*: Theſe knowing all Ways, and the Boggs, and other Places of Retreat in *Ireland*, and being favoured by the *Iriſh*, that had ſubmitted to the King, robbed and burnt Houſes in many places of the Country; while the King's Army ſtudied their own eaſe in their quarters, more than the Protection of the Inhabitants: Many of them were ſuſpected of robbing in their turn, tho' the *Rapparees* carried the blame of all: Between them, the poor Inhabitants had a ſad time, and their ſtock of Cattle and Corn was almoſt quite deſtroyed in many places.

Affairs in *Scotland.*

From the Affairs of *Ireland*, I turn next to give an account of what paſſed in *Scotland*; Matters went very happily, as to the military part: When the Remnants of the Earl of *Dundee*'s Army (to whom many Officers, together with Ammunition and Money, had been ſent from *Ireland*) began to move towards the Low Country, to receive thoſe, who were reſolved to join with them, and were between two and three thouſand ſtrong, they were fallen upon, and intirely defeated by a *Dutch* Officer *Levingſton*, that commanded the Forces in *Scotland*: About an hundred Officers were taken Priſoners: This broke all the meaſures, that had been taken for King *James*'s Intereſts in *Scotland*. Upon this, thoſe who had engaged in *Montgomery*'s Plot, looked upon that Deſign as deſperate; yet they reſolved to try what ſtrength they could make in Parliament.

Lord *Melvill* carried down Powers, firſt to offer to Duke *Hamilton*, if he would join in common meaſures heartily with him, to be Commiſſioner in Parliament, or if he proved intractable, as indeed he did, to ſerve in that Poſt himſelf. He had full Inſtructions, for the Settlement of Presbytery; For he aſſured the King, that without that, it would be impoſſible to carry any thing; Only the King would not conſent to the taking away the Rights of Patronage, and the Supremacy of the Crown: Yet he found theſe ſo much inſiſted on, that he ſent one to the King to *Ireland*, for fuller inſtructions in thoſe Points; They were enlarged, but in ſuch general words, that the King did not underſtand, that his Inſtructions could warrant what Lord *Melvill* did; for he gave them both up, and the King was ſo offended with him for it, that he loſt all the credit he had with him; tho' the King did not think fit to diſown him, or to call him to an account, for going beyond his Inſtructions.

A Parliament there.

The Jacobites perſwaded all their Party to go to the Parliament, and to take the Oaths; for many of the Nobility ſtood off, and would not own the King, nor ſwear to him: Great Pains were taken by *Paterſon*, one of their Archbiſhops, to perſuade them to take the Oaths, but on deſign to break them; for he thought, by that means, they could have a majority in Parliament; tho' ſome of the Laity were too honeſt to agree to ſuch Advices; but with all theſe wicked arts, they were not able to carry a majority. So other things failing, they ſaw a neceſſity of deſiring a Force to be ſent over from *France*: This appeared ſo odious, and ſo deſtructive of their Country, that ſome of them refuſed to concur in it: Others were not pleaſed with the Anſwers King *James* had ſent to the Propoſitions, they had made him. He had indeed granted all that they had asked, upon their own particular Intereſts, and had promiſed to ſettle Presbytery; but he rejected all thoſe demands, that imported a diminution of his Prerogative, in as firm a manner, as if he had been already ſet on the Throne again:

They

They propoſed, finding his anſwer ſo little to their ſatisfaction, to ſend him a ſecond Meſſage. 1690

Upon this, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Annandale*, and *Braidalbin*, withdrew from them: *Annandale* came up to the *Bath*, pretending his ill health: Both Lord *Argyle* and *Braidalbin* went to *Cheſter*, pretending, as they ſaid afterwards, that they intended to diſcover the whole matter to the King; But he had paſſed over to *Ireland*, before they got to *Cheſter*. *Montgomery* upon this, looked on the deſign as broken; And ſo he went, and reconciled himſelf to *Melvill*, and diſcovered the whole Negotiation to him. Upon which, the Earl of *Melvill* preſſed the King to grant a general Indemnity, and gave *Montgomery* a Paſs to go to *London*; And he wrote to the Queen in his Favour. But the King was reſolved to know the bottom of the Plot, and particularly how far any of the *Engliſh* were engaged in it; So *Montgomery* abſconded for ſome time in *London*, ſince he ſaw no hopes of pardon, but upon a full diſcovery. A Warrant was ſent to the *Bath* for the Earl of *Annandale*, of which he had notice given him, and went up privately to *London*. *Montgomery* ſent *Ferguſon* to him, aſſuring him, that he had diſcovered nothing, and deſiring him to continue firm and ſecret; But when he had certain notice, that *Montgomery* had diſcovered all the Negotiation among the *Scotch*, he caſt himſelf on the Queen's mercy, asking no other conditions, but that he might not be made an evidence againſt others. He himſelf had not treated with any in *England*, ſo, as to them, he was only a ſecond-hand Witneſs; only he informed againſt *Nevil Payne*, who had been ſent down to *Scotland*, to manage matters among them: He was taken there, but would confeſs nothing; Upon the Earl of *Annandale*'s information, which he gave upon Oath, the Earl of *Nottingham* wrote to the Council of *Scotland*, that he had in his hands a Depoſition upon Oath, containing Matter of High-Treaſon againſt *Payne*; Upon which it was pretended, that, according to the Law of *Scotland*, he might be put to the torture; and that was executed with rigour: He reſiſted a double queſtion, yet was ſtill kept a priſoner; And this was much cried out on, as barbarous and illegal. *Montgomery* lay hid for ſome months at *London*; But when he ſaw he could not have his pardon, but by making a full diſcovery, he choſe rather to go beyond Sea: So fatally did Ambition and Diſcontent hurry a man to ruin, who ſeemed capable of greater things. His art in managing ſuch a deſign, and his firmneſs in not diſcovering his Accomplices, raiſed his character, as much as it ruined his fortune. He continued in perpetual Plots after this, to no purpoſe: He was once taken, but made his eſcape; And at laſt, ſpleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life.

A Plot diſcovered.

The Lord *Melvill* had now a clear majority in Parliament, by the diſcovery of the Plot; ſome abſented themſelves; and others, to redeem themſelves, were compliant in all things: The main point, by which *Melvill* deſigned to fix himſelf, and his party, was, the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and the ſetting up of Presbytery. The one was ſoon done, by repealing all the laws in favour of Epiſcopacy, and declaring it contrary to the genius and conſtitution of that Church and Nation; For the King would not conſent to a plain and ſimple condemnation of it. But it was not ſo eaſy to ſettle Presbytery: If they had followed the pattern, ſet them in the year 1638, all the Clergy, in a parity, were to aſſume the government of the Church; but thoſe being Epiſcopal, they did not think it ſafe to put the power of the Church in ſuch hands; Therefore it was pretended, that ſuch of the Presbyterian Miniſters, as had been turned out in the Year 1662, ought to be conſidered, as the only ſound part of the Church; And of theſe there happened to be then threeſcore alive: ſo the government of the Church was lodged with them; And they were empowered, to take to their aſſiſtance, and to a ſhare in the Church government, ſuch as they ſhould think fit: Some furious men, who had gone into very frantick Principles, and all thoſe who had been ſecretly ordained in the Presbyterian way, were preſently taken in: This was like to prove a fatal error, at their firſt ſetting out; The old men among them, what by reaſon of their age, or their experience of former miſtakes, were diſpoſed to more moderate Counſels; But the taking in ſuch a number of violent men, put it out of their power to purſue them; So theſe broke out into a moſt extravagant way of proceeding againſt ſuch of the Epiſcopal party, as had

1690 escaped the rage of the former Year. Accuſations were raiſed againſt them; ſome were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of *Arminianiſm*; Others were loaded with more ſcandalous Imputations: But theſe were only thrown out to defame them. And where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming Inquiſitors, than Judges: ſo apt are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into thoſe very exceſſes, of which they did formerly make ſuch tragical complaints. All other matters were carried in the Parliament of *Scotland*, as the Lord *Melvill*, and the Presbyterians deſired. In lieu of the King's Supremacy, he had Chimney-money given him; and a Teſt was impoſed on all in office, or capable of electing, or being elected to ſerve in Parliament, declaring the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and renouncing any manner of Title pretended to be in King *James*.

Affairs abroad.

As for affairs abroad, the Duke of *Savoy* came into the Alliance: The *French* ſuſpected he was in a ſecret Treaty with the Emperor, and ſo they forced him to declare it, before matters were ripe for it. They demanded, that he would put *Turin* and *Montmelian* in their hands. This was upon the matter to ask all, and to make him a vaſſal Prince: Upon his refuſal, a *French* Army took poſſeſſion of *Savoy*; and marched into *Piedmont*, before he was ready to receive them: For tho' the Imperialiſts and the *Spaniards* had made him great promiſes, in which they are never wanting, when their affairs require it; yet they failed ſo totally in the performance, that if the King and the *Dutch*, who had promiſed him nothing, had not performed every thing effectually, he muſt have become at once a prey to the *French*. The Emperor was this Year unhappy in *Hungary*, both by loſing *Belgrade*, and by ſome other advantages, which the *Turks* gained: Yet he was as little inclined to Peace, as he was capable of carrying on the War.

The King, at his firſt coming over from *Ireland*, was ſo little wearied with that Campaign, that he intended to have gone over to his Army in *Flanders*: but it was too late; for they were going into Winter quarters: So he held the Seſſion of Parliament early, about the beginning of *October*, that ſo, the Funds being ſettled for the next Year, he might have an Interview with many of the *German* Princes, who intended to meet him at the *Hague*, that they might concert meaſures for the next Campaign.

A Seſſion of Parliament in *England*.

Both Houſes began with Addreſſes of Thanks and Congratulation to the King and Queen, in which they ſet forth the ſenſe they had of their pious care of their people, of their courage and good government, in the higheſt expreſſions that could be conceived; with promiſes of ſtanding by them, and aſſiſting them, with every thing that ſhould be found neceſſary for the publick Service: And they were as good as their word: for the King, having laid before them the charge of the next Year's War, the eſtimate riſing to above four millions, the vaſteſt ſum that ever a King of *England* had asked of his people, they agreed to it; the oppoſition, that was made, being very inconſiderable; And they conſented to the Funds propoſed, which were thought equal to that, which was demanded, tho' theſe proved afterwards to be defective. The Adminiſtration was ſo juſt and gentle, that there were no grievances to inflame the Houſe; by which the moſt promiſing beginnings of ſome Seſſions, in former Reigns, had often miſcarried.

Some indeed began to complain of a miſmanagement of the Publick Money: But the Miniſtry put a ſtop to that, by moving for a Bill, empowering ſuch, as the Parliament ſhould name, to examine into all Accompts, with all particulars relating to them; giving them authority to bring all perſons, that they ſhould have occaſion for, before them, and to tender them an Oath, to diſcover their knowledge of ſuch things, as they ſhould ask of them. This was like the power of a Court of Inquiſition: And how unuſual ſoever ſuch a Commiſſion was, yet it ſeem neceſſary to grant it; for the bearing down, and ſilencing all ſcandalous reports. When this Bill was brought to the Lords, it was moved, that ſince the Commons had named none, but Members of their own Houſe, that the Lords ſhould add ſome of their Number: This was done by ballot; and the Earl of *Rocheſter* having made the motion, the greateſt number of ballots were for him; But he refuſed to ſubmit to this, with ſo much firmneſs, that the other Lords, who were

were named with him, ſeemed to think they were in Honour bound to do the ſame; ſo, ſince no Peer would ſuffer himſelf to be named, the Bill paſſed as it was ſent up. Many complaints were made, of the illegal Commitments of ſuſpected perſons for High-Treaſon. Tho' there was nothing ſworn againſt them. But the Danger was ſo apparent, and the Publick ſafety was ſo much concerned in thoſe Impriſonments, that the Houſe of Commons made a precedent, for ſecuring a Miniſtry, that ſhould do the like, upon the like neceſſity, and yet maintained the *Habeas Corpus* Act; they indemnified the Miniſtry, for all that had been done contrary to that Act. 1690

Ireland much waſted by the *Rapparees* and the Army there.

Great Complaints were brought over from *Ireland*, where the King's Army was almoſt as heavy on the Country, as the *Raparees* were: There was a great Arrear due to them; for which reaſon, when the King ſettled a Goverment in *Ireland*, of three Lords Juſtices, he did not put the Army under their Civil Authority, but kept them in a military ſubjection to their Officers: For he ſaid, ſince the Army was not regularly paid, it would be impoſſible to keep them from Mutiny, if they were put under ſtrict Diſcipline, and puniſhed accordingly. The Under Officers, finding that they were only anſwerable to their Superior Officers, took great Liberties in their Quarters; and, inſtead of protecting the Country, they oppreſſed it. The King had brought over an Army of ſeven thouſand *Danes*, under the command of a very gallant Prince, one of the Dukes of *Wirtemberg*; But they were cruel friends, and thought they were Maſters; Nor were the *Engliſh* Troops much better. The *Dutch* were the leaſt complained of; *Ginkle*, who had the chief command, looked ſtrictly to them; But he did not think it convenient to put thoſe of other Nations, under the ſame ſevere meaſures. But the Pay, due for ſome Months, being now ſent over, the Orders were changed; and the Army was made ſubject to the Civil Government; Yet it was underſtood, that Inſtructions were ſent to the Lords Juſtices, to be cautious in the exerciſe of their Authority over them; ſo the Country ſtill ſuffered much by theſe Forces.

A Bill concerning the *Iriſh* Forfeitures.

The Houſe of Commons paſt a Vote, to raiſe a million of money, out of the Forfeitures and Confiſcations in *Ireland*: And in order to that, they paſſed a Bill of Attainder of all thoſe, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and appropriated the Confiſcations, to the raiſing a Fund for defraying the expence of the preſent War; only they left a power to the King, to grant away a third part of thoſe confiſcated Eſtates, to ſuch as had ſerved in the War; and to give ſuch Articles and Capitulations to thoſe, who were in Arms, as he ſhould think fit. Upon this Bill, many petitions were offered, the creditors of ſome, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the Government, deſired proviſo's for their ſecurity. The Commons, ſeeing that there was no end of Petitions, for ſuch proviſo's, rejected them all; imitating in this too much the mock Parliament, that King *James* held in *Dublin*; in which about 3000 perſons were attainted, without proof or proceſs, only becauſe ſome of them were gone over to *England*, and others were abſconding, or informed againſt in *Ireland*. But when this Bill was brought up to the Lords, they thought they were in juſtice bound to hear all petitions: Upon this, the Bill was like to be clogg'd with many proviſo's; And the matter muſt have held long: So the King, to ſtop this, ſent a meſſage to the Commons: And he ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, afterwards from the Throne, to both Houſes: He promiſed, he would give no Grants of any confiſcated Eſtates; but would keep that matter entire, to the conſideration of another Seſſion of Parliament: By which the King intended only, to aſſure them, that he would give none of thoſe Eſtates to his Courtiers or Officers; But he thought, he was ſtill at liberty, to paſs ſuch Acts of Grace, or grant ſuch Articles to the *Iriſh*, as the ſtate of his affairs ſhould require.

The Earl of *Torrington* tried and juſtified.

There were no important Debates, in the Houſe of Lords. The Earl of *Torrington*'s Buſineſs held them long: The form of his Commitment was judged to be illegal; And the Martial Law, to which, by the Statute, all who ſerved in the Fleet were ſubject, being lodged in the Lord High Admiral, it was doubted, whether, the Admiralty being now in Commiſſion, that power was lodged with the Commiſſioners. The Judges were of opinion, that it was: Yet, ſince the power of life and death was too ſacred a thing, to paſs only by a conſtruc-

1690 tion of Law, it was thought the ſafeſt courſe, to paſs an Act, declaring, that the powers of a Lord-High-Admiral did veſt in the Commiſſioners. The ſecret Enemies of the Government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of *Torrington* ſhould be impeached in Parliament; Proceedings in that way being always ſlow, Incidents were alſo apt to fall in, that might create diſputes between the two Houſes, which did ſometimes end in a Rupture: But the King was apprehenſive of that; And, tho' he was much incenſed againſt that Lord, and had reaſon to believe, that a Council of War would treat him very favourably; yet he choſe rather to let it go ſo, than to diſorder his affairs. The Commiſſioners of the Admiralty named a Court to try him, who did it with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much on the Juſtice of the Nation; ſo that, if it had not been for the great Intereſt the King had in the States, it might have occaſioned a breach of the Alliance between them and us. He came off ſafe as to his Perſon and Eſtate, but much loaded in his Reputation; ſome charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct, to a haughty ſullenneſs of temper, that made him, ſince orders were ſent him, contrary to the advices he had given, to reſolve indeed to obey them, and fight; but in ſuch a manner, as ſhould caſt the blame on thoſe, who had ſent him the Orders, and give them cauſe to repent of it.

Deſigns againſt the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen.*

Another Debate was moved in the Houſe of Lords (by thoſe who intended to revive the old Impeachment of the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*) whether Impeachments continued, from Parliament to Parliament, or whether they were not extinguiſhed by an Act of Grace: Some antient Precedents were brought to favour this, by thoſe who intended to keep them up: But in all theſe, there had been an order of one Parliament, to continue them on to the next: So they did not come home to the preſent caſe: and how doubtful ſoever it was, whether the King's Pardon could be pleaded in Bar to an Impeachment; yet, ſince the King had ſent an Act of Grace, which had paſſed in the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, it ſeemed very unreaſonable, to offer an Impeachment againſt an Act of Parliament. All this diſcovered a deſign againſt that Lord, who was believed to have the greateſt credit, both with the King and Queen, and was again falling under an univerſal hatred. In a Houſe of Commons, every motion againſt a Miniſter, is apt to be well entertained; Some envy him; Others are angry at him; Many hope to ſhare in the ſpoils of him, or of his Friends, that fall with him; And a love of change, and a wantonneſs of mind, makes the attacking a Miniſter, a diverſion to the reſt: The thing was well laid, and fourteen leading men had undertaken to manage the matter againſt him; In which the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had the chief hand, as he himſelf told me; For he had a very bad opinion of the man, and thought his advices would, in concluſion, ruin the King and his affairs. But a Diſcovery was at this time made, that was of great conſequence; And it was managed chiefly, by his means, ſo that put an end to the deſigns againſt him for the preſent.

Lord *Preſton* ſent over to *France.*

The Seſſion of Parliament was drawing to a concluſion: And the King was making haſte over, to a great Congreſs of many Princes, who were coming to meet him at the *Hague.* The Jacobites thought this opportunity was not to be loſt; They fancied it would be eaſy, in the King's abſence, to bring a Revolution about: So they got the Lord *Preſton* to come up to *London*, and to undertake the Journey to *France*, and to manage this Negotiation. They thought, no time was to be loſt, and that no great force was to be brought over with King *James*; but that a few reſolute men, as a guard to his perſon, would ſerve the turn, now that there was ſo ſmall a force left within the Kingdom, and the Nation was ſo incenſed at a burthen of four millions in Taxes. By this means, if He ſurpriſed us, and managed his coming over with ſuch ſecreſy, that he ſhould bring over with himſelf the firſt news of it, they believed this Revolution would be more eaſy, and more ſudden, than the laſt. The men that laid this deſign were, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Preſton*, and his brother Mr. *Graham*, and *Pen* the famous Quaker. Lord *Preſton* reſolved to go over, and to carry Letters, from thoſe who had joined with him in the deſign, to King *James* and his Queen. The Biſhop of *Ely*'s Letters were writ in a very particular ſtile; He undertook both for his elder Brother, and the reſt

of

of the Family; which was plainly meant of *Sancroft*, and the other deprived Biſhops: In his Letter to King *James*'s Queen, he aſſured her of his, and all their zeal for the Prince of *Wales*; and that they would no more part with that, than with their hopes of Heaven. *Aſhton*, a ſervant of that Queen's, hired a veſſel to carry them over; But the owner of the veſſel, being a man zealous for the Government, diſcovered all he knew; which was only, that he was to carry ſome perſons over to *France*: The notice of this was carried to the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*: And the matter was ſo ordered, that Lord *Preſton*, *Aſhton*, and a young man (*Elliot*) were got aboard, and falling down the River, when the Officer ſent to take them came, on pretence to ſearch, and preſs for Seamen; And drew the three Paſſengers out of the Hold, in which they were hid. Lord *Preſton* left his Letters behind him in the Hold, together with King *James*'s Signet; *Aſhton* took them up, on deſign to have thrown them in the Sea; But they were taken from him. 1690

Both they and their Letters were brought to *Whitehall*. Lord *Preſton*'s mind ſunk ſo viſibly, that it was concluded, he would not die, if confeſſing all he knew could ſave him. *Aſhton* was more firm and ſullen; *Elliot* knew nothing. There was among their Papers one, that contained the heads of a Declaration, with aſſurances of Pardon, and promiſes to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws; Another paper contained ſhort memorials, taken by Lord *Preſton*, in which many of the Nobility were named: The moſt important of all was, a relation of a Conference, between ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen, Whigs and Tories; by which it appeared, that, upon a converſation on this ſubject, they all ſeemed convinced, that upon this occaſion *France* would not ſtudy to conquer, but to oblige *England*; and that King *James* would be wholly governed by Proteſtants, and follow the Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Intereſt. The Priſoners were quickly brought to their Trial; Their deſign of going to *France*, and the treaſonable Papers found about them, were fully proved: Some of them were writ in Lord *Preſton*'s, and ſome in *Aſhton*'s hand. They made but a poor defence: They ſaid, a ſimilitude of hands was not thought a good proof in *Sidney*'s Caſe; But this was now only a circumſtance; in what hand ſoever the Papers were writ, the Crime was always the ſame, ſince they were open, not ſealed: So they knew the contents of them, and thus were carrying on a Negotiation of High Treaſon, with the King's Enemies: Upon full evidence they were condemned.

Taken, tried, and condemned.

Aſhton would enter into no Treaty with the Court; but prepared himſelf to die. And he ſuffered with great decency and ſeriouſneſs. He left a Paper behind him, in which he owned his dependance on King *James*, and his fidelity to him; He alſo affirmed, that he was ſure the Prince of *Wales* was born of the Queen; He denied, that he knew the contents of the Papers, that were taken with him. This made ſome conclude, that his paper was penned by ſome other perſon, and too haſtily copied over by himſelf, without making due reflections on this part of it; for I compared this paper, which he gave the Sheriff, and which was written in his own hand, with thoſe found about him; and it was viſible both were writ in the ſame hand.

Aſton ſuffered.

Lord *Preſton* went backward and forward: He had no mind to die, and yet was not willing to tell all he knew; He acted a weak part in all reſpects: When he was heated by the Importunities of his friends, who were violently engaged againſt the Government, and after he had dined well, he reſolved he would die heroically; But by next morning, that heat went off; And when he ſaw Death in full view, his heart failed him. The Scheme he carried over was ſo fooliſh, ſo ill concerted, and ſo few engaged in it, that thoſe who knew the whole ſecret concluded, that if he had got ſafe to the Court of *France*, the Project would have been ſo deſpiſed, that he muſt have been ſuſpected, as ſent over to draw King *James* into a Snare, and bring him into the King's hands. The Earl of *Clarendon* was ſeized, and put in the Tower; But the Biſhop of *Ely*, *Grimes*, and *Pen*, abſconded. After ſome months, the King, in regard to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s relation to the Queen, would proceed to no extremities againſt him, but gave him leave to live, confined to his houſe in the Country.

Lord *Preſton* was pardoned.

1690

The Behaviour of the deprived Bishops.

The King had suffered the deprived Bishops to continue, now above a Year, at their Sees: They all the while neglected the concerns of the Church, doing nothing, but living privately in their Palaces. I had, by the Queen's Order, moved both the Earl of *Rochester*, and Sir *John Trevor*, who had great credit with them, to try whether, in case an Act could be obtained, to excuse them from taking the Oaths, they would go on, and do their functions in Ordinations, Institutions, and Confirmations; and assist at the Publick Worship, as formerly; But they would give no answer; Only they said, they would live quietly, that is, keep themselves close, till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly. So all the thoughts of this kind were, upon that, laid aside. One of the considerablest men of the party, Dr. *Sherlock*, upon King *James*'s going out of *Ireland*, thought that this gave the present Government a thorough settlement; And in that case, he thought it lawful to take the Oaths; And upon that, not only took them himself, but publickly justified what he had done; Upon which, he was most severely libelled by those, from whom he withdrew. The discovery of the Bishop of *Ely*'s correspondence, and engagement in the name of the rest, gave the King a great advantage in filling those vacant Sees; which he resolved to do, upon his return from the Congress, to which he went over in *January*.

A Congress of Princes at the *Hague*.

In his way, he ran a very great hazard; When he got within the *Maese*, so that it was thought, two hours rowing would bring him to Land, being weary of the Sea, he went into an open Boat with some of his Lords: But by Mists and Storms, he was tossed up and down above sixteen hours, before he got safe to Land. Yet neither he, nor any of those who were with him, were the worse for all this cold and wet Weather. And, when the Seamen seemed very apprehensive of their danger, the King said in a very intrepid manner; What are you afraid to die in my Company? He soon settled some points, at which the States had stuck long; And they created the Funds for that Year. The Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel*, with the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and a great many other *German* Princes, came to this Interview, and entred into consultations concerning the operations of the next Campaign. The Duke of *Savoy*'s affairs were then very low; But the King took care of him, and both furnished, as well as procured him such Supplies, that his affairs had quickly a more promising face. Things were concerted among the Princes themselves, and were kept so secret, that they did not trust them to their Ministers: At least, the King did not communicate them to the Earl of *Nottingham*, as he protested solemnly to me, when he came back. The Princes shewed to the King all the respects that any of their rank ever paid to any crowned Head; And they lived together in such an easy freedom, that points of Ceremony occasioned no disputes among them; tho' those are often, upon less solemn interviews, the subjects of much quarrelling, and interrupt more important Debates.

A new Pope chosen after a long Conclave.

During this Congress, Pope *Alexander* the Eighth, *Ottoboni*, died. He had succeeded Pope *Innocent*, and sate in that Chair almost a Year and a half: He was a *Venetian*, and intended to enrich his Family as much as he could. The *French* King renounced his pretensions to the Franchises: And he, in return for that, promoted *Fourbin*, and some others, recommended by that Court, to be Cardinals; which was much resented by the Emperor. Yet he would not yield the point of the Regale to the Court of *France*: Nor would he grant the Bulls for those, whom the King had named to the vacant Bishopricks in *France*, who had signed the Formulary, passed in 1682, that declared the Pope fallible, and subject to a General Council. When Pope *Alexander* felt himself near Death, he passed a Bull in due Form, by which he confirmed all Pope *Innocent*'s Bulls: And by this he put a new stop, to any Reconciliation with the Court of *France*. This he did, to render his Name and Family more acceptable to the *Italians*, and most particularly to his Countrymen, who hated the *French* as much as they feared them. Upon his Death, the Conclave continued shut up for five months, before they could agree upon an Election. The party of the Zealots stood long firm to *Barbarigo*, who had the reputation of a Saint, and seemed in all things to set Cardinal *Borromeo* before him as a Pattern: They at last were perswaded to consent to the choice of *Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, who, while he was Archbishop of

of *Naples*, had ſome diſputes with the Viceroy, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, which he aſſerted ſo highly, that he excommunicated ſome of the Judges, who, as he thought, had invaded them. The *Spaniards* had ſeemed diſpleaſed at this; which recommended him ſo to the *French*, that they alſo concurred to his Elevation. He aſſumed Pope *Innocent*'s name, and ſeemed reſolved to follow his maxims and ſteps; for he did not ſeek to raiſe his Family; Of which the King told me a conſiderable inſtance: One of his neareſt kindred was then in the *Spaniſh* Service in *Flanders*; and haſted to *Rome* upon his promotion; He received him kindly enough, but preſently diſmiſſed him, giving him no other preſent, if he ſaid true, but ſome ſnuff. It is true, the *Spaniards* afterwards promoted him: But the Pope took no notice of that. 1690

To return to the Low Countries: The King of *France* reſolved to break off the Conferences at the *Hague*, by giving the Alarm of an early Campaign: *Mons* was beſieged; And the King came before it in perſon. It was thereupon given up, as a loſt Place; For the *French* Miniſters had laid that down among their chief maxims, that their King was never to undertake any thing in his own perſon, but where he was ſure of ſucceſs. The King broke up the Congreſs, and drew a great Army very ſoon together: And, if the Town had held out ſo long as, they might well have done, or if the Governour of *Flanders* had performed what he undertook, of furniſhing Carriages to the Army, the King would either have raiſed the Siege, or forced the *French* to a Battle. But ſome Prieſts had been gained by the *French*, who laboured ſo effectually among the Townſmen, who were almoſt as ſtrong as the Garriſon, that they at laſt forced the Governour to capitulate. Upon that, both Armies went into Quarters of refreſhment: And the King came over again to *England* for a few weeks. The Siege of *Mons*.

He gave all neceſſary Orders for the Campaign in *Ireland*; in which *Ginkle* had the chief command. *Ruſſel* had the command of the Fleet, which was ſoon ready, and well manned. The *Dutch* Squadron came over in good time. The proportion of the Quota, ſettled between *England* and the *States*, was, that we were to furniſh five, and they three Ships of equal rates and ſtrength. Affairs ſettled for the next Campaign.

Affairs in *Scotland* were now brought to ſome temper: Many of the Lords, who had been concerned in the late Plot, came up, and confeſſed and diſcovered all, and took out their pardon; They excuſed themſelves, as apprehending that they were expoſed to ruin; and that they dreaded the tyranny of Presbytery, no leſs than they did Popery: And they promiſed that, if the King would ſo balance matters, that the Lord *Melvill*, and his party, ſhould not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular, that they ſhould not turn out the Miniſters of the Epiſcopal Perſwaſion, who were yet in office, nor force Presbyterians on them, they would engage in the King's Intereſts faithfully and with zeal: They alſo undertook to quiet the Highlanders, who ſtood out ſtill, and were robbing the Country in Parties: And they undertook to the King, that, if the Epiſcopal Clergy could be aſſured of his protection, they would all acknowledge and ſerve him: They did not deſire, that the King ſhould make any ſtep towards the changing the Government, that was ſettled there; They only deſired, that Epiſcopal Miniſters might continue to ſerve, in thoſe places that liked them beſt; and that no man ſhould be brought into trouble for his opinion, as to the Government of the Church; and that ſuch Epiſcopal men, as were willing to mix with the Presbyterians in their Judicatories, ſhould be admitted, without any ſevere impoſition in point of opinion. Affairs in *Scotland*.

This looked ſo fair, and agreed ſo well with the King's own ſenſe of things, that he very eaſily hearkened to it; And I did believe that it was ſincerely meant; ſo I promoted it with great zeal; tho' we afterwards came to ſee, that all this was an artifice of the Jacobites, to engage the King to diſguſt the Presbyterians; And by loſing them, or at leaſt rendring them remiſs in his Service, they reckoned they would be ſoon Maſters of that Kingdom. For the party reſolved now to come in generally, to take the Oaths; But in order to that, they ſent one to King *James*, to ſhew the neceſſity of it, and the ſervice they intended him in it; and therefore they asked his leave to take them. That King's anſwer was more honeſt; He ſaid, he could not conſent to that, which he thought unlawful; But if any of them took the Oaths on deſign to ſerve him, and continued to Some Changes made in *Scotland*.

1690 advance his intereſts, he promiſed, it ſhould never be remembred againſt them. Young *Dalrymple* was made conjunct Secretary of State, with the Lord *Melvill*; and he undertook to bring in moſt of the Jacobites to the King's Service; but they entred at the ſame time, into a cloſe correſpondence with St. *Germains*: I believed nothing of all this at that time, but went in cordially to ſerve many, who intended to betray us.

The truth was, the Presbyterians, by their violence and other fooliſh practices, were rendring themſelves both odious and contemptible: They had formed a general Aſſembly, in the end of the former Year, in which they did very much expoſe themſelves, by the weakneſs and peeviſhneſs of their conduct: Little Learning or Prudence appeared among them; Poor preaching and wretched haranguing; partialities to one another, and violence and injuſtice to thoſe who differed from them, ſhewed themſelves in all their Meetings. And theſe did ſo much ſink their reputation, that they were weaning the Nation moſt effectually from all fondneſs to their Government: But the falſhood of many, who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the King's Government, helped in the ſequel to preſerve the Presbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the King from them.

The vacant Sees filled.

The next thing the King did was, to fill the Sees vacant by Deprivation. He judged right, that it was of great conſequence, both to his Service and to the intereſts of Religion, to have *Canterbury* well filled: for the reſt would turn upon that. By the Choice, he was to make, all the Nation would ſee, whether he intended to go on, with his firſt deſign of moderating matters, and healing our Breaches, or if he would go into the paſſions and humours of a High Party, that ſeemed to court him as abjectly, as they inwardly hated him. Dr. *Tillotſon* had been now well known to him for two Years; his ſoft and prudent Counſels, and his zeal for his Service, had begot, both in the King and Queen, a high and juſt opinion of him. They had both, for above a Year, preſſed him to come into this Poſt: And he had ſtruggled againſt it with great earneſtneſs: As he had no ambition, nor aſpiring in his temper, ſo he foreſaw what a ſcene of trouble and ſlander he muſt enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices, that the Jacobites would poſſeſs all people with, for his coming into the room of One, whom they called a Confeſſor, and who began now to have the publick compaſſion on his ſide, were well foreſeen by him. He alſo apprehended the continuance of that heat and averſion, that a violent party had always expreſſed towards him, tho' he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had, upon all occaſions, done the chief of them great Services, as oft as it was in his Power. He had large Principles, and was free from Superſtition; His zeal had been chiefly againſt Atheiſm and Popery: But he had never ſhewed much ſharpneſs againſt the Diſſenters. He had lived in a good correſpondence with many of them: He had brought ſeveral over to the Church, by the force of reaſon, and the ſoftneſs of perſwaſion and good uſage; but was a declared enemy to violence and ſeverities on thoſe heads. Among other prejudices againſt him, one related to myſelf: He and I had lived, for many Years, in a cloſe and ſtrict friendſhip; He laid before the King all the ill effects, that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own Service: But all this had ſerved only to increaſe the King's eſteem of him, and fix him in his purpoſe.

Many Promotions in the Church.

The Biſhop of *Ely*'s Letters to St. *Germains*, gave ſo fair an occaſion of filling thoſe Sees, at this time, that the King reſolved to lay hold on it: And *Tillotſon*, with great uneaſineſs to himſelf, ſubmitted to the King's command: And ſoon after, the See of *York* falling void, Dr. *Sharp* was promoted to it: So thoſe two Sees were filled with the two beſt Preachers, that had ſat in them in our time: Only *Sharp* did not know the World ſo well; and was not ſo ſteady as *Tillotſon* was. Dr. *Patrick* was advanced to *Ely*, Dr. *More* was made Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Cumberland* was made Biſhop of *Peterborow*, Dr. *Fowler* was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, *Ironſide* was promoted to *Hereford*, *Grove* to *Chicheſter*, and *Hall* to *Briſtol*; as *Hough*, the Preſident of *Magdalen*'s, was the Year before this, made Biſhop of *Oxford*. So that in two Years time, the King had named fifteen Biſhops; And they were generally looked on as the learnedeſt, the wiſeſt, and beſt men, that were in the Church. It was viſible, that in all theſe no-

nominations, and the filling the inferior Dignities, that became void by their promotion, no Ambition, nor Court favour, had appeared; Men were not ſcrambling for Preferment, nor uſing arts, or employing friends to ſet them forward; On the contrary, men were ſought for, and brought out of their Retirements; And moſt of them very much againſt their own inclinations: They were men both of moderate Principles and calm tempers: This great promotion was ſuch a diſcovery of the King and Queen's deſigns, with relation to the Church, that it ſerved much to remove the jealouſies, that ſome other ſteps the King had made, were beginning to raiſe in the Whigs, and very much ſoftned the ill humour, that was ſpread among them. 1690

The Campaign in *Flanders.*

As ſoon as this was over; the King went back to command his Army in *Flanders*. Both Armies were now making haſte to take the Field. But the *French* were quicker than the Confederates had yet learned to be. Prince *Waldeck* had not got above eighteen thouſand men together, when *Luxemburg*, with an Army of forty thouſand men, was marching to have ſurprized *Bruſſels*: And at the ſame time, *Bouflers*, with another Army, came up to *Liege*. *Waldeck* poſted his Army ſo well, that *Luxemburgh*, believing it ſtronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through, in which it was believed he might have ſucceeded. The King haſtned the reſt of the Troops, and came himſelf to the Army in good time, not only to cover *Bruſſels*, but to ſend a detachment to the relief of *Liege*, which had been bombarded for two days. A Body of *Germans*, as well as that which the King ſent to them, came in good time to ſupport thoſe of *Liege*; who were beginning to think of Capitulating. So *Bouflers* drew off; And the *French* kept themſelves ſo cloſe in their Poſts, all the reſt of the Campaign, that though the King made many motions, to try if it was poſſible to bring them to a Battle, yet he could not do it. Signal preſervations of his Perſon did again ſhew, that he had a watchful Providence ſtill guarding him. Once he had ſtood under a tree for ſome time, which the Enemy obſerving, they levelled a Cannon ſo exactly, that the tree was ſhot down two minutes after the King was gone from the place. There was one, that belonged to the train of Artillery, who was corrupted to ſet fire to the Magazine of powder: And he fired the matches of three Bombs, two of theſe blew up, without doing any miſchief, tho' there were twenty four more Bombs in the ſame Waggon, on which they lay, together with a Barrel of powder: The third Bomb was found, with the match fired, before it had its effect. If this wicked practice had ſucceeded, the confuſion, that was in all reaſon to be expected, upon ſuch an accident, while the Enemy was not above a League from them, drawn up, and looking for the ſucceſs of it, muſt have had terrible effects. It cannot be eaſily imagined, how much miſchief might have followed upon it, in the mere deſtruction of ſo many as would have periſhed immediately, if the whole Magazine had taken fire; as well as in the pannick fear, with which the reſt would have been ſtruck upon ſo terrible an accident; by the ſurprize of it, the *French* might have had an opportunity to have cut off the whole Army. This may well be reckoned one of the Miracles of Providence, that ſo little harm was done, when ſo much was near being done. The two Armies lay along between the *Samber* and the *Maeſe*: But no Action followed. When the time came of going into Quarters, the King left the Armies in Prince *Waldeck*'s hands, who was obſerved not to march off with that caution, that might have been expected from ſo old a Captain: *Luxemburgh* upon that drew out his Horſe, with the King's Houſhold, deſigning to cut off his Rear; And did, upon the firſt ſurprize, put them into ſome diſorder; But they made ſo good a ſtand, that, after a very hot action, the *French* marched off, and loſt more men on their ſide than we did. *Auverquerque* commanded the Body, that did this ſervice: And with it the Campaign ended in *Flanders*.

Affairs at Sea.

Matters went on at Sea with the ſame caution. *Dunkirk* was for ſome time block'd up by a Squadron of ours. The great Fleet went to find out the *French*; But they had Orders to avoid an Engagement: And, though for the ſpace of two months, *Ruſſel* did all he could to come up to them, yet they ſtill kept at a diſtance, and ſailed off in the night: So that, though he was ſometimes in view of them, yet he loſt it next day. The trading part of the Nation was very apprehenſive of the danger the *Smirna* Fleet might be in, in which the *Dutch*

1690 and *Engliſh* Effects together, were valued at four millions: for, tho' they had a great Convoy, yet the *French* Fleet ſtood out to intercept them: But they got ſafe into *Kinſale*. The Seaſon went over without any Action; And *Ruſſel*, at the end of it, came into *Plymouth* in a Storm: which was much cenſured; for that Road is not ſafe: and two conſiderable Ships were loſt upon the occaſion. Great Factions were among the Flag-Officers: And no other Service was done by this great Equipment, but that our Trade was maintained.

The Campaign in *Ireland.*

But, while we had no ſucceſs, either in *Flanders* or at Sea, we were more happy in *Ireland*, even beyond expectation. The Campaign was opened with the taking of *Baltimore*, on which the *Iriſh* had wrought much, that *Athlone* might be covered by it: We took it in one day; and the Garriſon had only Ammunition for a day more. St. *Ruth*, one of the violenteſt of all the Perſecutors of the Proteſtants in *France*, was ſent over with two hundred Officers to command the *Iriſh* Army: This firſt action reflected much on his Conduct, who left a thouſand men, with ſo ſlender a proviſion of Ammunition, that they were all made Priſoners of War. From thence *Ginkle* advanc'd to *Athlone*, where St. *Ruth* was poſted on the other ſide of the *Shannon*, with an Army in number equal to his: The River was deep, but fordable in ſeveral places: The Caſtle was ſoon turned to a ruin by the Cannon: But the paſſing the River, in the face of an Enemy, was no eaſy thing, the Ford being ſo narrow, that they could not paſs above twenty in front: Parties were ſent out to try other Fords, which probably made the Enemy imagine, that they never intended to paſs the River, juſt under the Town, where the Ford was both deep and narrow. *Talmaſh*, a General Officer, moved, that two Battalions might have Guineas apiece to encourage them; And he offered to march over at the Head of them; which was preſently executed by *Mackay*, with ſo much reſolution, that many ancient Officers ſaid, it was the gallanteſt action they had ever ſeen. They paſt the River, and went through the Breaches into the Town, with the loſs only of fifty Men, having killed above a thouſand of the Enemy; And yet they ſpared all, that asked quarter. St. *Ruth* did not, upon this occaſion, act ſuitably to the Reputation he had formerly acquired; He retired to *Aghrim*; where he poſted himſelf to great advantage, and was much ſuperior to *Ginkle* in number; for he had abandoned many ſmall Garriſons, to increaſe his Army, which was now twenty eight thouſand ſtrong; whereas *Ginkle* had not above twenty thouſand; ſo that the attacking him was no adviſable thing, if the courage of the *Engliſh*, and the cowardice of the *Iriſh*, had not made a difference ſo conſiderable, as neither numbers nor poſts could balance.

Athlone taken.

The Battle of *Aghrim.*

St. *Ruth* had indeed taken the moſt effectual way poſſible to infuſe courage into the *Iriſh*: He had ſent their Prieſts about among them, to animate them by all the methods they could think of: And, as the moſt powerful of all others, they made them ſwear on the Sacrament, that they would never forſake their Colours. This had a great effect on them: For as, when *Ginkle* fell on them, they had a great Bog before them; and the Grounds on both ſides were very favourable to them: With thoſe advantages, they maintained their Ground much longer, than they had been accuſtomed to do. They diſputed the matter ſo obſtinately, that for about two hours the Action was very hot, and every Battalion and Squadron, on both ſides, had a ſhare in it. But nature will be always too ſtrong for art; The *Iriſh*, in concluſion, truſted more to their heels, than to their hands; The Foot threw down their Arms, and ran away. St. *Ruth*, and many more Officers, were killed, and about eight thouſand Soldiers, and all their Cannon and Baggage was taken. So that it was a total Defeat; Only the night favoured a Body of Horſe, that got off. From thence *Ginkle* advanced to *Galway*, which capitulated; ſo that now *Limerick* was the only place that ſtood out; A Squadron of Ships was ſent to ſhut up the River. In the mean while, the Lords Juſtices iſſued out a new Proclamation, with an offer of life and eſtate, to ſuch as, within a fortnight, ſhould come under the King's Protection.

1691 *Limerick* beſieged.

Ginkle purſued his advantages: And, having reduced all *Connaught*, he came and ſat down before *Limerick*, and bombarded it; But that had no great effect; And though moſt of the houſes were beat down, yet as long as the *Connaught* ſide was open, freſh men and proviſions were ſtill brought into the place. When the

the Men of War were come up, near the Town, *Ginkle* ſent over a part of his Army to the *Connaught* ſide, who fell upon ſome Bodies of the *Iriſh* that lay there, and broke them; and purſued them ſo cloſe, as they retired to *Limerick*, that the *French* Governour *D'Uſſon*, fearing that the *Engliſh* would have come in with them, drew up the Bridge; ſo that many of them were killed and drowned. This contributed very much towards heightning the prejudices, that the *Iriſh* had againſt the *French*. The latter were ſo inconſiderable, that, if *Sarsfield* and ſome of the *Iriſh* had not joined with them, they could not have made their party good. The Earl of *Tyrconnel* had, with a particular view, ſtudied to divert the *French*, from ſending over Soldiers into *Ireland*; For he deſigned, in caſe of new misfortunes, to treat with the King, and to preſerve himſelf and his friends; and now he began to diſpoſe the *Iriſh* to think of treating; ſince they ſaw that otherwiſe their ruin was inevitable. But as ſoon as this was ſuſpected, all the military men, who reſolved to give themſelves up entirely to the *French* Intereſt, combined againſt him, and blaſted him as a feeble and falſe Man, who was not to be truſted. This was carried ſo far; that to avoid affronts, he was adviſed to leave the Army: And he ſtaid all this Summer at *Limerick*, where he died of grief, as was believed: But before he died, he adviſed all that came to him, not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of ſuch terms as could be got: And his words ſeemed to weigh more after his death, than in his lifetime: For the *Iriſh* began generally to ſay, that they muſt take care of themſelves, and not be made ſacrifices to ſerve the ends of the *French*. This was much heigthned, by the ſlaughter of the *Iriſh*, whom the *French* Governor had ſhut out, and left to periſh. They wanted no proviſions in *Limerick*. And a Squadron of *French* Ships ſtood over to that Coaſt, which was much ſtronger than ours, that had ſailed up to the Town. So it was to be feared, that they might come into the River to deſtroy our Ships. 1691

To hinder that, another Squadron of *Engliſh* Men of War was ordered thither. Yet the *French* did not think fit to venture their Ships within the *Shannon*, where they had no places of ſhelter; The miſunderſtanding that daily grew, between the *Iriſh* and the *French* was great; And all appearance of relief from *France* failing, made them reſolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to *Ginkle* and his Army, who began to be in great wants; For that Country was quite waſted, having been the Seat of War for three Years: And all their draught-horſes were ſo wearied out, that their Camp was often ill ſupplied.

When they came to capitulate, the *Iriſh* inſiſted on very high demands; which was ſet on by the *French*, who hoped they would be rejected: But the King had given *Ginkle* ſecret directions, that he ſhould grant all the demands they could make, that would put an end to that War: So every thing was granted, to the great diſappointment of the *French*, and the no ſmall grief of ſome of the *Engliſh*, who hoped this War ſhould have ended in the total ruin of the *Iriſh* Intereſt. During the Treaty, a ſaying of *Sarsfield*'s deſerves to be remembred; for it was much talked of, all *Europe* over. He asked ſome of the *Engliſh* Officers, if they had not come to a better opinion of the *Iriſh*, by their behaviour during this War; And, whereas they ſaid, it was much the ſame, that it had always been; *Sarsfield* anſwered, as low as we now are, change but Kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you. Thoſe of *Limerick* treated, not only for themſelves, but for all the reſt of their Countrymen, that were yet in Arms. They were all indemnified and reſtored to all, that they had enjoyed in King *Charles*'s time. They were alſo admitted to all the Privileges of Subjects, upon their taking the Oaths of Allegiance to their Majeſties, without being bound to take the Oath of Supremacy. Not only the *French*, but as many of the *Iriſh* as had a mind to go over to *France*, had free liberty, and a ſafe tranſportation. And upon that, about twelve thouſand of them went over.

The *Iriſh* capitulate.

And thus ended the War of *Ireland*: And with that our Civil War came to a final end. The Articles of Capitulation were punctually executed; and ſome doubts that aroſe, out of ſome ambiguous words, were explained in favour of the *Iriſh*. So earneſtly deſirous was the King to have all matters quieted at home, that he might direct his whole force againſt the Enemy abroad. The *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, tho' none could ſuffer more, by the continuance of the War, than

The War there at an end.

1691 than they did, yet were uneasy, when they saw that the *Irish* had obtained such good conditions; Some of the more violent men among them, who were much exasperated with the wrongs, that had been done them, began to call in question the legality of some of the Articles: But the Parliament of *England* did not think fit to enter upon that discussion; Nor made they any motions towards the violating the Capitulation. *Ginkle* came over full of honour, after so glorious a Campaign, and was made Earl of *Athlone*, and had noble rewards for the great Service he had done; though, without detracting from him, a large share of all that was done, was due to some of the General Officers, in particular to *Rouvigny*, made upon this Earl of *Gallway*, to *Mackay*, and *Tallmash*. Old *Rouvigny* being dead, his Son offered his Service to the King, who unwillingly accepted of it; because he knew that an Estate, which his Father had in *France*, and of which, he had still the income, would be immediately confiscated: But he had no regard to that, and heartily engaged in the King's Service, and has been ever since employed in many eminent Posts; in all which he has acquitted himself with that great reputation, both for Capacity, Integrity, Courage, and Application, as well as Success in most of his Undertakings, that he is justly reckoned among the great men of the Age: And to crown all, he is a man of eminent Virtues, great Piety, and Zeal for Religion.

Affairs in *Hungary*.

The Emperor's Affairs in *Hungary* went on successfully this Year, under the Command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; tho' he committed an error, that was like to have proved fatal to him: His stores lay near him, in great boats on the *Danube*: But upon some design, he made a motion off from that River; Of which the Grand *Vizier* took the advantage, and got into his Camp, between him and his stores; so he must either starve, or break through to come at his provisions. The *Turks* had not time to fortify themselves in their new Camp: So he attacked them with such fury, that they were quite routed, and lost Camp and Cannon, and a great part of their Army; The Grand *Vizier* himself being killed. If the Court of *Vienna* had really desired a Peace, they might have had it, upon this Victory, on very easy terms: But they resolved they would be Masters of all *Transilvania*; And, in order to that, they undertook the Siege of *Great Waradin*, which they were forced to turn to a Blockade: So that it fell not into their hands till the Spring following. The Emperor was led on by the Prophecies, that assured him of constant Conquests, and that he should, in conclusion, arrive at *Constantinople* itself: so that the practices of those, whom the *French* had gained about him, had but too much matter to work on in himself.

The Maxims of the Court of *Vienna*.

The news of the total reduction of *Ireland*, confirmed him in his resolutions, of carrying on the War in *Hungary*. It was reckoned that *England*, being now disengaged at home, would, with the rest of the Protestant Allies, be able to carry on the War with *France*. And the two chief Passions in the Emperor's mind, being his hatred of Heresy, and his hatred of *France*, it was said, that those about him, who served the Interests of that Court, perswaded him that he was to let the War go on between *France*, and those he esteemed Hereticks; Since he would be a gainer, which side soever should lose; either *France* would be humbled, or the Hereticks be exhausted; while he should extend his Dominions, and conquer Infidels: The King had a sort of regard and submission to the Emperor, that he had to no other Prince whatsoever: So that he did not press him, as many desired he should, to accept of a Peace with the *Turks*, that so he might turn his whole force against *France*.

The State of the Empire.

Germany was now more entirely united in one common interest than ever: The third party, that the *French* had formed, to obstruct the War, were now gone off from those measures, and engaged in the general interest of the Empire: The two Northern Kings had some satisfaction given them, in point of Trade, that so they might maintain their neutrality: And they were favourable to the Allies, though not engaged with them. The King of *Sweden*, whom the *French* were pressing to offer his Mediation for a Peace, wrote to the Duke of *Hannover*, assuring him, he would never hearken to that proposition, till he had full assurances from the *French*, that they would own the present Government of *England*.

That

That Duke, who had been long in a *French* management, did now break off all commerce with that Court, and enter'd into a Treaty, both with the Emperor and with the King: He promiſed great ſupplies againſt *France*, and the *Turk*, if he might be made an Elector of the Empire; In which the King concurred to preſs the matter ſo earneſtly, at the Court of *Vienna*, that they agreed to it, in caſe he could gain the conſent of the other Electors; which the Emperor's Miniſters reſolved to oppoſe, underhand, all they could. He quickly gained the conſent of the greater number of the Electors; Yet new objections were ſtill made. It was ſaid, that if this was granted, another Electorate in a *Popiſh* Family, ought alſo to be created, to balance the advantage that this gave the *Lutherans*: And they moved that *Auſtria* ſhould be made an Electorate. But this was ſo much oppoſed, ſince it gave the Emperor two Votes in the Electoral College, that it was let fall. In concluſion, after a Year's negotiation, and a great oppoſition, both by Popiſh and Proteſtant Princes, (ſome of the latter, conſidering more their jealouſies of the Houſe of *Hannover*, than the intereſt of their Religion,) the Inveſtiture was given, with the Title of Elector of *Brunſwick*, and Great Marſhal of the Empire. The *French* oppoſed this, with all the artifices they could ſet at work. The matter lay long in an unſettled ſtate; Nor was he now admitted into the College; it being ſaid, that the unanimous conſent of all the Electors muſt be firſt had. 1691

A Ninth Elector created.

The Affairs of *Savoy* did not go on ſo proſperouſly as was hoped for: *Caraffa*, that commanded the Imperial Army, was more intent on raiſing Contributions, than on carrying on the War: He croſſed every good motion that was made: *Montmelian* was loſt, which was chiefly imputed to *Caraffa*; The young Duke of *Schomberg*, ſent thither to command thoſe Troops, that the King paid, undertook to relieve the place, and was aſſured that many Proteſtants in *Dauphiny*, would come and join him. But *Caraffa*, and indeed the Court of *Turin*, ſeemed to be more afraid of the ſtrength of Hereſy, than of the Power of *France*; and choſe to let that important place fall into their hands, rather than ſuffer it to be relieved by thoſe they did not like. When the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army went into Quarters, *Caraffa* obliged the neighbouring Princes, and the State of *Genoa*, to contribute to the ſubſiſtance of the Imperial Army, threatning them otherwiſe with Winter Quarters: So that how ill ſoever he managed the Duke of *Savoy*'s concerns, he took care of his own. He was recalled, upon the Complaints made againſt him on all hands; and *Caprara* was ſent to command in his room.

Affairs in *Savoy*.

The greateſt danger lay in *Flanders*, where the feebleneſs of the *Spaniſh* Government, did ſo exhauſt and weaken the whole Country, that all the ſtrength of the Confederate Armies was ſcarce able to defend it: The *Spaniards* had offered to deliver it up to the King, either as he was King of *England*, or as he was Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He knew the bigotry of the people ſo well, that he was convinced, it was not poſſible to get them to ſubmit to a Proteſtant Government; But he propoſed the Elector of *Bavaria*, who ſeemed to have much heat, and an ambition of ſignalizing himſelf in that Country, which was then the chief ſcene of War: And he could ſupport that Government by the Troops and Treaſure, that he might draw out of his Electorate: Beſides, if he governed that Country well, and acquired a fame in Arms, that might give him a Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown of *Spain*, in the right of his Electoreſs, who, if the Houſe of *Bourbon* was ſet aſide, was next in that Succeſſion. The *Spaniards* agreed to this Propoſal; But they would not make the firſt offer of it to that Elector, nor would he ask it; and it ſtuck for ſome time at this: But the Court of *Vienna* adjuſted the matter, by making the propoſition, which the Elector accepted: And that put a new life into thoſe oppreſſed and miſerable Provinces.

The Elector of *Bavaria* commanded in *Flanders*.

This was the general ſtate of affairs, when a new Seſſion of Parliament was opened at *Weſtminſter*, and then it appeared, that a Party was avowedly formed againſt the Government. They durſt not own that before, while the War of *Ireland* continued. But now, ſince that was at an end, they began to infuſe into all people, that there was no need of keeping up a great Land Army, and that we ought only to aſſiſt our Allies, with ſome auxiliary Troops, and increaſe our force at Sea. Many that underſtood not the ſtate of foreign affairs, were drawn

A Seſſion of Parliament.

1691 into this conceit; not conſidering, that if *Flanders* was loſt, *Holland* muſt ſubmit, and take the beſt terms they could get. And the conjunction of thoſe two great Powers at Sea, muſt preſently ruin our Trade, and in a little time ſubdue us entirely. But it was not eaſy to bring all people to apprehend this aright; And thoſe who had ill intentions, would not be beaten out of it, but covered worſe deſigns with this pretence: And this was ſtill kept up as a prejudice, againſt the King and his Government, that he loved to have a great Army about him; and that when they were once modelled, he would never part with them, but govern in an arbitrary way, as ſoon as he had prepared his Soldiers to ſerve his ends.

Jealouſies of the King. Another prejudice had more colour, and as bad effects. The King was thought to love the *Dutch* more than the *Engliſh*, to truſt more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occaſion to a general diſguſt, which was ſpread both among the *Engliſh* Officers, and the Nobility: He took little pains to gain the affections of the Nation; Nor did he conſtrain himſelf enough to render his Government more acceptable: He was ſhut up all the day long; And his ſilence, when he admitted any to an audience, diſtaſted them as much, as if they had been denied it. The Earl of *Marlborough* thought, that the great ſervices he had done, were not acknowledged nor rewarded, as they well deſerved; and began to ſpeak like a man diſcontented. And the ſtrain of all the Nation almoſt was, that the *Engliſh* were overlooked, and the *Dutch* were the only perſons favoured or truſted. This was National; And the *Engliſh* being too apt to deſpiſe other Nations, and being of more lively tempers than the *Dutch*, grew to expreſs a contempt and an averſion for them, that went almoſt to a mutiny. It is true, the *Dutch* behaved themſelves ſo well, and ſo regularly in their Quarters, and paid for every thing ſo punctually, whereas the *Engliſh* were apt to be rude and exacting; eſpecially thoſe who were all this Winter coming over from *Ireland*, who had been ſo long in an Enemy's Country, that they were not eaſily brought into order; ſo that the common people were generally better pleaſed with the *Dutch* Soldiers, than with their own Countrymen, but it was not the ſame as to the Officers. Theſe ſeeds of diſcontent, were carefully managed by the Enemies of the Government; And by thoſe means, matters went on heavily in the Houſe of Commons. The King was alſo believed to be ſo tender, in every point that ſeemed to relate to his Prerogative, that he could not well bear any thing, that was a diminution of it: And he was ſaid to have taken a diſlike and miſtruſt of all thoſe, whoſe notions leaned to publick Liberty, tho' thoſe were the perſons that were the firmeſt to him, and the moſt zealous for him. The men, whoſe notions of the Prerogative were the higheſt, were ſuſpected to be Jacobites: Yet it was obſerved, that many of theſe were much courted, and put into Employments, in which they ſhewed ſo little affection to the Government, and ſo cloſe a Correſpondence with its profeſſed Enemies, that it was generally believed they intended to betray it. The blame of employing theſe men, was caſt on the Earl of *Nottingham*, who, as the Whigs ſaid, infuſed into the King Jealouſies of his beſt Friends, and inclined him to court ſome of his bittereſt Enemies.

1692 The taking off Parliament men, who complained of grievances, by Places and Penſions, was believed to be now very generally practiſed. *Seimour*, who had, in a very injurious manner, not only oppoſed every thing, but had reflected on the King's Title and Conduct, was this Winter brought into the Treaſury, and the Cabinet Council: Yet tho' a great oppoſition was made, and many delays contrived, all the money that was asked was at length given. Among the Bills that were offered to the King, at the end of the Seſſion, one was to ſecure the Judges Salaries; and to put it out of the King's power to ſtop them. The Judges had their Commiſſion, during their good behaviour; Yet their Salaries were not ſo ſecured to them, but that theſe were at the King's pleaſure. But the King put a ſtop to this, and refuſed to paſs the Bill: for it was repreſented to him, by ſome of the Judges themſelves, that it was not fit they ſhould be out of all dependence on the Court; tho' it did not appear, that there was any hurt in making Judges, in all reſpects, free and independent. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in *Ireland*, to annul all that had paſſed in King *James*'s Parliament;

ment; to confirm anew the Act of Settlement; and to do all other things, that the broken ſtate of that impoveriſhed Iſland required, and to grant ſuch Supplies, as they could raiſe, and as the ſtate of their affairs would permit. 1692

Affairs in *Scotland* were put in another method; Lord *Tweedale* was made Lord Chancellor, and not long after a Marquiſs in that Kingdom: Lord *Melvill* was put in a leſs important Poſt; And moſt of his creatures were laid aſide; But ſeveral of thoſe, who had been in *Montgomery's* Plot, were brought into the Council and Miniſtry. *Johnſtoun*, who had been ſent Envoy to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, was called home, and made Secretary of State for that Kingdom: It began ſoon to appear in *Scotland*, how ill the King was adviſed, when he brought in ſome of the Plotters into the chief Poſts of that Government; As this diſguſted the Presbyterians, ſo it was very viſible, that thoſe pretended Converts came into his Service, only to have it in their power, to deliver up that Kingdom to King *James*: They ſcarce diſguiſed their deſigns; So that the truſting ſuch men amazed all people. The Presbyterians had very much offended the King, and their fury was inſtrumental in raiſing great Jealouſies of him in *England*: He well foreſaw the ill Effects this was like to have; And therefore he recommended to a General Aſſembly, that met this Winter, to receive the Epiſcopal Clergy, to concur with them, in the Government of the Church, upon their deſiring to be admitted: And in caſe the Aſſembly could not be brought to conſent to this, the King ordered it to be diſſolved, without naming any other time or place of meeting. It was not likely, that there could be any agreement, where both Parties were ſo much inflamed one againſt another; And thoſe, who had the greateſt credit with both, ſtudied rather to exaſperate, than to ſoften them. The Epiſcopal Party carried it high; They gave it out, that the King was now theirs; and that they were willing to come to a concurrence with Presbytery, on deſign to bring all about to Epiſcopacy, in a little time: The Presbyterians, who at all times were ſtiff and peeviſh, were more than ordinarily ſo at this time: They were jealous of the King; Their Friends were now diſgraced, and their bittereſt Enemies were coming into favour: So they were ſurly, and would abate in no point of their Government: And upon that, the Aſſembly was diſſolved. But they pretended, that by Law they had a right to an Annual meeting, from which nothing could cut them off; for they ſaid, according to a diſtinction much uſed among them, that the King's power of calling Synods and Aſſemblies was cumulative, and not privative; That is, he might call them if he would, and appoint time and place; but that, if he did not call them, they might meet by an inherent right that the Church had, which was confirmed by Law: Therefore they adjourned themſelves. This was repreſented to the King as a high ſtrain of inſolence, that invaded the Rights of the Crown, of which he was become very ſenſible: Moſt of thoſe, who came now into his Service, made it their buſineſs to incenſe him againſt the Presbyterians, in which he was ſo far engaged, that it did alienate that party much from him. Affairs in *Scotland*.

There was, at this time, a very barbarous Maſſacre committed in *Scotland*, which ſhewed both the cruelty and the treachery of ſome of thoſe, who had unhappily inſinuated themſelves, into the King's Confidence: The Earl of *Braidalbin* formed a Scheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the King would give twelve or fifteen thouſand Pounds for doing it, which was remitted down from *England*; And this was to be divided among the Heads of the Tribes, or Clanns of the Highlanders. He employed his Emiſſaries among them, and told them, the beſt ſervice they could do King *James*, was to lie quiet, and reſerve themſelves to a better time; And if they would take the Oaths, the King would be contented with that, and they were to have a ſhare of this ſum, that was ſent down to buy their quiet; But this came to nothing; Their demands roſe high; They knew this Lord had money to diſtribute among them; They believed he intended to keep the beſt part of it to himſelf; So they asked more than he could give: Among the moſt clamorous and obſtinate of theſe, were the *Macdonalds* of *Glencoe*, who were believed guilty of much robbery, and many murders; And ſo had gained too much by their pilfering War, to be eaſily brought to give it over. The head of that Valley had ſo particularly provoked Lord *Braidalbin*, that as his Scheme was quite defeated, by the oppoſition that he raiſed, ſo he deſigned a The Affair of *Glencoe*.

1692 ſevere revenge. The King had, by a Proclamation, offered an Indemnity to all the Highlanders, that had been in Arms againſt him, upon their coming in, by a prefixed day, to take the Oaths; The day had been twice or thrice prolonged; And it was at laſt carried to the end of the Year 1691; with a poſitive threatning, of proceeding to military execution, againſt ſuch as ſhould not come into his obedience, by the laſt day of *December*.

All were ſo terrified, that they came in; and even that *Macdonald* went to the Governor of Fort *William*, on the laſt of *December*, and offered to take the Oaths; But he, being only a military man, could not, or would not tender them; And *Macdonald* was forced to ſeek for ſome of the Legal Magiſtrates, to tender them to him. The Snows were then fallen, ſo four or five days paſſed, before he could come to a Magiſtrate; He took the Oaths in his preſence, on the fourth or fifth of *January*, when, by the ſtrictneſs of Law, he could claim no benefit by it; The matter was ſignified to the Council; and the perſon had a reprimand for giving him the Oaths, when the day was paſt.

This was kept up from the King; and the Earl of *Braidalbin* came to Court, to give an Account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, ſince he could not do the ſervice for which he had it. He informed againſt this *Macdonald*, as the chief perſon, who had defeated that good deſign; And that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the King odious to all the Highlanders, he propoſed, that Orders ſhould be ſent for a military execution, on thoſe of *Glencoe*. An Inſtruction was drawn by the Secretary of State, to be both ſigned and counterſigned by the King (that ſo he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the King) that ſuch as had not taken the Oaths, by the time limited, ſhould be ſhut out of the benefit of the Indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found, that this would not authorize what was intended, a ſecond Order was got to be ſigned and counterſigned, that if the *Glencoe* men could be ſeparated, from the reſt of the Highlanders, ſome Examples might be made of them, in order to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The King ſigned this, without any enquiry about it; for he was too apt to ſign Papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his ſlowneſs in diſpatching buſineſs; for as he was apt to ſuffer things to run on, till there was a great heap of papers laid before him; ſo then he ſigned them, a little too precipitately. But all this while, the King knew nothing of *Macdonald*'s offering to take the Oaths, within the time, nor of his having taken them ſoon after it was paſt, when he came to a proper Magiſtrate. As theſe Orders were ſent down, the Secretary of State writ many private Letters to *Levingſtoun*, who commanded in *Scotland*, giving him a ſtrict charge and particular directions for the execution of them: And he ordered the paſſes in the Valley to be kept, deſcribing them ſo minutely, that the Orders were certainly drawn by one, who knew the Country well. He gave alſo a poſitive direction, that no Priſoners ſhould be taken, that ſo the execution might be as terrible as was poſſible. He preſſed this upon *Levingſtoun* with ſtrains of vehemence, that looked as if there was ſomething more than ordinary in it; He indeed grounded it on his zeal for the King's ſervice, adding, that ſuch Rebels and Murderers ſhould be made Examples of.

In *February*, a Company was ſent to *Glencoe*, who were kindly received, and quartred over the Valley; the Inhabitants thinking themſelves ſafe, and looking for no Hoſtilities; After they had ſtaid a week among them, they took their time in the night and killed about ſix and thirty of them, the reſt taking the alarm, and eſcaping: This raiſed a mighty out-cry, and was publiſhed by the *French* in their Gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their Libels, to caſt a reproach on the King's Government, as cruel and barbarous; tho' in all other Inſtances it had appeared, that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an exceſs. The King ſent Orders to inquire into the matter; But when the Letters writ upon this buſineſs, were all examined, which I myſelf read, it appeared, that ſo many were involved in the matter, that the King's gentleneſs prevailed on him to a fault; and he contented himſelf with diſmiſſing only the Maſter of *Stair* from his Service: The Highlanders were ſo inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a diſpoſition, as the Jacobites wiſhed for, to have rebelled

led upon the first favourable opportunity: And indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour, was the greatest blot in this whole Reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating that Nation, from the King and his Government. 1692

The Earl of *Marlboro'* disgraced

An Incident happened near the end of this Session, that had very ill effects; which I unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some reflections on the memory of the Queen, whom I always honoured, beyond all the persons I had ever known. The Earl of *Nottingham* came to the Earl of *Marlborough*, with a message from the King, telling him, that he had no more use for his Service, and therefore he demanded all his Commissions. What drew so sudden and so hard a message was not known: For he had been with the King that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It seemed, some Letter was intercepted, which gave suspicion: It is certain, that he thought he was too little considered, and that he had, upon many occasions, censured the King's conduct, and reflected on the *Dutch*. But the original cause of his disgrace, arose from another consideration; The Princess thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold way towards her, was soon observed: After the King was on the Throne, no propositions were made to her of a Settlement, nor any advances of money. So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous dependance on the Court, got some to move in the House of Commons, in the year 1690, when they were in the Debate concerning the Revenue, that she should have assignments, suitable to her Dignity. This both King and Queen took amiss from her; The Queen complained more particularly, that she was then ill, after her lying-in of the Duke of *Glocester* at *Hampton-Court*, and that she herself was treating her and the young child, with the tenderness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made, before she had tried, in a private way, what the King intended to assign her. The Princess, on the other hand, said, she knew the Queen was a good Wife, submissive and obedient to every thing that the King desired; so she thought, the best way was to have a Settlement by Act of Parliament: On the other hand, the custom had always been, that the Royal Family (a Prince of *Wales* not excepted) was kept in a dependance on the King, and had no allowance, but from his meer favour and kindness; yet in this case, in which the Princess was put out of the Succession, during the King's life, it seemed reasonable, that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The Act past, allowing her a Settlement of fifty thousand pounds. But upon this a coldness followed, between not only the King, but even the Queen, and the Princess. And the blame of this motion was cast on the Countess of *Marlborough*, as most in favour with the Princess: And this had contributed much to alienate the King from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him.

A Breach between the Queen and the Princess.

Upon his disgrace, his Lady was forbid the Court; The Princess would not submit to this; She thought, she ought to be allowed to keep what Persons she pleased about herself. And when the Queen insisted on the thing, she retired from the Court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, as there were some that pressed the Princess to submit to the Queen, as well as others who pressed the Queen to pass it over; but without effect: Both had engaged themselves, before they had well reflected on the consequences of such a breach: And the matter went so far, that the Queen ordered, that no publick Honours should be shewed the Princess, besides many other lesser matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the Queen carry such a matter so far: And the breach continued to the end of her life. The Enemies of the Government tried what cou'd be made of this, to create distractions among us; But the Princess gave no encouragement to them. So that this misunderstanding had no other effect, but that it gave Enemies much ill-natured joy, and a secret spiteful diversion.

Russel commanded the Fleet.

The King gave *Russel* the Command of the Fleet; tho' he had put himself in ill terms with him, by pressing to know the grounds of the Earl of *Marlborough's* disgrace: He had not only lived in great friendship with him, but had carried the first messages that had passed between him and the King, when he went over to *Holland*; He almost upbraided the King with the Earl of *Marlborough's* Services, who, as he said, had set the Crown on his head. *Russel* also came to be in

1692 ill terms with the Earl of *Nottingham*, who as he thought, ſupported a faction among the Flag Officers againſt him; And he fell indeed into ſo ill an humour, on many accounts, that he ſeemed to be for ſome time in doubt, whether he ought to undertake the command of the Fleet, or not: I tried, at the deſire of ſome of his friends, to ſoften him a little, but without ſucceſs.

A Deſcent in *England*, prepared by K. *James*.

The King went over to *Holland* in *March*, to prepare for an early Campaign. He intimated ſomewhat in his Speech to the Parliament, of a deſcent deſigned upon *France*; But we had neither men nor money to execute it. And, while we were pleaſing our ſelves with the thoughts of a deſcent in *France*, King *James* was preparing for a real one in *England*. It was intended to be made in the end of *April*: He had about him fourteen thouſand *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*; And Marſhal *Belfonds* was to accompany him, with about three thouſand *French*. They were to ſail from *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*, and ſome other places in *Normandy*, and to land in *Suſſex*, and from thence to march with all haſte to *London*. A Tranſport-Fleet was alſo brought thither: They were to bring over only a ſmall number of horſes; for their party, in *England*, undertook to furniſh them with horſes, at their landing. At the ſame time, the King of *France* was to march with a great Army into *Flanders*; and he reckoned, that the deſcent in *England*, would either have ſucceeded, ſince there was a very ſmall force left within the Kingdom; or at leaſt, that it would have obliged the King to come over, with ſome of his *Engliſh* Troops: And in that caſe, which way ſoever the War of *England* had ended, he ſhould have maſtered *Flanders*, and ſo forced the *States* to ſubmit: And, in caſe other deſigns had failed, there was one in reſerve, managed by the *French* Miniſtry, and by *Luxemburgh*, of aſſaſſinating the King, which would have brought about all their deſigns. The *French* King ſeemed to think the Project was ſo well laid, that it could not miſcarry: for he ſaid publickly, before he ſet out, that he was going to make an end of the War. We in *England* were all this while very ſecure, and did not apprehend we were in any danger. Both the King and his Secretaries were much blamed, for taking ſo little care to procure Intelligence; If the winds had favoured the *French*, they themſelves would have brought us the firſt news of their deſign; They ſent over ſome perſons, to give their friends notice, but a very few days, before they reckoned, they ſhould be on our Coaſt: One of theſe was a *Scotchman*, and brought the firſt diſcovery to *Johnſtoun*: Orders were preſently ſent out, to bring together ſuch Forces as lay ſcattered in Quarters; And a Squadron of our Fleet, that was ſet to Sea, was ordered to lay on the Coaſt of *Normandy*: But the Heavens fought againſt them more effectually, than we could have done. There was, for a whole month together, ſuch a Storm that lay on their Coaſt, that it was not poſſible for them to come out of their Ports; nor could Marſhal *D'Eſtrees* come about with the Squadron from *Toulon*, ſo ſoon as was expected. In the beginning of *May*, about forty of our Ships were on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and were endeavouring to deſtroy their Tranſport Ships: Upon which, Orders were ſent to Marſhal *Tourville*, to ſail to the Channel, and fight the *Engliſh* Fleet. They had a Weſterly Wind to bring them within the Channel: But then the wind ſtruck into the Eaſt, and ſtood ſo long their, that it both brought over the *Dutch* Fleet, and brought about our great Ships. By this means, our whole Fleet was joined: So that *Tourville*'s deſign, of getting between the ſeveral Squadrons that compoſed it, was loſt. The King of *France*, being then in *Flanders*, upon this change of wind, ſent Orders to *Tourville* not to fight: Yet the Veſſel that carried theſe was taken, and the duplicate of theſe Orders, that was ſent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the Engagement.

A great Victory at Sea.

On the nineteenth of *May*, *Ruſſel* came up with the *French*, and was almoſt twice their number; Yet not above the half of his Ships could be brought into the Action, by reaſon of the winds: *Rook*, one of his Admirals, was thought more in fault. The number of the Ships that engaged was almoſt equal; Our men ſaid, that the *French* neither ſhewed courage nor skill in the Action; The night and a fog ſeparated the two Fleets, after an Engagement that had laſted ſome hours. The greateſt Part of the *French* Ships drew near their Coaſts; But *Ruſſel* not caſting Anchor, as the *French* did, was carried out by the tide: So next morning he was at ſome diſtance from them. A great part of the *French* Fleet

Fleet ſailed Weſtward, through a dangerous Sea, called the Race of *Alderney*: *Aſhby* was ſent to purſue them: And he followed them ſome leagues: But then, the Pilots pretending danger, he came back; ſo twenty ſix of them, whom if *Aſhby* had purſued, by all appearance, he had deſtroy'd them all, got into St. *Malo's*. *Ruſſel* came up to the *French* Admiral, and the other Ships that had drawn near their Coaſts; *Delaval* burnt the Admiral, and his two Seconds: And *Rook* burnt ſixteen more before *La Hogue*. 1692

It was believed, that if this Succeſs had been purſued with vigour, conſidering the conſternation, with which the *French* were ſtruck, upon ſuch an unuſual and ſurprizing blow, that this Victory might have been carried much farther than it was. But *Ruſſel* was provoked by ſome Letters and Orders, that the Earl of *Nottingham* ſent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance; And upon that he fell into a croſſneſs of diſpoſition; he found fault with every Order that was ſent him; but would offer no advices on his part. And he came ſoon after to St. *Helen's*; which was much cenſured; for tho' the diſabled Ships muſt have been ſent in, yet there was no ſuch reaſon for bringing in the reſt, that were not touched. Croſs winds kept them long in Port; So that a great part of the Summer was ſpent, before he went out again. The *French* had recovered out of the firſt diſorder, that had quite diſpirited them. A deſcent in *France* came to be thought on, when it was too late: About ſeven thouſand men were ſhipped; and it was intended to land them at St. *Malo's*; But the Seamen were of opinion, that neither there, nor any where elſe, a deſcent was then practicable. They complained, that the Earl of *Nottingham* was ignorant of Sea affairs, and yet that he ſet on propoſitions relating to them, without conſulting Seamen, and ſent Orders which could not be obeyed, without endangering the whole Fleet. So the men, who were thus ſhipped, lay ſome days on board, to the great reproach of our Counſels: But that we might not appear too ridiculous, both at home and abroad, by landing them again in *England*; the King ordered them to be ſent over to *Flanders*, after they had been for ſome weeks on Shipboard; and ſo our Campaign on the Sea, that began ſo gloriouſly, had a poor concluſion. The common reflection that was made on our conduct was, that the providence of God, and the valour of our men, had given us a victory, of which we knew not what uſe we ſhould make: And which was worſe, our Merchants complained of great loſſes this Summer; for the *French* having laid up their Fleet, let their Seamen go and ſerve in Privateers, with which they watched all the motions of our Trade: And ſo, by an odd Reverſe of things, as we made no conſiderable loſſes, while the *French* were Maſters of our Sea, two years before; ſo now, when we triumphed on that Element, our Merchants ſuffered the moſt. The concluſion of all was, *Ruſſel* complained of the Miniſtry, particularly of the Earl of *Nottingham*; and they complained no leſs of him; and the Merchants complained of the Admiralty: But they, in their own defence ſaid, that we had not Ships nor Seamen, both to furniſh out a great Fleet, and at the ſame time to ſend out Convoys for ſecuring the Trade.

But not followed as it might have been.

In *Flanders*, the deſign, to which the *French* truſted moſt, failed: That was laid for aſſaſſinating the King: One *Grandval* had been in treaty with *Louvoy* about it; And it was intended to be executed the former year. He joined with *Du Mont* to follow the King and ſhoot him, as he was riding about in his ordinary way, moving ſlowly, and viſiting the poſts of his Army. The King of *France* had loſt two Miniſters, one after another. *Seignelay* died firſt, who had no extraordinary genius, but he knew all his Father's methods, and purſued them ſo, that he governed himſelf, both by his father's maxims, and with his tools. *Louvoy* did not ſurvive him long; He had more fire, and ſo grew uneaſy at the authority, Madam *de Maintenon* took in things which ſhe could not underſtand: And was, in concluſion, ſo unacceptable to the King, that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, upon ſome provocation, the King lifted up his cane: But the Lady held him from doing more; Yet that affront, as was given out, ſunk ſo deep into *Louvoy's* ſpirits, that he died ſuddenly a few days after. Some ſaid, it was of an Apoplexy; Others ſuſ-

A Deſign to Aſſaſſinate the King.

1692 ſuſpected poiſon; for a man that knew ſo many ſecrets, would have been dangerous, if he had out-lived his favour. His Son *Barbeſieux* had the ſurvivance of his place, and continued in it for ſome years; But, as he was young, ſo he had not a capacity equal to the poſt. He found, among his father's papers, a memorandum of this deſign of *Grandval*'s; So he ſent for him, and reſolved to purſue it; in which Madam *de Maintenon* concurred, and *Luxemburgh* was truſted with the direction of it. *Du Mont* retired this winter to *Zell*, as one that had forſaken the *French* ſervice: From ſome practices and diſcourſes of his, a ſuſpicion aroſe, of which Sir *William Colt*, the King's Envoy there, gave notice: So one *Leeſdale*, a *Dutch* Papiſt, was ſecretly ſent to *Paris*, as a perſon that would enter into the deſign; But, in reality, went on purpoſe to diſcover it.

Grandval ſuffered for it, and confeſſes it.

Grandval and he came back to *Flanders*, to ſet about it; But *Leeſdale* brought him into a party, that ſeized on him: Both King *James*, and his Queen, were, as *Grandval* ſaid, engaged in the deſign; One *Parkher*, whom they employed in many black deſigns, had concerted the matter with *Grandval*, as he confeſſed, and had carried him to King *James*, who encouraged him to go on with it, and promiſed great rewards. When *Grandval* ſaw there was full proof againſt him, he confeſſed the whole ſeries of the management, without ſtaying till he were put to the torture. Mr. *Morel* of *Berne*, a famous Medaliſt, (who had, for ſome years, the charge of the *French* King's cabinet of Medals, but being a Proteſtant, and refuſing to change his Religion, was kept a cloſe priſoner in the *Baſtile* for ſeven years) was let out in *April* this year. And, before he left *Paris*, his curioſity carried him to St. *Germains*, to ſee King *James*: He happened both to go and come back in the Coach with *Grandval*; And while he was there, he ſaw him in private diſcourſe with King *James*: *Grandval* was full of this project, and, according to the *French* way, he talked very looſely to *Morel*, not knowing who he was; but fancied he was well affected to that Court. He ſaid there was a deſign in hand, that would confound all *Europe*: For the Prince of *Orange*, ſo he called the King, would not live a month. This *Morel* writ over to me in too careleſs a manner; for he directed his Letter with his own hand, which was well known at Court; Yet it came ſafe to me. The King gave Orders, that none belonging to him ſhould go near *Grandval*, that there might be no colour for ſaying, that the hopes of life had drawn his Confeſſion from him; nor was he ſtrictly interrogated concerning Circumſtances; but was left to tell his ſtory, as he pleaſed himſelf. He was condemned; and ſuffered with ſome ſlight remorſe, for going into a deſign to kill a King: His Confeſſion was printed. But how black ſoever it repreſented the Court of *France*, no notice was taken of it: Nor did any of that Court offer to diſown or diſprove it, but let it paſs and be forgotten: Yet ſo blind and violent was their party among us, that they reſolved they would believe nothing, that either blemiſhed King *James*, or the *French* Court.

Namur was taken by the *French*.

But tho' this miſcarried, the *French* ſucceeded in the Siege of *Namur*: A place of great importance, that commanded both the *Maeſe* and *Sambre*, and covered both *Liege* and *Maſtricht*: The Town did ſoon capitulate, but the Citadel held out much longer. The King came with a great Army to raiſe the Siege; *Luxemburgh* lay in his way with another to cover it, and the *Mehaigne* lay between. The King intended to paſs the River, and force a Battle; But ſuch rains fell, the night before he deſigned to do it, and the River ſwelled ſo much, that he could not paſs it for ſome days: He tried, by another motion, to come and raiſe the Siege. But the Town having capitulated ſo early, and the Citadel lying on the other ſide of the *Sambre*, he could not come at it: So after a month Siege it was taken. This was looked on as the greateſt action of the *French* King's life; that, notwithſtanding the depreſſion of ſuch a defeat at Sea, he yet ſupported his meaſures, ſo as to take that important place, in the view of a great Army. The King's conduct was on this occaſion much cenſured: It was ſaid, he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than ſuffer ſuch a place to be taken in his ſight.

After *Namur* ſurrendred, that King went back to *Paris* in his uſual method; for, according to the old *Perſian* Luxury, he uſed to bring the Ladies with him, with the Muſick, Poems, and Scenes, for an Opera, and a Ball; in which he

and

and his actions were to be ſet out, with the pomp of much flattery. When this action was over, his Forces lay on the Defenſive, and both Armies made ſome motions, watching and waiting on one another. 1692

The Battle of *Steenkirk.*

At *Steenkirk*, the King thought he had a favourable occaſion for attacking the *French*, in their Camp; But the Ground was found to be narrower, and leſs practicable, than the King had been made to believe it was. Ten Battalions begun the Attack, and carried a Poſt with Cannon, and maintained it long, doing great execution on the Enemy; And if they had been ſupported, or brought off, it had proved a brave attempt: But they were cut in pieces. In the whole action, the *French* loſt many more men than the Confederates did; for they came ſo thick, that our fire made great execution. The conduct of this affair was much cenſured. It was ſaid, the ground ought to have been better examined, before the attack was begun; And the men ought to have been better maintained, than they were: For many thought, that if this had been done, we might have had a total Victory. Count *Solms* bore the blame of the errors, committed on this occaſion. The *Engliſh* had been ſometimes check'd by him, as he was much diſguſted with their heat and pride: So they charged all on him, who had ſome good qualities; but did not manage them in an obliging manner. We loſt in this action about five thouſand men, and many brave Officers; Here *Mackay* was killed, being ordered to a Poſt that he ſaw could not be maintained; He ſent his opinion about it; But the former Orders were confirmed: So he went on, ſaying only, The Will of the Lord be done. He was a Man of ſuch ſtrict principles, that he would not have ſerved in a War that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his Soldiers morals, and forced them to be both ſober and juſt in their Quarters: He ſpent all the time that he was maſter of, in ſecret Prayers, and in the reading of the Scriptures. The King often obſerved, that when he had full leiſure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very ſingular quality; In Councils of War, he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal; But how poſitive ſoever he was in it, if the Council of War over-ruled it, even tho' he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he juſtified it, and executed his part with the ſame zeal, as if his own opinion had prevailed. After the Action of *Steenkirk*, there was little done this Campaign. A Detatchment, that the King ſent from his Army, joined with thoſe Bodies that came from *England*, broke in ſome way in to the *French* Conqueſts: They fortified *Dixmuyde* and *Furnes*, and put the Country about them under Contribution, and became very uneaſy neighbours to *Dunkirk*. The Command of thoſe places was given to the Count of *Horn*, who underſtood well the way to make all poſſible advantages by Contributions; But he was a man of no great worth, and of as little courage. This diſguſted the *Engliſh* ſtill more; who ſaid, the *Dutch* were always truſted and preferred, while they were neglected. They had ſome colour to cenſure this choice the following winter: For, upon the motion of ſome *French* Troops, *Horn* (without ſtudying to amuſe the Enemy, or to gain time, upon which, much may depend in Winter) did immediately abandon *Dixmuyde*. All he had to juſtify himſelf, was a Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria*, telling him, that he could ſend him no relief; and therefore he ordered him to take care of the Garriſon, which was of more importance than the Place itſelf. Thus the Campaign ended in *Flanders*; *Namur* was loſt; the Reputation of the King's conducting Armies was much ſunk, and the *Engliſh* were generally diſcontented, and alienated from the *Dutch*.

Affairs in *Germany.*

Nothing was done on the *Rhine*. The Elector of *Saxony* had promiſed to bring an Army thither: But *Shening* his General, who had great power over him, was gained by the *French*, to break his deſign. The Duke of *Saxony* complained, that the Emperor favoured the Circles of *Franconia* and *Swabia* ſo much, that he could have no good Quarters aſſigned him for his Army: And upon this occaſion it was ſaid, that the Emperor drew much money from thoſe Circles, that they might be covered from Winter Quarters; and that he applied all that to carrying on the War in *Hungary*; and ſo left the weight of the War with *France*, to lie very heavy on the Princes of the Empire. This conteſt went on ſo high, that *Shening*, who was thought the ill inſtrument in it, going for his health to the Hot Baths in *Bohemia*, was ſeized on by the Emperor's Or-

1692 ders; Upon which, great expoſtulations paſſed between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Dreſden*. There were two ſmall Armies, that acted ſeparately on the *Rhine*, under the Command of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Marquiſs of *Bareith*: But they were not able to cover the Empire: And another ſmall Army, brought together by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, for the defence of his Country, was totally defeated; Not only Cannon and Baggage, but the Duke himſelf fell into the Enemies hands.

Affairs in *Hungary*. But, tho' the Emperor did, as it were, abandon the Empire to the *French*, he made no great progreſs in *Hungary*: The *Turks* lay upon a defenſive; and the Seaſon was ſpent in motions, without either Battle or Siege. There was ſtill ſome diſcourſe, but no great probability of Peace. Two *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors dying, the one, Sir *Thomas Huſſay*, ſoon after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*; and the other, Mr. *Harbord*, on his way thither; The Lord *Paget*, then our Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, was ordered to go thither, to mediate the Peace. He found the Mediation was, in a great meaſure, ſpoiled by the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, before his arrival: for he had been prevailed on, by the Court of *Vienna*, to offer the Mediation of the *Dutch* upon a very high Scheme. *Caminieck*, and the *Ukrain*, and *Podolia*, with *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, were demanded for *Poland*: *Tranſilvania*, with the perſon of Count *Tekeli*, for the Emperor; and *Achaia* and *Livadia*, as an Antemurale to cover the *Morea*, for the *Venetians*. The Court of *Vienna*, by offering ſuch a Project, reckoned the War muſt go on, which they deſired. The Miniſters of the Port, who were gained by the *French* to carry on the War, were glad to ſee ſo high a Project; They were afraid of Tumults; So they ſpread this Project over the whole Empire, to ſhew, on what ignominious terms the Mediation was propoſed; And by that they juſtified their going on with the War. But the Lord *Paget* offered the King's Mediation upon another Project; which was, that every Prince was to keep what he was then poſſeſſed of: And *Caminieck* was only demanded to be razed. If this had been offered at firſt, the *Ottoman* Court durſt not have refuſed it: The people were become ſo weary under a long and unproſperous War; But the *Vizier* ſuppreſſed this, and made it ſtill paſs among them, that the *Engliſh* preſſed the ſame Project, that the *Dutch* had propoſed; which was the more eaſily believed there, becauſe how ignorant ſoever they were at that Court, they knew well what an intereſt the King of *England* had in the *States*. So the War was ſtill carried on there; And *Trumbal*, who came over to *England* at this time, told the King, that if inſtead of ſending Embaſſies, he would ſend a powerful Fleet into the Mediterranean, to deſtroy the *French* Trade, and ſtop the Commerce with *Turkey*, he would quickly bring that Court to other meaſures, or raiſe ſuch tumults among them, as would ſet that Empire, and even *Conſtantinople* itſelf, all in a flame.

Affair in *Piedmont*. In *Piedmont*, the Campaign was opened very late; And the *French* were on a defenſive: So the Duke of *Savoy* entred into *Dauphiny* with an Army; And if he had carried on that attempt with the Spirit, with which he began it, he had put the affairs of *France* on that ſide into great diſorder: But he was either ill ſerved, or betrayed in it; He ſat down before *Ambrun*, and beſieged it in form: So that a place, which he might have carried in three days, coſt him ſome weeks: And in every ſtep, he made it appear, there was either a great feebleneſs, or much treachery in his Counſels. He made no great progreſs; Yet the diſorder, it threw that and the neighbouring Provinces into, was very great. He was ſtopped by the Small Pox, which ſaved his honour, as much as it endangered his perſon: The retreat of his Army, when his life was in danger, looked like a due caution. He recovered of the Small Pox, but a ferment remained ſtill in his Blood, and broke out ſo often into feveriſh relapſes, that it was generally thought he was poiſoned. Many Months paſſed, before he was out of danger. So the Campaign ended there with conſiderable loſſes to the *French*, but with no great advantage to the Duke. The greateſt prejudice, the *French* ſuffered this year, was from the Seaſon; They had a very bad harveſt, and no vintage in the Northern parts. We in *England* had great apprehenſions of as bad an one, from a very cold and wet Summer. Great deluges of rain continued till the very time of harveſt. But, when we were threatned with a famine,

ine, it pleaſed God to ſend ſuch an extraordinary change of the Seaſon, that e had a very plentiful crop, enough both to ſerve our ſelves, and to ſupply our eighbours, which made us eaſy at home, and brought in much wealth, for that orn which we were able to ſpare. 1692

A great Earthquake.

In the beginning of *September*, there was an Earthquake felt in moſt places in *ngland*; and was at the ſame time felt in many parts of *France*, *Germany*, and e *Netherlands*. No harm was done by it, tho' it continued for three or four inutes. I can write nothing of it from my own Obſervation; for it was not enſible in the place where I happened to be at that time; Nor can it be determined, whether this had any relation to thoſe terrible Earthquakes that happened, ſome months after this, in *Sicily* and *Malta*: Upon which I cannot enrge, having ſeen no other account of them, than what was in publick Gazettes, hich repreſented them as the dreadfulleſt by much, of any that are in Hiſtory: was eſtimated, that about one hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by them in *icily*. It is ſcarce to be imagined, that the Earthquake, which about the ſame ime deſtroyed the beſt part of the chief Town in *Jamaica*, could have any conection with theſe in *Europe*. Theſe were very extraordinary things, which made oſe, who ſtudied Apocalyptical matters, imagine that the end of the World rew near. It had been happy for us, if ſuch diſmal accidents had ſtruck us with deeper ſenſe of the Judgments of God.

A great Corruption over *England*.

We were indeed brought to more of an outward face of vertue and ſobriety: And the great Examples, that the King and Queen ſet the Nation, had made ome conſiderable alterations, as to publick practices: But we became deeply orrupted in principle: A diſbelief of Revealed Religion, and a profane mockng at the Chriſtian Faith, and the Myſteries of it, became avowed and ſcandaous. The Queen, in the King's abſence, gave orders to execute the Laws againſt Drunkenneſs, Swearing, and the Profanation of the Lord's Day; and ſent Directions over *England*, to all Magiſtrates to do their duty in executing them; to hich the King joined his Authority, upon his return to *England*. Yet the Reformation of Manners, which ſome zealous men ſtudied to promote, went on ut ſlowly: Many of the inferior Magiſtrates were not only remiſs, but very aulty themſelves: They did all they could to diſcourage thoſe, who endeavoured to have Vice ſuppreſſed and puniſhed: And it muſt be confeſſed, that the ehaviour of many Clergymen gave Atheiſts no ſmall advantage: They had taen the Oaths, and read the Prayers for the preſent Government; They obſerved the Orders for publick Faſts and Thankſgivings; And yet they ſhewed in any places their averſion to our Eſtabliſhment but too viſibly: So that the ofence that this gave, in many parts of the Nation, was too evident: In ſome laces, it broke out in very indecent Inſtances, that were brought into Courts f Law, and cenſured. This made many conclude, that the Clergy were a ſort f men, that would ſwear and pray, even againſt their Conſciences, rather than oſe their Benefices; and by conſequence, that they were governed by Intereſt, nd not by Principle. The Jacobites grew ſtill to be more and more outrageous, while the Clergy ſeemed to be Neutrals in the diſpute; And which was et the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole matter, the Government it ſelf cted with ſo much remiſſneſs, and ſo few were enquired after, or puniſhed, that hoſe who were employed by the King, behaved themſelves, in many places, as f they had ſecret Inſtructions to be heavy upon his beſt friends, and to be gentle o his Enemies. Upon the whole matter, the Nation was falling under ſuch a eneral corruption, both as to Morals and Principles; And that was ſo much pread among all ſorts of people, that it gave us great apprehenſions of heavy udgments from Heaven.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Seſſion of Parliament was opened under great diſadvantages. The Earl of *Marlborough*, and ſome other Peers, had been put in the Tower, upon a falſe ccuſation of High Treaſon, which was evidently proved to be a Conſpiracy, deſigned by ſome profligate creatures, who fancied that forgeries and falſe-ſwearng would be as acceptable, and as well rewarded, in this Reign, as they had been formerly. But till this was detected, the perſons accuſed were kept in Priſon; and were now only out upon Bail: So it was ſaid to be contrary to the ature and freedom of Parliaments, for Priſoners to ſit in it. It was confeſſed,

1692 that in times of danger, and ſuch was the former Summer, it muſt be truſted to the diſcretion of a Government, to commit ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected: But when the danger was over, by our Victory at Sea, thoſe againſt whom there lay nothing beſides ſuſpicions, ought to have been ſet at liberty: And this was thought reaſonable. There was an Aſſociation pretended to be drawn againſt the Government, to which the Subſcriptions of many Lords were ſet ſo dexterouſly, that the Lords themſelves ſaid, they could not diſtinguiſh between their true Subſcriptions, and thoſe that were forged for them. But the manner of the diſcovery, with ſeveral other Circumſtances, carried ſuch marks of Impoſture, that the Lords of the Council ordered a ſtrict proſecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery: And thoſe who had combined in it, were whipt and pillored, which, to the reproach of our Conſtitution, is the only puniſhment that our Law has yet provided for ſuch practices. The Lords paſſed ſome Votes, aſſerting their Privileges; and were offended with the Judges, for detaining ſome in priſon, tho' there was no reaſon nor colour for their diſpleaſure. But where the Privilege, or the Dignity of Peerage is in queſtion, it is not eaſy to keep the Houſe within bounds.

The Debate went off in a Bill, that indemnified the Miniſtry for thoſe Commitments, but limited them, for the future, by ſeveral rules; all which rules were rejected by the Commons. They thought thoſe Limitations gave a Legal power to commit, in caſes where they were obſerved; whereas they thought the ſafer way was, to indemnify the Miniſtry, when it was viſible they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to ſet them any rules: Since, as to the committing of ſuſpected perſons, where the danger is real and viſible, the publick ſafety muſt be firſt looked to, and ſuperſede all particular Laws. When this was over, an attempt was made in both Houſes, for the Abjuration of King *James*: The King himſelf was more ſet on it, than he had been formerly. It was rejected by the Houſe of Commons: And tho' ſome ſteps were made in it by the Lords, yet the oppoſition was ſo great, that it was let fall.

The affairs at Sea occaſioned much heat in both Houſes. The Earl of *Nottingham* laid before the Lords, upon an Addreſs they had made to the King, all the Letters that had paſt between himſelf and *Ruſſel*; with all the Orders he had ſent him: And he aggravated *Ruſſel*'s errors and neglects very ſeverely. But the Houſe of Commons juſtified *Ruſſel*, and gave him thanks over and over again; and remained ſo fixed in this, that tho' the Lords then communicated the papers, the Earl of *Nottingham* had laid before them, to the Commons, they would not ſo much as read them, but renewed their firſt Votes, that juſtified *Ruſſel*'s fidelity, courage, and conduct.

Jealouſies of the King's Miniſters.

The King was now poſſeſſed againſt him: For he diſmiſſed him from his Service, and put the Command of the Fleet into the hands of three perſons, *Killegrew*, *Delaval*, and *Shovel*: The two firſt were thought ſo inclinable to King *James*'s Intereſts, that it made ſome inſinuate, that the King was in the hands of thoſe, who intended to betray him to his Enemies: For tho' no exception lay againſt *Shovel*, yet it was ſaid, he was only put with the other Two, to give ſome reputation to the Commiſſion, and that he was One againſt Two; ſo that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this Nomination was thrown on the Earl of *Nottingham*; and of thoſe, who belonged to his Office, many ſtories were raiſed and ſpread about, as if there had been among them, beſides a very great remiſſneſs in ſome of the concerns of the Government, an actual betraying of all our Secrets and Counſels. The opinion of this was ſpread both within and without the Kingdom; And moſt of our Confederates were poſſeſſed with it. He juſtified not only himſelf, but all his Under Secretaries; Both King and Queen continued ſtill to have a good opinion of his fidelity; But they ſaw ſome defects in his Judgment, with a moſt violent Party heat, that appeared upon all occaſions, and even in the ſmalleſt matters. The Bills for the ſupply went on with a heavy progreſs in the Houſe of Commons; Thoſe who could not oppoſe them, yet ſhewed their ill humour in delaying them, and clogging them with unacceptable clauſes all they could. And they continued that waſteful method, of raiſing money upon remote Funds; by which

there

there lay a heavy diſcount on Tallies; ſo that above a fourth part was, in ſome of them, to be diſcounted: The parties of Whig and Tory appeared almoſt in every debate, and in every queſtion. 1692

The ill humour prevailed moſt in the Houſe of Lords, where a ſtrong oppoſition was made to every thing that was propoſed for the Government. They paſt many Votes, and made many Addreſſes to the King, which were chiefly deſigned to load the Adminiſtration, and to alienate the King from the *Dutch*. The Commons begun with great complaints of the Admiralty: And then they had the conduct in *Flanders*, particularly in the Action of *Steenkirk*, before them: And they voted ſome heads of an Addreſs relating to thoſe matters: But by a ſecret management, they let the whole thing fall, after they had paſſed thoſe angry Votes. Any thing that the Lords could do, was of leſs moment, when it was not like to be ſeconded by the Commons; Yet they ſhewed much ill humour. Complaints in Parliament.

This was chiefly managed by the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*; And they drew in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was very ill pleaſed with the credit, that ſome had with the King, and lived in a particular friendſhip with the Earl of *Marlborough*; and thought that he was both ungratefully and unjuſtly perſecuted. Theſe Lords had all the Jacobites ready to aſſiſt them, in every thing that could embroil matters; A great many Whigs, who were diſcontented, and jealous of the Miniſtry, joined with them: They knew that all their murmuring would ſignify little, unleſs they could ſtop a Money-bill: And, ſince it was ſettled in the Houſe of Commons as a maxim, that the Lords could not make any alterations in Money-bills; When the Bill for four ſhillings in the pound Land-tax came up, they put their ſtrength to carry a clauſe, that the Peers ſhould tax themſelves. And tho', in the way in which this clauſe was drawn up, it could not be defended, yet they did all that was poſſible, to put a ſtop to the Bill; and with unuſual vehemence preſſed for a delay, till a Committee ſhould be appointed to examine Precedents. This the Earl of *Mulgrave* preſſed for many hours, with a force of Argument and Eloquence, beyond any thing that I had ever heard in that Houſe. He inſiſted much upon the dignity of Peerage; and made this, which was now propoſed, to be ſo main a part of that dignity, that he exhauſted all the Topicks of Rhetorick, to convince the Lords, that, if they yielded to this, they diveſted themſelves of their true greatneſs; and nothing would remain, but the name and ſhadow of a Peer; which was but a Pageant. But after all the pomp and heat of his Oratory, the Lords conſidered the ſafety of the Nation, more than the ſhadow of a Peerage; And ſo they paſſed the Bill. 1693

Theſe Lords alſo ſet on foot a propoſition, that had never been offered, but when the Nation was ready to break out into Civil Wars; And that was, that a Committee of Lords and Commons ſhould be appointed to confer together, concerning the ſtate of the Nation: This once begun, would have grown in a very ſhort time, to have been a Council of State; And they would ſoon have brought all affairs under their inſpection; But this was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed, that it was ſoon let fall.

When the Party, that was ſet againſt the Court, ſaw they could carry nothing in either Houſe of Parliament, then they turned their whole ſtrength againſt the preſent Parliament, to force a diſſolution; And in order to that, they firſt loaded it with a Name of an ill ſound; And, whereas King *Charles*'s Long Parliament was called the Penſioner Parliament, they called this the Officer's Parliament; becauſe many, that had Commands in the Army, were of it: And the word, that they gave out among the people, was, that we were to be governed by a ſtanding Army, and a ſtanding Parliament. They tried to carry a Bill, that render'd all Members of the Houſe of Commons incapable of places of truſt or profit; ſo that every Member that accepted a place, ſhould be expelled the Houſe, and be incapable of being choſen again, to ſit in the current Parliament. The truth was, it came to be obſerved, that ſome got credit by oppoſing the Government; and that to ſilence them, they were preferred: And then they changed their note, and were as ready to flatter, as before to find fault. This

1693 gave a ſpecious colour to thoſe, who charged the Court with deſigns of corrupting Members, or at leaſt of ſtopping their mouths by places and penſions. When this Bill was ſet on, it went through the Houſe of Commons with little or no difficulty: Thoſe who were in places, had not ſtrength and credit to make great oppoſition to it, they being the perſons concerned, and looked on as Parties: And thoſe who had no places, had not the courage to oppoſe it; for in them it would have looked as an art to recommend themſelves to one. So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons: but it was rejected by the Lords; ſince it ſeemed to eſtabliſh an oppoſition between the Crown and the People, as if thoſe who were employed by the one, could not be truſted by the other.

A Bill to exclude Members of Parliament from Places.

When this failed, another attempt was made in the Houſe of Lords; in a Bill that was offered, enacting, That a Seſſion of Parliament ſhould be held every year, and a new Parliament be ſummoned every third year, and that the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved within a limited time. The Statutes, for Annual Parliaments in King *Edward* the firſt, and King *Edward* the third's time, are well known. But it is a queſtion, whether the ſuppoſition *if need be* falls upon the whole Act, or only upon thoſe words, *or oftner:* It is certain theſe Acts were never obſerved; And the non-obſervance of them was never complained of as a grievance. Nor did the famous Act in King *Charles* the firſt's time, carry the neceſſity of holding a Seſſion further, than to once in three years. Antiently, conſidering the haſte and hurry in which Parliaments ſat, an annual Parliament might be no great inconvenience to the Nation: But by reaſon of the ſlow methods of Seſſions now, an annual Parliament in times of peace would become a very inſupportable grievance. A Parliament of a long continuance, ſeemed to be very dangerous, either to the Crown, or to the Nation: If the conjuncture, and their proceedings, gave them much credit, they might grow very uneaſy to the Crown, as happened in King *Charles* the firſt's time; Or in another ſituation of affairs, they might be practiſed upon by the Court, that they might give all the money, and all the liberties of *England* up, when they were to have a large ſhare of the money, and were to be made the inſtruments of Tyranny; as it was in King *Charles* the ſecond's time. It was likewiſe hoped, that frequent Parliaments would put an end to the great expence Candidates put themſelves to in Elections; and that it would oblige the Members to behave themſelves ſo well, both with relation to the Publick, and in their private deportment, as to recommend them to their Electors at three year's end: Whereas when a Parliament was to ſit many years, Members covered with Privileges were apt to take great liberties, forgot that they repreſented others, and took care only of themſelves. So it was thought, that *England* would have a truer Repreſentative, when it was choſen anew every third year, than when run on to the end of a Reign. All that was objected againſt this was, that frequent Elections would make the Freeholders proud and inſolent, when they knew that applications muſt be made to them at the end of three years: This would eſtabliſh a Faction in every body, that had a right to an Election; And whereas now an Election put men to a great charge all at once, then the charge muſt be perpetual all the three years, in laying in for a new Election, when it was known how ſoon it muſt come round. And as for the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, ſome were for leaving it to the general triennial clauſe, that it might ſtill ſit three years; They thought that, during ſo critical a War, as that in which we were now engaged, it was not adviſable to venture on a new Election; ſince we had ſo many among us, who were ſo ill affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment: yet it was ſaid, this Parliament had already ſat three years; and therefore, it was not conſiſtent with the general reaſon of the Act, to let it continue longer. So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords: And tho' a Bill from them, diſſolving a Parliament, ſtruck only at the Houſe of Commons, the Lords being ſtill the ſame men; ſo that, upon that ſingle account, many thought they would have rejected it, yet they alſo paſſed it, and fixed their own diſſolution to the twenty fifth of *March* in the next year; So that they reſerved another Seſſion to themſelves. The King let the Bill lie for ſome time on the Table; So that mens eyes and expectations were much fixed on the iſſue of it. But in concluſion, he refuſed to paſs it; So the

Another for a Triennial Parliament.

the Seſſion ended in ill humour. The rejecting a Bill, tho' an unqueſtionable right of the Crown, has been ſo ſeldom practiſed, that the two Houſes are apt to think it a hardſhip, when there is a Bill denied. 1693

A Change in the Miniſtry.

But to ſoften the diſtaſte this might otherwiſe give, the King made conſiderable alterations in his Miniſtry. All people were now grown weary of the Great Seal's being in Commiſſion; It made the proceedings in Chancery to be both more dilatory, and more expenſive: And there were ſuch exceptions made, to the Decrees of the Commiſſioners, that Appeals were brought againſt moſt of them, and generally they were reverſed. Sir *John Somers* had now got great reputation, both in his Poſt of Attorney-General, and in the Houſe of Commons; So the King gave him the Great Seal. He was very learned in his own Profeſſion, with a great deal more Learning in other Profeſſions, in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory. He had a great capacity for buſineſs, with an extraordinary temper: for he was fair and gentle, perhaps to a fault, conſidering his Poſt. So that he had all the patience and ſoftneſs, as well as the juſtice and equity, becoming a great Magiſtrate. He had always agreed in his notions with the Whigs; and had ſtudied to bring them to better thoughts of the King, and to a greater confidence in him. *Trenchard* was made Secretary of State: He had been engaged far with the Duke of *Monmouth*, as was told formerly. He got out of *England*, and lived ſome years beyond Sea, and had a right underſtanding of affairs abroad: He was a calm and ſedate man; and was much more moderate, than could have been expected, ſince he was a leading man in a party. He had too great a regard to the Stars, and too little to Religion. The bringing theſe men into thoſe Poſts, was aſcribed chiefly to the great credit the Earl of *Sunderland* had gained with the King; He had now got into his confidence, and declared openly for the Whigs. Theſe advancements had a great effect on the whole party: and brought them to a much better opinion of the King. A young man, Mr. *Montague*, a branch of the Earl of *Manchester*'s family, began to make a great figure in the Houſe of Commons. He was a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and ſoon after made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had great vivacity and clearneſs, both of thought and expreſſion: His ſpirit was at firſt turned to Wit and Poetry, which he continued ſtill to encourage in others, when he applied himſelf to more important buſineſs. He came to have great notions, with relation to all the concerns of the Treaſury, and of the Publick Funds, and brought thoſe matters into new and better methods: He ſhewed the error of giving money upon remote Funds, at a vaſt diſcount, and with great premiums to raiſe Loans upon them; which occaſioned a great out-cry, at the ſums that were given, at the ſame time that they were much ſhrunk, before they produced the money, that was expected from them. So he preſſed the King to inſiſt on this as a maxim, to have all the money for the ſervice of a year, to be raiſed within that year.

Factions formed againſt the Court.

But as the employing theſe men had a very good effect on the King's affairs, ſo a party came to be now formed, that ſtudied to croſs and defeat every thing; This was led by *Seimour* and *Muſgrave*. The laſt was a Gentleman of a noble family in *Cumberland*, whoſe life had been regular, and his deportment grave. He had loſt a place in King *James*'s time: for tho' he was always a high Tory, yet he would not comply with his deſigns. He had indeed contributed much to increaſe his revenue, and to offer him more than he asked; yet he would not go into the taking off the Teſts. Upon the Revolution, the place out of which he had been turned, was given to a man, that had a good ſhare of merit in it. This alienated him from the King; And he, being a man of good judgment, and of great experience, came to be conſidered as the Head of the Party; in which he found his account ſo well, that no offers that were made him, could ever bring him over to the King's Intereſts. Upon many critical occaſions, he gave up ſome important points, for which the King found it neceſſary to pay him very liberally.

But the Party of the Tories was too inconſiderable to have raiſed a great oppoſition, if a Body of Whigs had not joined with them; Some of theſe had ſuch Republican notions, that they were much ſet againſt the Prerogative: And they thought the King was become too ſtiff in maintaining it: Others were offended,

1693 becauſe they were not conſidered nor preferred, as they thought they deſerved. The chief of theſe were, Mr. *Paul Foley* and Mr. *Harley*; The firſt of theſe was a younger ſon of one, who from mean beginnings had, by Iron Works, raiſed one of the greateſt eſtates, that had been in *England* in our time. He was a learned, tho' not a practiſing Lawyer; and was a man of vertue, and good Principles, but moroſe and wilful: And he had the affectation of paſſing for a great Patriot, by his conſtant finding fault with the Government, and keeping up an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the Court. *Harley* was a man of noble Family, and very eminently learned; much turned to Politicks, and of a reſtleſs Ambition. He was a man of great induſtry and application; and knew forms, and the Records of Parliament ſo well, that he was capable both of lengthening out, and of perplexing debates. Nothing could anſwer his aſpiring temper: So He and *Foley* joined with the Tories to create Jealouſies, and raiſe an oppoſition: They ſoon grew to be able to delay matters long; and ſet on foot ſome very uneaſy things, that were popular; ſuch as the Bill againſt Parliament men's being in places, and that for diſſolving the Parliament, and for having a new one every third year.

That which gave them much ſtrength was, the King's cold and reſerved way; He took no pains to oblige thoſe that came to him; nor was he eaſy of acceſs; He lived out of Town at *Kenſington*; And his chief Confidents were *Dutch*. He took no notice of the Clergy, and ſeemed to have little concern in the matters of the Church, or of Religion: And at this time ſome Atheiſts and Deiſts, as well as Socinians, were publiſhing Books againſt Religion in general, and more particularly againſt the Myſteries of our Faith. Theſe expreſſed great zeal for the Government: which gave a handle to thoſe, who were waiting for all advantages, and were careful of increaſing and improving them, to ſpread it all over the Nation, that the King, and thoſe about him, had no regard to Religion, nor to the Church of *England*.

But now I go on to the tranſactions of this Summer: The King had, in his Speech to the Parliament, told them, he intended to land a conſiderable Army in *France* this year. So after the Seſſion, Orders were given for hiring a Fleet for Tranſports, with ſo great a train of Artillery, that it would have ſerved an Army of forty thouſand men: This was very acceptable to the whole Nation, who loved an active War; and were very uneaſy to ſee ſo much money paid, and ſo little done with it: But all this went off without any effect. The *French* had attempted this Winter the Siege of *Rhineſeldt*, a place of no great conſequence. But it lay upon the *Rhine*, not far from *Coblentz*; And by it *Franconia* would have been open to them. They could not cut off the communication by the *Rhine*: ſo that freſh Supplies of men and proviſions were every day ſent to them, by the care of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who managed the matter with ſuch ſucceſs, that after a fortnight's ſtay before it, the *French* were forced to raiſe the Siege; which was a repulſe, ſo ſeldom given them, that upon it ſome ſaid, they were then ſure, *Louvoy* was dead. The *French* had alſo made another attempt upon *Huy*, of a ſhorter continuance, but with the like ſucceſs. The Campaign was opened with great Pomp in *Flanders*: for the King of *France* came thither in perſon, accompanied by the Ladies of the Court, which appeared the more ridiculous, ſince there was no Queen at the head of them; unleſs Madam *de Maintenon* was to be taken for one, to whom reſpects were indeed paid with more ſubmiſſion, than is commonly done to Queens; ſo that what might be wanting in the outward Ceremony, was more than ballanced by the real authority that ſhe had. It was given out that the King of *France*, after he had amuſed the King for ſome days, intended to have turned either to *Bruſſels* on the one hand, or to *Liege* on the other. In the mean while the *French* were working on the *Dutch*, by their ſecret practices, to make them hearken to a ſeparate Peace; And the ill humour that had appeared in the Parliament of *England* againſt them, was an argument much made uſe of, to convince them how little ground they had, to truſt to their Alliance with *England*: So that, as *French* practices had raiſed this ill humour among us, they made now this uſe of it, to break our mutual confidence, and by conſequence our Alliance with the *States*. The King made great haſte, and brought his Army much ſooner together, than the *French* expected: He encamped at *Park* near *Louvain*; by which he broke all the *French* meaſures

Affairs in *Flanders*.

sures: for he lay equally well posted to relieve *Brussels*, or *Liege*. It was grown the more necessary to take care of *Liege*; because tho' the Bishop was true to the Allies, yet there was a faction formed among the Capitulars, to offer themselves to the *French*; But the Garrison adhered to the Bishop; And now, when so great an Army lay near them, they broke the measures which that faction had taken. The *French* King, seeing that the practices of treachery, on which he chiefly relied, succeeded so ill, resolved not to venture himself in any dangerous enterprize; so he and the Ladies went back to *Versailles*. 1693

Affairs in the Empire.

The *Dauphin*, with a great part of the Army, was sent to make head against the *Germans*, who had brought an Army together, commanded by the Elector of *Saxony*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Prince of *Baden*: The *Germans* moved slowly, and were retarded by some disputes about the Command: So that the *French* came on to *Heidelberg*, before they were ready to cover it: The Town could make no long resistance; But it was too soon abandoned by a timorous Governor. The *French* were not able to hinder the conjunction of the *Germans*, tho' they endeavoured it; They advanced towards them, And tho' the Dauphin was much superior in numbers, and studied to force them to Action, yet they kept close; and he did not think fit to attack them in their Camp. The *French* raised great contributions in the *Wirtemberg*; But no Action happened on the *Rhine* all this Campaign. The *French* had better success and less opposition in *Catalonia*: They took *Roses*, and advanced to *Barcelona*, expecting their Fleet, which was to have bombarded it from the Sea, while their Army attacked it by Land: This put all *Spain* under a great consternation; The design of this Invasion was, to force them to treat of a separate Peace; while they felt themselves so vigorously attacked, and saw that they were in no condition to resist.

Affairs in *Piedmont*.

Affairs in *Piedmont* gave them a seasonable relief: The Duke of *Savoy*'s motions were so slow, that it seemed, both sides were resolved to lie upon the defensive. The *French* were very weak there, and they expected to be as weakly opposed. But in the end of *July*, the Duke began to move: And he obliged *Catinat* to retire with his small Army, having made him quit some of his Posts. And then he formed the Siege of St. *Bridget*, a fort that lay above *Pignerol*, and, as was believed, might command it. After twelve days Siege, the *French* abandoned it, and he was master of it. But he was not furnished for undertaking the Siege of *Pignerol*: And so the Campaign went off in Marches and Countermarches: But in the end of it, *Catinat*, having encreased his Army by some detachments, came up to the Duke of *Savoy*. They engaged at *Orbasson*, where the honour of the Action, but with that the greatest loss, fell to the *French*: for tho' they carried it by their numbers, their bodies being less spent and fuller, yet the resistance that was made, was such, that the Duke of *Savoy* gained more in his reputation, than he suffered by the loss of the day.

The Battle of *Landen*.

The two Armies lay long in *Flanders*, watching one another's motions, without coming to action. In *July*, *Luxemburgh* went to besiege *Huy*, and carried it in two or three days. The King moved that way, on design either to raise the Siege, or to force a Battle. Those in *Huy* did not give him time to come to their relief; And *Luxemburgh* made a feint towards *Liege*, which obliged the King to send some Battallions to reinforce the Garrison of that Place. He had also sent another great detatchment, commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to force the *French* Lines, and to put their Country under Contribution; which he executed with great success, and raised above four millions. *Luxemburgh* thought this was an advantage not to be lost: So that, as soon as he had received Orders from the King of *France* to attack the King in his Camp, He came up to him near *Landen*, upon the River *Gitte*. He was about double the King's number, chiefly in Horse. The King might have secured himself from all attacks, by passing the River: And his conduct in not doing it, was much censured, considering his strength, and the Enemy's. He chose rather to stay for them; But sent away the Baggage and heavy Cannon to *Mechelen*; and spent the whole night in planting Batteries, and casting up Retrenchments. On the twenty ninth of *July*, the *French* began their attack, early in the morning, and came on with great resolution, tho' the King's Cannon did great execution: They were beat off, with the loss of many Officers in several attacks: Yet they came still on

1693 with freſh Bodies; till at laſt, after an Action of ſeven or eight hours continuance, they broke through, in a place where there was ſuch a Body of *German* and *Spaniſh* Horſe, that the Army on no ſide was thought leſs in danger. Theſe Troops gave way; And ſo the *French* carried the honour of the day, and were maſters both of the King's Camp and Cannon: But the King paſſed the River, and cut the bridges, and lay ſecure out of reach. He had ſupported the whole action with ſo much courage, and ſo true a judgment, that it was thought, he got more honour that day, than even when he triumphed at the *Boyne*: He charged himſelf in ſeveral places. Many were ſhot round about him, with the Enemies Cannon: One musket-ſhot carried away part of his ſcarf, and another went thro' his hat, without doing him any harm. The *French* loſt ſo many men, and ſuffered ſo much, in the ſeveral onſets they had made, that they were not able to purſue a Victory, which coſt them ſo dear. We loſt in all about 7000: And among theſe, there was ſcarce an Officer of note; Only the Count *de Solms* had his Leg ſhot off by a Cannon Ball, of which he died in a few hours. By all the accounts that came from *France*, it appeared, that the *French* had loſt double the number, with a vaſtly greater proportion of Officers. The King's behaviour during the Battle, and in the retreat, was much magnified by the Enemy, as well as by his own ſide. The King of *France* was reported to have ſaid upon it, that *Luxemburgh*'s behaviour was like the Prince of *Conde*'s, but the King's like M. *Turenne*'s. His Army was, in a few days, as ſtrong as ever, by recalling the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Batallions he had ſent to *Liege*, and ſome other Bodies, that he drew out of Garriſons. And the reſt of the Campaign paſt over, without any other action; Only at the end of it, after the King had left the Army, *Charleroy* was beſieged by the *French*: The Country about it had been ſo eat up, that it was not poſſible to ſubſiſt an Army, that might have been brought to relieve it: The Garriſon made a brave reſiſtance, and held out a month; But it was taken at laſt.

Charleroy taken by the *French*.

Thus the *French* triumphed every where: But their ſucceſſes were more than ballanced by two bad harveſts, that came ſucceſſively one after another: They had alſo ſuffered much in their vintage; ſo that they had neither bread nor wine. Great diligence was uſed to bring in Corn from all parts; and ſtrict Orders were given by that Court, for regulating the price of it; and for furniſhing their Markets: There was alſo a liberal diſtribution ordered by that King, for the relief of the poor. But miſery will be miſery ſtill, after all poſſible care to alleviate it; Great multitudes periſhed for want, and the whole Kingdom fell under an extreme poverty: So that all the pomp of their Victories could not make them eaſy at home. They tried all poſſible methods for bringing about a general Peace; or if that failed, for a ſeparate Peace with ſome of the Confederates; But there was no diſpoſition in any of them to hearken to it; nor could they engage the Northern Crowns to offer their mediation. Some ſteps were indeed made; for they offered to acknowledge the preſent Government of *England*: But in all other points, their demands were ſtill ſo high, that there was no proſpect of a juſt Peace, till their affairs ſhould have brought them to an humbler poſture.

Attempts made for a Peace.

But while the Campaign, in all its ſcenes, was thus unequal and various, the *French*, tho' much weaker at Sea, were the moſt ſucceſsful there: And tho' we had the ſuperior ſtrength, we were very unproſperous; And by our ill conduct we loſt much, both in our honour and intereſt, on that Element. The great difficulty that the *French* were under in their Marine was, by reaſon of their two great Ports, *Breſt* and *Toulon*; and from the bringing their Fleets together, and ſending them back again. The danger they run in that, and the delays that it put them under, were the chief occaſions of their loſſes laſt year: But theſe were, in a great meaſure, made up to them now. We were ſending a very rich Fleet of Merchants Ships to the Mediterranean, which was valued at many millions; Some of theſe had lain ready a year and a half, waiting for a Convoy, but were ſtill put off by new delays; nor could they obtain one after *Ruſſel*'s Victory, tho' we were then Maſters at Sea. They were promiſed a great one in Winter. The number of the Merchant Ships did ſtill increaſe; ſo that the Convoy, which was at firſt deſigned, was not thought equal to the riches of the Fleet, and to the danger they might run by Ships, that might be ſent from *Toulon* to intercept them. The Court of *France* was watching this carefully: A Spy among the Jacobites

Our Affairs at Sea.

cobites gave advice, that certain perſons ſent from *Scotland* to *France*, to ſhew with how ſmall a force they might make themſelves Maſters of that Kingdom, had hopes given them for ſome time; Upon which ſeveral military men went to *Lancaſhire* and *Northumberland*, to ſee what could be expected from thence, if commotions ſhould happen in *Scotland*: But in *February* the *French* ſaid, they could not do what was expected; and the *Scotch* Agents were told, that they were obliged to look after the *Smirna* Fleet; which they reckoned might be of more conſequence, than even the carrying *Scotland* could be. The Fleet was ready in *February*, but new excuſes were again made; For it was ſaid, the Convoy muſt be increaſed to twenty Men of War; *Rook* was to command it; A new delay was likewiſe put in, on the pretence of ſtaying for advice from *Toulon*, whether the Squadron that was laid up there, was to lie in the Mediterranean this year, or to come about to *Breſt*. The Merchants were very uneaſy under thoſe delays; ſince the charge was like to eat up the profit of the Voyage: But no diſpatch could be had; and very probable reaſons were offered to juſtify every new retardment. The *French* Fleet had gone early out of *Toulon*, on deſign to have deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which lay in the Bay of *Puzzolo*; But they lay ſo ſafe there, that the *French* ſaw they could not ſucceed in any attempt upon them; Afterwards they ſtood off to the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, to aſſiſt their Army, which was making ſome Conqueſts there. Yet theſe were only feints to amuſe and to cover their true deſign. The Fleet at *Breſt* failed away from thence ſo ſuddenly, that they were neither compleatly manned nor victualled; And they came to *Lagos* Bay in *Algarve*. Tenders were ſent after them, with the neceſſary Complement of men and proviſions; This ſudden and unprovided motion of the *French* Fleet looked, as if ſome ſecret advice had been ſent from *England*, acquainting them with our deſigns. But at the Secretary's office, not only there was no Intelligence concerning their Fleet, but when a Ship came in, that brought the news of their having ſailed from *Breſt*, they were not believed. Our main Fleet ſailed out into the Sea, for ſome leagues with *Rook*, and the Merchant Ships: And when they thought they were out of danger, they came back. *Rook* was unhappy in that, which, upon any other occaſion, would have been a great happineſs; he had a fair and a ſtrong gale of wind; ſo that no advice ſent after him could overtake him: Nor did he meet with any Ships at Sea, that could give him notice of the danger that lay before him. He doubled the Cape of St. *Vincent*, and had almoſt fallen in with the *French* Fleet, before he was aware of it: He dreamed of no danger, but from the *Toulon* Squadron, till he took a Fire-ſhip; The Captain whereof endeavoured to deceive him, by a falſe ſtory, as if there had been only fifteen men of War lying at *Lagos*, that intended to join *D' Eſtrees*: The Merchants were for going on, and believed the information; They were confirmed in this, by the diſorder the *French* ſeemed to be in; for they were cutting their Cables, and drawing near the Shore. The truth was, when they ſaw *Rook*'s Fleet, they apprehended, by their numbers, that the whole Fleet of *England* was coming toward them: And indeed had they come ſo far with them, here was an occaſion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an Age, of deſtroying their whole ſtrength at Sea. But as the *French* ſoon perceived their error, and were forming themſelves into a Line; *Rook* ſaw his error likewiſe, and ſtood out to Sea, while the Merchants fled, as their fears drove them; a great many of them ſticking ſtill cloſe to him: Others ſailed to *Cadiz*, and ſome got to *Gibraltar*: And inſtead of purſuing their Voyage, put in there: Some Ships were burnt or ſunk, and a very ſmall number was taken by the *French*. They did not purſue *Rook*, but let him ſail away to the *Maderas*; And from thence he came, firſt to *Kinſale*, and then into *England*. The *French* tried what they could do upon *Cadiz*; but found that it was not practicable. They came next to *Gibraltar*, where the Merchants ſunk their Ships, to prevent their falling into their hands: From thence they ſailed along the Coaſt of *Spain*, and burnt ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, that were lying at *Malaga*, *Alicant*, and in ſome other places. They hoped to have deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* Fleet; but they put in at *Port Mahone*, where they were ſafe: At length, after a very glorious Campaign, the *French* came back to *Toulon*: It is certain, if *Tourville* had made uſe of all his advantages, and had executed the de-

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The *Turkey* Fleet in great danger.

1693 sign, as well as it was projected, he might have done us much miſchief; Few of our Men of War, or Merchant-men, could have got out of his hands: The loſs fell heavieſt on the *Dutch*: The Voyage was quite loſt; And the diſgrace of it was viſible to the whole World, and very ſenſible to the trading part of the Nation.

Great Jealouſies of the King's Miniſtry.

The appearances were ſuch, that it was generally ſurmiſed, our Counſels were betrayed. The Secretary, that attended on the Admirals, was much ſuſpected, and charged with many things: But the Suſpicions roſe high, even as to the Secretary of State's office. It was ſaid, that our Fleet was kept in port, till the *French* were laid in their way, and was then ordered to ſail, that it might fall into their hands: Many particulars were laid together, which had ſuch colours, that it was not to be wondred at, if they created jealouſy, eſpecially in minds ſufficiently prepared for it. Upon enquiry it appeared, that ſeveral of thoſe, who, for the laſt two years, were put in the ſubaltern employments, through the Kingdom, did upon many occaſions ſhew a diſaffection to the Government, and talked and acted like Enemies. Our want of intelligence of the motions of the *French*, while they ſeemed to know every thing that we either did, or deſigned to do, caſt a heavy reproach upon our Miniſters, who were now broke ſo in pieces, that they acted without union or concert: Every one ſtudied to juſtify himſelf, and to throw the blame on others: A good ſhare of this was caſt on the Earl of *Nottingham*; The Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* was much ſuſpected: The Earl of *Rocheſter* began now to have great credit with the Queen; and ſeemed to be ſo violently ſet againſt the Whigs, that they looked for dreadful things from him, if he came again to govern: For, being naturally warm, and apt to heat himſelf in company, he broke out into Sallies, which were carried about, and began to create jealouſies, even of the Queen herſelf.

I was in ſome ſort anſwerable for this: For, when the Queen came into *England*, ſhe was ſo poſſeſſed againſt him, that he tried all his Friends and Intereſt in the Court, to be admitted to clear himſelf, and to recover her favour, but all in vain; for they found her ſo alienated from him, that no perſon would undertake it. Upon that, he addreſſed himſelf to me: I thought that, if he came into the ſervice of the Government, his relation to the Queen would make him firm and zealous for it: And I ſerved him ſo effectually, that the Queen laid aſide all her reſentments, and admitted him, by degrees, into a high meaſure of favour and confidence. I quickly ſaw my error: And he took pains to convince me effectually of it: For he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of her favour, than he went into an intereſt, very different from what I believed he would have purſued. He talked againſt all favour to Diſſenters, and for ſetting up the notions of Perſecution and Violence, which he had ſo much promoted in King *Charles*'s time, and profeſſed himſelf an enemy to the preſent Biſhops, and to the methods they were taking, of preaching and viſiting their Dioceſes, of obliging the Clergy to attend more carefully to their Functions, and of endeavouring to gain the Diſſenters by gentle and calm methods.

The State of the Clergy and Church.

The King had left the matters of the Church wholly in the Queen's hands. He found he could not reſiſt Importunities, which were not only vexatious to him, but had drawn preferments from him, which he came ſoon to ſee were ill beſtowed: So he devolved that care upon the Queen, which ſhe managed with ſtrict and religious prudence: She declared openly againſt the preferring of thoſe, who put in for themſelves; and took care to inform herſelf particularly of the merits of ſuch of the Clergy, as were not ſo much as known at Court, nor uſing any methods to get themſelves recommended: So that we had reaſon to hope, that, if this courſe ſhould be long continued, it would produce a great change in the Church, and in the temper of the Clergy. She conſulted chiefly with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom ſhe favoured and ſupported in a moſt particular manner. She ſaw what need there was of it: For a party was formed againſt him, who ſet themſelves to cenſure every thing he did. It was a melancholy thing to conſider that, tho' we never ſaw an Archbiſhop before him, apply himſelf ſo entirely, without partiality or biaſs, to all the concerns of the Church and Religion, as he did; and that the Queen's heart was ſet on promoting them, yet ſuch an evil ſpirit ſhould ſeem to be let looſe upon the Clergy. They com-

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plained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way: And the Archbiſhop bore the blame of all. He did not enter into any cloſe correſpondence, or the concerting meaſures with the Miniſtry, but lived much abſtracted from them: So they ſtudied to depreſs him all they could. This made a great impreſſion upon him. He grew very uneaſy in his great Poſt: We were all ſoon convinced, that there was a ſort of Clergymen among us, that would never be ſatisfied, as long as the Toleration was continued: And they ſeemed reſolved to give it out, that the Church was in danger, till a proſecution of Diſſenters ſhould be again ſet on foot: Nor could they look at a man with patience, or ſpeak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in theſe things. The Biſhops fell under the diſpleaſure of the Whigs, by the methods they took, not only of protecting, but of preferring ſome of theſe men, hoping by that means both to have ſoftened them, and their friends: But they took their preferments, as the rewards that they ſuppoſed were due to their merit; and they employed the credit and authority which their preferments brought them, wholly againſt thoſe to whom they owed them. The Whigs were much turned againſt the King; and were not pleaſed with thoſe who had left them, when they were ſo violent in the beginning of this Reign: And it was a hard thing, in ſuch a divided time, to reſolve to be of no party, ſince men of that temper are puſhed at by many, and protected by no ſide. Of this we had many inſtances at that time: And I myſelf had ſome very ſenſible ones: but they are too inconſiderable to be mentioned. In this bad ſtate we were, when a Seſſion of Parliament came on with great apprehenſions, occaſioned by our ill ſucceſs, and by the King's temper, which he could no way conſtrain, or render more complaiſant, but chiefly from the diſpoſition of mens minds, which was practiſed on with great induſtry, by the enemies of the Government, who were driving on Jealouſies daily. 1693

A Parliament had been ſummoned in *Ireland* by the Lord *Sidney*; But they met full of diſcontent, and were diſpoſed to find fault with every thing: And there was too much matter to work upon; for the Lord Lieutenant was apt to excuſe or juſtify thoſe, who had the addreſs to inſinuate themſelves into his favour: So that they were diſmiſſed, before they brought their Bills to perfection. The *Engliſh* in *Ireland* thought the Government favoured the *Iriſh* too much; ſome ſaid, this was the effect of Bribery, whereas others thought, it was neceſſary to keep them ſafe from the proſecutions of the *Engliſh*, who hated them, and were much ſharpened againſt them. The protecting the *Iriſh* was indeed in ſome ſort neceſſary, to keep them from breaking out, or from running over to the *French*: But it was very plain, that the *Iriſh* were *Iriſh* ſtill, enemies to the *Engliſh* Nation, and to the preſent Government: So that all kindneſs ſhewed them, beyond what was due in ſtrict Juſtice, was the cheriſhing an inveterate enemy. There were alſo great complaints of an ill Adminiſtration, chiefly in the Revenue, in the pay of the Army, and in the embezzelling of Stores. Of theſe, much noiſe was made in *England*, which drew Addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament to the King, which were very invidiouſly penned: Every particular being ſeverely aggravated. So the King called back the Lord *Sidney*, and put the Government of *Ireland*, into three Lords Juſtices; Lord *Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, Sir *Cyril Wyche*, and Mr. *Duncomb*. When they were ſent from Court, the Queen did very earneſtly recommend to their care, the reforming of many diſorders, that were prevailing in that Kingdom: For, neither had the late deſtructive War, out of which they were but beginning to recover themſelves, nor their poverty, produced thoſe effects, that might have been well expected. Affairs in *Ireland*.

The ſtate of *Ireland* leads me to inſert here a very particular inſtance of the Queen's pious care, in the diſpoſing of Biſhopricks: Lord *Sidney* was ſo far engaged in the intereſt of a great Family of *Ireland*, that he was too eaſily wrought on, to recommend a Branch of it to a vacant See. The repreſentation was made with an undue character of the perſon: So the Queen granted it. But when ſhe underſtood, that he lay under a very bad character, ſhe wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Lord *Sidney*, letting him know what ſhe had heard, and ordered him to all for ſix *Iriſh* Biſhops, whom ſhe named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that perſon: They all agreed, that he laboured under an ill fame: And, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote The Queen's Strictneſs and pious Deſigns.

1693 him; ſo that matter was let fall. I do not name the perſon; for I intend not to leave a blemiſh on him: But ſet this down as an Example, fit to be imitated by Chriſtian Princes.

Another effect of the Queen's pious care of the Souls of her People was finiſhed this year, after it had been much oppoſed, and long ſtopped. Mr. *Blair*, a very worthy man, came over from *Virginia*, with a propoſition for erecting a College there. In order to which, he had ſet on foot a voluntary Subſcription, which aroſe to a great Sum: And he found out ſome branches of the Revenue there, that went all into private hands, without being brought into any publick account, with which a Free-School and College might be well endowed. The *Engliſh* born there were, as he ſaid, capable of every thing, if they were provided with the means of a good education; And a foundation of this kind in *Virginia*, that lay in the middle, between our Southern and Northern Plantations, might be a common Nurſery to them all; and put the People born there, in a way of further improvement. Thoſe concerned in the management of the Plantations, had made ſuch advantages of thoſe particulars, out of which the Endowment was to be raiſed, that all poſſible objections were made to the Project, as a deſign that would take our Planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing, to be obedient and ſubmiſſive. The Queen was ſo well pleaſed with the deſign, as apprehending the very good effects it might have, that no objection againſt it cou'd move her: She hoped, it might be a means of improving her own People, and of preparing ſome to propagate the Goſpel among the Natives; And therefore, as ſhe eſpouſed the matter with a particular zeal, ſo the King did very readily concur with her in it. The Endowment was fixed, and the Patent was paſſed for the College, called from the Founders, the *William* and *Mary* College.

Affairs in *Scotland*.

Affairs in *Scotland* grew more and more out of joint. Many whom the King had truſted in the Miniſtry there, were thought enemies to him and his Government; and ſome took ſo little care to conceal their Inclinations, that, when an Invaſion was looked for, they ſeemed reſolved to join in it. They were taken out of a Plot, which was managed by perſwading many to take Oaths to the Government, on deſign to betray it; and were now truſted with the moſt important Poſts. The Presbyterians began to ſee their error, in driving matters ſo far, and in provoking the King ſo much; And they ſeemed deſirous to recover his favour, and to manage their matters with more temper. The King came likewiſe to ſee, that he had been a little too ſudden in truſting ſome, who did not deſerve his confidence. Duke *Hamilton* had for ſome years withdrawn from buſineſs; But he was now prevailed with to return to Council; Many Letters were intercepted between *France* and *Scotland*: In thoſe from *Scotland*, the eaſineſs of engaging that Nation was often repeated, if no time were loſt; It ſeemed therefore neceſſary to bring that Kingdom into a better ſtate.

A Seſſion of Parliament there.

A Seſſion of Parliament was held there, to which Duke *Hamilton* was ſent as the King's Commiſſioner; The Supplies that were asked were granted; And now the whole Presbyterian Party was again entire in the King's Intereſt; The matters of the Church were brought to more temper, than was expected: The Epiſcopal Clergy had more moderate terms offered them; They were only required to make an Addreſs to the General Aſſembly, offering to ſubſcribe to a Confeſſion of Faith, and to acknowledge Presbytery to be the only Government of that Church, with a promiſe to ſubmit to it; upon which, within a fortnight after they did that, if no matter of ſcandal was objected to them, the Aſſembly was either to receive them into the Government of the Church; or, if they could not be brought to that, the King was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their Churches, without any dependance on the Presbytery. This was a ſtrain of Moderation, that the Presbyterians were not eaſily brought to; A Subſcription that owned Presbytery to be the only Legal Government of that Church, without owning any Divine Right in it, was far below their uſual pretenſions. And this Act veſted the King with an authority, very like that which they were wont to condemn as *Eraſtianiſm*. Another act was alſo paſſed, requiring all in any Office in Church or State, to take, beſides the Oath of Allegiance, a Declaration called the *Aſſurance*, owning the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and promiſing Fidelity to them againſt King *James*, and all

all his Adherents. The Council was alſo impowered to tender theſe, as they ſhould ſee cauſe for it, and to fine and impriſon ſuch as ſhould refuſe them. When the Seſſion was near an end, *Nevill Payne* was brought before the Parliament, to be examined, upon the many Letters that had been intercepted. There was a full evidence againſt him in many of his own Letters; But he ſent word to ſeveral of the Lords, in particular to Duke *Hamilton*, that as long as his Life was his own, he would accuſe none: But he was reſolved he would not die; and he could diſcover enough to deſerve his Pardon. This ſtruck ſuch terror into many of them, whoſe Sons or near Relations had been concerned with him, that he moving for a delay, on a pretence of ſome witneſſes that were not then at hand, a time was given him beyond the continuance of the Seſſion; ſo he eſcaped, and that enquiry was ſtifled: The Seſſion ended calmly. But the King ſeemed to have forgot *Scotland* ſo entirely, that he let three months go over, before he took notice of any of their Petitions: And, tho' he had asked, and had Supplies for an Augmentation of Forces; and many had been gained to conſent to the Tax, by the hope of Commiſſions in the Troops, that were to be levied; yet the King did not raiſe any new ones, but raiſed the Supply, and applied it to other uſes: This began again to raiſe an ill humour, that had been almoſt quite laid down, in the whole courſe of this Seſſion, which was thought a reconciling One. The Clergy let the day prefixed, for making their ſubmiſſion to the Aſſembly, ſlip, and did not take the Oaths; ſo they could claim no Benefit by the Act, that had been carried in their favour, not without ſome difficulty. And the Law, that was intended to ſave them, did now expoſe them to ruin; ſince by it, they, not taking the Oaths, had loſt their Legal Rights to their Benefices. Yet they were ſuffered to continue in them, and were put in hope, that the King would protect them, tho' it was now againſt Law. They were alſo made to believe, that the King did not deſire that they ſhould take the Oaths, or make any ſubmiſſion to Presbytery: And it is certain, that no publick ſignification of the King's mind was made to them; ſo they were eaſily impoſed on by ſurmizes and whiſpers; upon this the diſtractions grew up afreſh. Many concluded there, as well as in *England*, that the King's heart led him ſtill to court his Enemies, even after all the manifeſt reaſons he had to conclude, that the ſteps they made towards him were only feigned Submiſſions, to gain ſuch a Confidence, as might put it in their power to deliver him up. 1693

The Earl of *Middletoun* went to *France*.

The Earl of *Middletoun* went over to *France*, in the beginning of this Year: And it was believed, he was ſent by a great body among us, with a Propoſition, which, had he had the aſſurance to have made, and they the wiſdom to have accepted, might have much encreaſed our Factions and Jealouſies. It was, that King *James* ſhould offer to reſign his Title in favour of his Son, and likewiſe to ſend him to be bred in *England*, under the direction of a Parliament, till he ſhould be of Age; But I could never hear that he ventured on this advice; in another he ſucceeded better. When King *James* thought the Invaſion from *Normandy*, the former year, was ſo well laid, that he ſeemed not to apprehend it could miſcarry, he had prepared a Declaration, of which ſome Copies came over. He promiſed nothing in it, and pardoned no body by it. But he ſpoke in the ſtile of a Conquerour, who thought he was Maſter, and therefore would limit himſelf by no promiſes, but ſuch as were conceived in general words, which might be afterwards expounded at pleaſure. This was much blamed, even by his own party, who thought that they themſelves were not enough ſecured by ſo looſe a Declaration: ſo the Earl of *Middletoun*, upon his going over, procured one of another ſtrain, which, as far as Words could go, gave all content: For he promiſed every thing, and pardoned all perſons. His Party got this into their hands; I ſaw a Copy of it, and they waited for a fit occaſion to publiſh it to the Nation.

The Duke of *Anjou* offered to the *Spaniards*.

We were alſo at this time alarmed with a Negotiation, that the Court of *France* was ſetting on Foot at *Madrid*: They offered to reſtore to the Crown of *Spain* all that had been taken from it, ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, on condition that the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould be declared the Heir of that Crown, in default of Iſſue by the King: The Grandees of *Spain*, who are bred up to a diſregard and contempt of all the World beſides themſelves, were inclinable to entertain this

1693 this Propoſition; tho' they ſaw that by ſo doing, they muſt loſe the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and many of their other Allies. But the King himſelf, weak as he was, ſtood firm and intractable; and ſeemed to be as much ſet on watching their conduct, as a man of his low Genius could poſſibly be. He reſolved to adhere to the Alliance, and to carry on the War; tho' he could do little more than barely reſolve on it. The *Spaniards* thought of nothing, but their Intrigues at *Madrid*; And for the management of the War, and all their affairs, they left the care of that to their Stars, and to their Allies.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* again made Secretary of State.

The King came over to *England* in *November*; He ſaw the neceſſity of changing both his Meaſures and his Miniſters; He expreſſed his diſlike of the whole conduct at Sea; and named *Ruſſel* for the Command of the Fleet next Year: He diſmiſſed the Earl of *Nottingham*, and would immediately have brought the Earl of *Shrewsbury* again into the Miniſtry: But when that Lord came to him, he thought the King's Inclinations were ſtill the ſame, that they had been for ſome Years, and that the turn, which he was now making, was not from choice, but force; So that went off; and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* went into the Country: Yet the King ſoon after ſent for him, and gave him ſuch aſſurances, that he was again made Secretary of State, to the general ſatisfaction of the Whigs. But the perſon, that had the King's Confidence to the higheſt degree, was the Earl of *Sunderland*, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an aſcendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any *Engliſhman* ever had: He had brought the King to this Change of Councils, by the proſpect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in, if he did not entirely both truſt and ſatisfy thoſe, who, in the preſent conjuncture, were the only party, that both could and would ſupport him. It was ſaid, that the true ſecret of this change of meaſures was, that the Tories ſignified to the King plainly, that they could carry on the War no longer, and that therefore he muſt accept of ſuch a Peace, as could be had: This was the moſt pernicious thing that could be thought on, and the moſt contrary to the King's notions and deſigns; but they being poſitive, he was forced to change hands, and to turn to the other Party; So the Whigs were now in favour again, and every thing was done that was like to put them in good humour. The Commiſſion of the Lieutenancy for the City of *London*, on which they had ſet their hearts, much more perhaps than it deſerved, was ſo altered, that the Whigs were the ſuperior number; and all other Commiſſions over *England* were much changed. They were alſo brought into many places of Truſt and Profit; So that the King put his affairs chiefly into their hands: Yet ſo, that no Tory, who had expreſſed zeal or affection for the Government, was turned out. Upon this, the Whigs expreſt new zeal, and confidence in the King. All the Money that was asked, for the next Year's expence, was granted very readily.

A Bank erected.

Among other Funds that were created, One was for conſtituting a Bank, which occaſioned great debates: Some thought a Bank would grow to be a Monopoly. All the Money of *England* would come into their hands; And they would in a few years become the Maſters of the Stock and Wealth of the Nation. Others argued for it: That the credit it would have, muſt increaſe Trade and the circulation of Money, at leaſt in Bank-Notes. It was viſible, that all the Enemies of the Government ſet themſelves againſt it, with ſuch a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people, that they ſaw the ſtrength that our affairs would receive from it. I had heard the *Dutch* often reckon up the great advantages they had from their Banks; And they concluded that, as long as *England* continued jealous of the Government, a Bank could never be ſettled among us, nor gain credit enough to ſupport itſelf: And upon that, they judged that the ſuperiority in Trade muſt ſtill lie on their ſide. This, with all the other remote Funds that were created, had another good effect: It engaged all thoſe, who were concerned in them, to be, upon the account of their own Intereſt, zealous for maintaining the Government; ſince it was not to be doubted, but that a Revolution would have ſwept all theſe away. The advantages that the King, and all concerned in Tallies, had from the Bank, were ſoon ſo ſenſibly felt, that all people ſaw into the ſecret reaſons, that made the Enemies of the Conſtitution ſet themſelves with ſo much earneſtneſs againſt it.

The

1693 The Conduct of the Fleet examined.

The enquiry into the conduct at Sea, particularly, with relation to the *Smirna* Fleet, took up much time, and held long: Great exceptions were taken to the many delays; by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our Ports, till the *French* were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them; Our want of Intelligence was much complained of: The Inſtructions that the Admirals, who commanded the Fleet, had received from the Cabinet Council, were thought ill given, and yet worſe executed; Their Orders ſeem'd weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective: Nor had they ſhewed any zeal in doing more, than ſtrictly to obey ſuch Orders: They had very cautiouſly kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle: They had uſed no diligence to get certain information, concerning the *French* Fleet, whether it was ſtill in *Breſt*, or had ſailed out; But in that important matter, they had truſted general and uncertain reports too eaſily: Nor had they ſailed with *Rook*, till he was paſt danger. To all this their anſwer was, that they had obſerved their Orders; They had reaſon to think, the *French* were ſtill in *Breſt*; that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from the Coaſt of *England*, when they had (as they underſtood) ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great Naval force, which might make an impreſſion on our Coaſt, when they were at too great a diſtance from it; The getting certain Intelligence from *Breſt*, was repreſented as impracticable. They had many ſpecious things to ſay in their own defence, and many friends to ſupport them; For it was now the buſineſs of one party to accuſe, and of another to juſtify that conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient to condemn the Admirals; as they had followed their Inſtructions: So a Vote paſſed in their favour. The reſt of the buſineſs of the Seſſion was managed both with dexterity and ſucceſs: All ended well, tho' a little too late: for the Seſſion was not finiſhed before the end of *April*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came this Winter to concert meaſures with the King: He ſtayed above two Months in *England*, and was treated with very ſingular reſpects, and at a great expence.

1694 The Government miſrepreſented.

The Tories began in this Seſſion, to obſtruct the King's Meaſures more openly than before; The Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham* did it in the Houſe of Lords, and with a peculiar edge and violence: They ſaw how great a reputation, the fair Adminiſtration of Juſtice by the Judges, and more particularly that Equity, which appeared in the whole proceedings of the Court of Chancery, gave the Government; therefore they took all occaſions, that gave them any handle to reflect on theſe. We had many ſad declamations, ſetting forth the Miſery the Nation was under, in ſo tragical a ſtrain, that thoſe who thought it was quite otherwiſe with us, and that under all our taxes and loſſes, there was a viſible encreaſe of the Wealth of the Nation, could not hear all this without ſome Indignation.

The Biſhops are heavily charged.

The Biſhops had their ſhare of ill humour vented againſt them; It was viſible to the whole Nation, that there was another face of ſtrictneſs, of humility and charity among them, than had been ordinarily obſerved before: They viſited their Dioceſes more; They confirmed and preached oftner, than any who had in our memory gone before them; They took more care in examining thoſe whom they Ordained, and in looking into the behaviour of their Clergy, than had been formerly practiſed; But they were faithful to the Government, and zealous for it; They were gentle to the Diſſenters, and did not rail at them, nor ſeem uneaſy at the Toleration. This was thought ſuch a heinous matter, that all their other diligence was deſpiſed; And they were repreſented as men, who deſigned to undermine the Church, and to betray it.

Debates concerning Divorce.

Of this, I will give one Inſtance; The matter was of great importance; and it occaſioned great and long Debates in this, and in the former Seſſion of Parliament: It related to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had proved his Wife guilty of Adultery, and did move for an Act of Parliament, diſſolving his Marriage, and allowing him to marry again: In the later Ages of Popery, when Marriage was reckoned among the Sacraments, an opinion grew to be received, that Adultery did not break the Bond, and that it could only entitle to a ſeparation, but not ſuch a diſſolution of the Marriage, as gave the party, that was injured, a right

1694 a right to marry again: This became the Rule of the Spiritual Courts; tho' there was no Definition made about it, before the Council of *Trent*. At the time of the Reformation, a ſuit of this nature was proſecuted by the Marquiſs of *Northampton*: The Marriage was diſſolved, and he married a ſecond time; But he found it neceſſary to move for an Act of Parliament, to confirm this ſubſequent Marriage: In the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, that was prepared by *Cranmer* and others, in King *Edward*'s time, a Rule was laid down, allowing of a ſecond Marriage, upon a Divorce for Adultery. This matter had lain aſleep above an hundred years, till the preſent Duke of *Rutland*, then Lord *Roos*, moved for the like liberty. At that time a ſceptical and libertine ſpirit prevailed, ſo that ſome began to treat Marriage, only as a Civil Contract, in which the Parliament was at full liberty, to make what Laws they pleaſed; And moſt of King *Charles*'s Courtiers applauded this, hoping by this doctrine, that the King might be divorced from the Queen. The greater part of the Biſhops, apprehending the conſequence that Lord *Roos*'s Act might have, oppoſed every ſtep that was made in it; tho' many of them were perſuaded, that in the caſe of Adultery, when it was fully proved, a ſecond Marriage might be allowed. In the Duke of *Norfolk*'s caſe, as the Lady was a Papiſt, and a buſy Jacobite, ſo a great Party appeared for her. All that favoured the Jacobites, and thoſe who were thought engaged in lewd Practices, eſpouſed her concern with a zeal that did themſelves little honour. Their number was ſuch, that no progreſs could be made in the Bill, though the proofs were but too full, and too plain. But the main queſtion was, whether, ſuppoſing the matter fully proved, the Duke of *Norfolk* ſhould be allowed a ſecond Marriage: The Biſhops were deſired to deliver their opinions, with their reaſons: All thoſe, who had been made during the preſent Reign, were of opinion, that a ſecond Marriage in that caſe was lawful, and conformable, both to the Words of the Goſpel, and to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church; and that the contrary opinion was ſtarted in the late and dark Ages: But all the Biſhops, that had been made by the two former Kings, were of another opinion; tho' ſome of them could not well tell why they were ſo. Here was a colour for men, who looked at things ſuperficially, to obſerve that there was a difference of opinion, between the laſt made Biſhops, and thoſe of an elder ſtanding: from which they inferred, that we were departing from the received Doctrine of our Church; and upon that topick, the Earl of *Rocheſter* charged us very vehemently. The Bill was let fall at this time; Nor was the Diſpute kept up, for no Books were writ on the ſubject of either ſide.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.

The King went beyond Sea in *May*; And the Campaign was opened ſoon after: The Armies of both ſides came very near one another: The King commanded that of the Confederates, as the Dauphin did the *French*: They lay between *Bruſſels* and *Liege*; And it was given out, that they intended to beſiege *Maſtricht*; The King moved toward *Namur*, that he might either cut off their proviſions, or force them to fight; But they were reſolved to avoid a Battle: So they retired likewiſe, and the Campaign paſt over in the ordinary manner; both of them moving, and watching one another. The King ſent a great Detachment to break into the *French* Country at *Pont Eſperies*: But tho' the Body he ſent had made a great advance, before the *French* knew any thing of their march, yet they ſent away their Cavalry with ſo much haſte, and in ſo continued a march, that they were poſſeſſed of the Paſs before the Body, the King had ſent, could reach it; whereby they gained their point, tho' their Cavalry ſuffered much. This deſign failing, the King ſent another Body towards *Huy*, who took it in a few days: It was become more neceſſary to do this, for the covering of *Liege*, which was now much broken into faction; Their Biſhop was dead, and there was a great diviſion in the Chapter: Some were for the Elector of *Cologne*, and others were for the Elector *Palatine*'s Brother: But that for the Elector of *Cologne* was the ſtronger party, and the Court of *Rome* judged in their favour. The differences between that Court, and that of *Verſailles*, were now ſo far made up, that the Bulls for the Biſhops, whom the King had named to the vacant Sees, were granted, upon the ſubmiſſion of all thoſe, who had been concerned in the Articles of 1682. Yet after all that Reconciliation, the real Inclinations of the Court of *Rome* lay ſtill towards the Confederates: The Alliance

Alliance that *France* was in with the *Turk*, was a thing of an odious ſound at *Rome*. The taking of *Huy* covered *Liege*; So that they were both ſafer and quieter. The Confederates, eſpecially the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, grew weary of keeping up vaſt Armies, that did nothing elſe, but lay for ſome Months advantageouſly poſted, in view of the Enemy, without any Action. 1694

On the *Rhine*, things went much in the uſual manner; only at the end of the Campaign, the Prince of *Baden* paſſed the *Rhine*, and raiſed great Contributions in *Alſace*, which the *French* ſuffered him to do, rather than hazard a Battle. There was nothing of any importance done on either ſide in *Piedmont*; Only there appeared to be ſome ſecret management between the Court of *France*, and that of *Turin*, in order to a Peace: It was chiefly negotiated at *Rome*, but was all the while denied by the Duke of *Savoy*. On the *Rhine*.

In *Catalonia*, the *Spaniards* were beat off from ſome Poſts, and *Gironne* was taken; nor was *Barcelona* in any condition to have reſiſted, if the *French* had ſet down before it. The Court of *Madrid* felt their weakneſs, and ſaw their danger ſo viſibly, that they were forced to implore the Protection of the *Engliſh* Fleet: The *French* had carried the beſt part of their Naval Force into the *Mediterranean*, and had reſolved to attack *Barcelona*, both by Sea and Land, at the ſame time: And, upon their ſucceſs there, to have gone round *Spain*, deſtroying their Coaſt every where. All this was intended to force them to accept the offers the *French* were willing to make them; But to prevent this, *Ruſſel* was ordered to ſail into the *Mediterranean*, with a Fleet of threeſcore great Ships: He was ſo long ſtopt in his Voyage by contrary Winds, that the *French*, if they had purſued their advantages, might have finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Catalonia*; But they reſolved not to hazard their Fleet; So it was brought back to *Toulon*, long before *Ruſſel* could get into the *Mediterranean*, which was now left entirely to him. But it was thought, that the *French* intended to make a ſecond Attempt, in the end of the year, aſſoon as he ſhould ſail back to *England*: So it was propoſed, that he might lie at *Cadiz* all the winter. This was an affair of that importance, that it was long and much debated, before it was reſolved on. It was thought a dangerous thing, to expoſe the beſt part of our Fleet, ſo much as it muſt be, while it lay at ſo great a diſtance from us, that Convoys of Stores and Proviſions might eaſily be intercepted: And indeed, the Ships were ſo low in their Proviſions, when they came back to *Cadiz* (the Veſſels that were ordered to carry them having been ſtopt four months in the Channel by contrary winds) that our Fleet had not then above a fortnight's Victuals on Board: Yet when the whole matter was thoroughly canvaſt, it was agreed, that our Ships might both lie ſafe, and be well careened at *Cadiz*; Nor was the difference in the expence, between their lying there, and in our own Ports, conſiderable. By our lying there, the *French* were ſhut within the *Mediterranean*; ſo that the Ocean and their Coaſts were left open to us. They were in effect ſhut up within *Toulon*; for they, having no other Port in thoſe Seas but that, reſolved not to venture abroad; So that now we were Maſters of the Seas every where. Theſe conſiderations, determined the King to ſend Orders to *Ruſſel*, to lie all the winter at *Cadiz*; which produced very good effects; The *Venetians* and the *Great Duke* had not thought fit to own the King till then: A great Fleet of Stores and Ammunition, with all other proviſions for the next Campain, came ſafe to *Cadiz*: and ſome clean Men of War were ſent out, in exchange for others, which were ordered home. And in *Catalonia*. Our Fleet lay at *Cadiz*.

But while we were very fortunate in our main Fleet, we had not the like good ſucceſs, in an attempt that was made on *Camaret*, a ſmall neck of Land that lies in the mouth of the River of *Breſt*, and would have commanded that River, if we could have made ourſelves Maſters of it. *Talmaſh* had formed the deſign of ſeizing on it; He had taken care to be well informed of every thing relating to it; 6000 Men ſeemed to be more than were neceſſary for taking and keeping it: The deſign, and the preparations for it, were kept ſo ſecret, that there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Project, till the hiring Tranſport Ships diſcovered it. A propoſition had been made of this two years before to the Earl of *Nottingham*; who, among other things, charged *Ruſſel* with it, that this had been laid before him, by men that came from thence, but that he had neglected it: A deſign on *Camaret*.

1694 Whether the *French* apprehended the deſign from that motion, or whether it was now betrayed to them, by ſome of thoſe who were in the ſecret, I know not: It is certain, that they had ſuch timely knowledge of it, as put them on their guard. The Preparations were not quite ready, by the day that was ſetled: And, when all was ready, they were ſtopt by a weſterly wind for ſome time: So that they came thither, a month later than was intended. They found the place was well fortified by many Batteries, that were raiſed in different Lines upon the Rocks, that lay over the place of Deſcent: And great numbers were there ready to diſpute their landing. When our Fleet came ſo near as to ſee all this, the Council of Officers were all againſt making the attempt; But *Talmaſh* had ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it.

It miſcarried. He fancied, the men they ſaw were only a Rabble brought together to make a ſhow, tho' it appeared very evidently, that there were regular bodies among them, and that their numbers were double to his. He began with a landing of ſix hundred men, and put himſelf at the head of them; the men followed him with great courage; But they were ſo expoſed to the Enemies Fire, and could do them ſo little harm, that it quickly appeared, it was needleſly throwing away the lives of brave men, to perſiſt longer in ſo deſperate an undertaking. The greateſt part of thoſe who landed, were killed, or taken priſoners; and not above an hundred of them came back. *Talmaſh* himſelf was ſhot in the thigh, of which he died in a few days, and was much lamented; For he was a brave and generous man, and a good Officer, very fit to animate and encourage inferior Officers and Soldiers; but he was much too apt to be diſcontented, and to turn mutinous; ſo that upon the whole, he was one of thoſe dangerous men, that are capable of doing as much miſchief, as good ſervice. Thus that deſign miſcarried, which, if it had been undertaken at any time, before the *French* were ſo well prepared to receive us, might have ſucceeded; And muſt have had great effects.

The *French* Coaſt bombarded. Our Fleet came back to *Plymouth*; and after they had ſet the Land Forces aſhore, being well furniſhed with Bomb-veſſels and Amunition, they were ordered to try what could be done on the *French* Coaſt; they lay firſt before *Dieppe*, and burnt it almoſt entirely to the ground; They went next to *Havre de Grace*, and deſtroyed a great part of that Town: *Dunkirk* was the place of the greateſt Importance: So that attempt was long purſued in ſeveral ways; but none of them ſucceeded. Theſe Bombardings of the *French* Towns ſoon ſpread a Terror, among all that lived near the Coaſt; Batteries were every where raiſed, and the people were brought out to defend their Country; But they could do us no hurt, while our Bombs at a mile's diſtance did great execution: The action ſeemed inhuman; But the *French*, who had bombarded *Genoa*, without a previous Declaration of War, and who had ſo often put whole Countries under Military Execution, even after they had paid the Contributions, that had been laid on them (for which they had protection given them) had no reaſon to complain of this way of carrying on the War, which they themſelves had firſt begun.

Affairs in *Turky*. The Campaign ended every where, to the advantage of the Confederates, tho' no ſignal ſucceſſes had happened to their Arms; And this new ſcene of action at Sea raiſed the hearts of our people, as much as it ſunk our Enemies. The War in *Turky*, went on this year with various ſucceſs: The *Venetians* made themſelves Maſters of the Iſle of *Scio*, the richeſt and the beſt peopled of all the Iſlands in the *Archipelago*: Thoſe of that Iſland had a greater ſhare of liberty left them, than any Subjects of the *Ottoman* Empire; and they flouriſhed accordingly: The great Trade of *Smirna*, that lay ſo near them, made them the more conſiderable: The *Venetians* fortified the Port, but uſed the Natives worſe than the *Turks* had done: And as the Iſland had a greater number of people upon it, than could ſubſiſt by the productions within themſelves, and the *Turks* prohibited all Commerce with them from *Aſia*, from whence they had their Bread; the *Venetians* could not keep this Poſſeſſion, unleſs they had carried off the greateſt part of the Inhabitants to the *Morea*, or their other Dominions, that wanted People. The *Turks* brought their whole power at Sea together, to make an attempt for reco-

covering this Iſland: Two Actions happened at Sea, within ten days one of another; In the laſt of which, the *Venetians* pretended they had got a great Victory: But their abandoning *Scio*, in a few days after, ſhewed that they did not find it convenient to hold that Iſland, which obliged them to keep a Fleet, at ſuch a diſtance from their other Dominions, and at a charge, which the keeping the Iſland could not ballance. The *Turks* ſent, as they did every year, a great Convoy to *Caminieck*, guarded by the *Crim-Tartars*: The *Poliſh* Army routed the Convoy, and became Maſters of all the Proviſions; But a ſecond Convoy was more happy, and got into the place; Otherwiſe it muſt have been abandoned. There was great diſtraction in the Affairs of *Poland*: Their Queen's intrigues with the Court of *France*, gave much jealouſy; Their Diets were broke up in confuſion; And they could never agree ſo far in the Preliminaries, as to be able by their forms to do any buſineſs. In *Tranſilvania*, the Emperor had, after a long Blockade, forced *Giula* to ſurrender; So that the *Turks* had now nothing in thoſe parts, on the North of the *Danube*, but *Temeſwaer*. The Grand *Vizier* came into *Hungary* with a great Army, while the Emperor had a very ſmall one to oppoſe him. If the *Turks* had come on reſolutely, and if the weather had continued good, it might have brought a fatal reverſe on all the Imperial affairs, and retrieved all that the *Turks* had loſt. But the Grand *Vizier* lay ſtill, while the Emperor's Army encreaſed, and ſuch rains fell, that nothing could be done. The affairs of *Turky* were thus in great diſorder: The Grand Seignior died ſoon after: And his Succeſſor in that Empire gave his Subjects ſuch hopes of Peace, that they were calmed for the preſent. 1694

Attempts for a Peace.

At the end of the Campaign, the Court of *France* flattered their People with hopes of a ſpeedy end of the War: And ſome men of great conſideration were ſent to try, what terms they could bring the Empire or the States to: But the *French* were yet far from offering conditions, upon which a juſt or a ſafe Peace could be treated of: The States ſent ſome, as far as to *Maſtricht*, to ſee what Powers, thoſe ſent from *France*, had brought with them; before they would grant them the Paſſports, that they deſired: And when they ſaw how limited theſe were, the Negotiation was ſoon at an end; or rather, it never began. When the *French* ſaw this, they diſowned their having ſent any on ſuch an errand; And pretended, that this was only an artifice of the Confederates, to keep one another and their people in heart, by making them believe, that they had now only a ſmall remnant of the War before them, ſince the *French* had Inſtruments, every where at work, to ſollicit a Peace.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The King came to *England* in the beginning of *November*; And the Parliament was opened with a calmer face, than had appeared in any Seſſion during this Reign: The Supplies that were demanded, the total amounting to five Millions, were all granted readily: An ill humour indeed appeared in ſome, who oppoſed the Funds, that would moſt eaſily and moſt certainly raiſe the money that was given, upon this preſence, that ſuch Taxes would grow to be a general Exciſe; and that the more eaſily money was raiſed, it would be the more eaſy to continue ſuch Duties to a longer period, if not for ever; the truth was, the ſecret Enemies of the Government propoſed ſuch Funds, as would be the heavieſt to the people, and would not fully anſwer what they were eſtimated at; that ſo the Nation might be uneaſy under that load, and that a conſtant deficiency might bring on ſuch a Debt, that the Government could not diſcharge, but muſt ſink under it.

An Act for frequent Parliaments.

With the Supply Bills, as the price or bargain for them, the Bill for frequent Parliaments went on; It enacted, that a new Parliament ſhould be called every third year, and that the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved before the *Firſt* of *January* 1695-6; and to this, the Roal Aſſent was given: It was received with great Joy, many fancying that all their other Laws and Liberties were now the more ſecure, ſince this was paſſed into a Law. Time muſt tell what effects it will produce; whether it will put an end to the great Corruption, with which Elections were formerly managed, and to all thoſe other practices that accompanied them. Men that intended to ſell their own Votes within doors, ſpared no coſt to buy the Votes of others in Elections: But now it was hoped we ſhould ſee a Golden Age, wherein the character men were in, and reputation they had, would be the prevailing Conſiderations in Elections: And

1694 by this means it was hoped, that our Conſtitution, in particular that part of it, which related to the Houſe of Commons, would again recover both its ſtrength and reputation; which was now very much ſunk; for Corruption was ſo generally ſpread, that it was believed every thing was carried by that method.

The Queen's Adminiſtration.

But I am now coming towards the fatal period of this Book. The Queen continued ſtill to ſet a great Example to the whole Nation, which ſhined in all the Parts of it. She uſed all poſſible methods for reforming whatever was amiſs: She took Ladies off from that Idleneſs, which not only waſted their time, but expoſed them to many temptations; She engaged many both to read and to work; ſhe wrought many hours a day her ſelf, with her Ladies and her Maids of Honour working about her, while one read to them all; The Female part of the Court had been, in the former Reigns, ſubject to much cenſure; And there was great cauſe for it; But ſhe freed her Court ſo entirely from all ſuſpicion, that there was not ſo much as a colour for diſcourſes of that ſort; She did divide her Time ſo regularly, between her cloſet and buſineſs, her work and diverſion, that every minute ſeemed to have its proper employment: She expreſſed ſo deep a ſenſe of Religion, with ſo true a regard to it; She had ſuch right principles and juſt notions; And her deportment was ſo exact in every part of it, all being natural and unconſtrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulneſs; She conſidered every thing that was laid before her ſo carefully, and gave ſuch due encouragement to a freedom of Speech: She remembred every thing ſo exactly, obſerving at the ſame time the cloſeſt reſervedneſs, yet with an open air and frankneſs: She was ſo candid in all ſhe ſaid, and cautious in every promiſe ſhe made; And notwithſtanding her own great capacity, ſhe expreſſed ſuch a diſtruſt of her own thoughts, and was ſo entirely reſigned to the King's judgment, and ſo conſtantly determined by it, that when I laid all theſe things together, which I had large opportunities to obſerve, it gave a very pleaſant proſpect, to balance the melancholy view, that roſe from the ill poſture of our affairs, in all other reſpects. It gave us a very particular joy, when we ſaw, that the perſon, whoſe condition ſeemed to mark her out as the Defender and Perfecter of our Reformation, was ſuch in all reſpects in her publick Adminiſtration, as well as in her private deportment, that ſhe ſeemed well fitted for accompliſhing that work, for which we thought ſhe was born: But we ſoon ſaw this hopeful view blaſted, and our expectations diſappointed in the loſs of her.

Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s Death.

It was preceded by that of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; who was taken ill of a fit of a dead Palſy in *November*, while he was in the Chapel at *Whitehall*, on a *Sunday*, in the Worſhip of God: He felt it coming on him; but not thinking it decent to interrupt the Divine Service, he neglected it too long; till it fell ſo heavily on him, that all remedies were ineffectual: and he died the fifth day after he was taken ill. His diſtemper did ſo oppreſs him, and ſpeaking was ſo uneaſy to him, that tho' it appeared, by ſigns and other indications, that his Underſtanding remained long clear, yet he was not able to expreſs himſelf, ſo as to edify others. He ſeemed ſtill ſerene and calm; and in broken words he ſaid, He thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait for the Will of Heaven. I preached his Funeral Sermon, in which I gave a Character of him, which was ſo ſeverely true, that I perhaps kept too much within bounds, and ſaid leſs than he deſerved. But we had lived in ſuch friendſhip together, that I thought it was more decent, as it always is more ſafe, to err on that hand: He was the man of the trueſt judgment, and beſt temper, I had ever known: He had a clear head, with a moſt tender and compaſſionate heart; He was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and ſoon conquered enemy; He was truly and ſeriouſly religious, but without affectation, bigottry, or ſuperſtition; His notions of Morality were fine and ſublime; his thread of Reaſoning, was eaſy, clear, and ſolid; He was not only the beſt Preacher of the age, but ſeemed to have brought Preaching to perfection; His Sermons were ſo well heard and liked, and ſo much read, that all the Nation propoſed him as a Pattern, and ſtudied to copy after him; His parts remained with him clear and unclouded; But the perpetual Slanders, and other ill uſage he had been followed with, for many years, moſt particularly ſince his advancement to that great Poſt, gave him too much trouble,

trouble, and too deep a concern; It could neither provoke him, nor fright him from his duty; But it affected his mind ſo much, that this was thought to have ſhortned his days. 1694

Sancroft had died a year before, in the ſame poor and deſpicable manner, in which he had lived for ſome years; He died in a ſtate of Separation from the Church; And yet he had not the courage to own it in any publick declaration: For neither living nor dying, did he publiſh any thing concerning it: His Death ought to have put an end to the Schiſm, that ſome were endeavouring to raiſe; upon this pretence, that a Parliamentary Deprivation was never to be allowed, as contrary to the intrinſick Power of the Church; And therefore they looked on *Sancroft* as the Archbiſhop ſtill; and reckoned *Tillotſon* an Uſurper; And all that joined with him were counted Schiſmaticks; They were willing to forget, as ſome of them did plainly condemn, the Deprivations made in the progreſs of the Reformation, more particularly, thoſe in the firſt Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and the Deprivations made by the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662: But from thence, the Controverſy was carried up to the Fourth Century; And a great deal of angry reading was brought out on both ſides, to juſtify, or to condemn thoſe proceedings. But arguments will never have the better of Intereſt and humour; Yet now, even according to their own pretenſions, the Schiſm ought to have ceaſed; ſince he, on whoſe account it was ſet up, did never aſſert his right; and therefore that might have been more juſtly conſtrued a tacit yielding it: But thoſe who have a mind to embroil Church or State, will never want a pretence, and no Arguments will beat them from it. *Sancroft's* Death.

Both King and Queen were much affected with *Tillotſon's* death: The Queen for many days ſpoke of him, in the tendereſt manner, and not without tears; He died ſo poor, that if the King had not forgiven his Firſt Fruits, his Debts could not have been all payed: So generous and charitable was he in a Poſt, out of which *Sancroft* had raiſed a great Eſtate, which he left to his Family: But *Tillotſon* was rich in good works. His See was filled by *Teniſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Many wiſhed that *Stillingfleet* might have ſucceeded, he being not only ſo eminently learned, but judged a man in all reſpects fit for the Poſt. The Queen was inclined to him, ſhe ſpoke with ſome earneſtneſs, oftner than once, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* on that Subject: She thought, he would fill that Poſt with great dignity: She alſo preſſed the King earneſtly for him: But as his ill health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to this Province: So the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions and his temper were too high; and all concurred to deſire *Teniſon*, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was univerſally well liked, for having ſerved the Cure of St. *Martin's*, in the worſt time, with ſo much courage and diſcretion; So that at this time he had many Friends, and no Enemies. *Teniſon* ſucceeded.

The Small Pox raged this winter about *London*; Some thouſands dying of them; which gave us great apprehenſions, with relation to the Queen; for ſhe had never had them.

In concluſion, ſhe was taken ill, but the next day that ſeemed to go off: I had the honour to be half an hour with her that day: And ſhe complained then of nothing. The day following, ſhe went abroad; But her illneſs returned ſo heavily on her, that ſhe could diſguiſe it no longer: She ſhut herſelf up long in her Cloſet that night, and burnt many Papers, and put the reſt in order: After that, ſhe uſed ſome ſlight Remedies, thinking it was only a tranſient indiſpoſition; But it encreaſed upon her; And within two days after, the Small Pox appeared, and with very bad Symptoms. I will not enter into another's Province, nor ſpeak of matters ſo much out of the way of my own Profeſſion: But the Phyſicians part was univerſally condemned, and her death was imputed to the negligence or unskilfulneſs of Dr. *Ratcliffe*. He was called for; and it appeared, but too evidently, that his Opinion was chiefly conſidered; and was moſt depended on. Other Phyſicians were afterwards called; But not till it was too late. The King was ſtruck with this beyond expreſſion; He came, on the ſecond day of her illneſs, and paſſed the Bill for frequent Parliaments; which if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have paſſed it. The day after he called me into his Cloſet, and gave a free vent to a moſt tender paſſion; The Queen's Sickneſs.

1694 He burſt out into tears; and cryed out, that there was no hope of the Queen; and that, from being the happieſt, he was now going to be the miſerableſt creature upon Earth. He ſaid, during the whole courſe of their Marriage, he had never known one ſingle fault in her; There was a worth in her, that no body knew beſides himſelf; tho' he added, that I might know as much of her as any other perſon did. Never was ſuch a face of univerſal Sorrow ſeen in a Court, or in a Town, as at this time: All people, men and women, young and old, could ſcarce refrain from Tears: On *Chriſtmaſs* Day, the Small Pox ſunk ſo entirely, and the Queen felt her ſelf ſo well upon it, that it was for a while concluded ſhe had the Meaſles, and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded, and of a ſhort continuance: For before night, all was ſadly changed. It appeared, that the Small Pox were now ſo ſunk, that there was no hope of raiſing them. The new Archbiſhop attended on her; He performed all devotions, and had much private diſcourſe with her: When the deſperate condition ſhe was in, was evident beyond doubt, he told the King, He could not do his duty faithfully, unleſs he acquainted her with the danger ſhe was in: The King approved of it, and ſaid, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in ſo important a matter. And, as the Archbiſhop was preparing the Queen, with ſome Addreſs, not to ſurprize her too much with ſuch tidings, ſhe preſently apprehended his drift, but ſhewed no fear nor diſorder upon it. She ſaid, ſhe thanked God ſhe had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the laſt hour; ſhe had nothing then to do, but to look up to God, and ſubmit to his Will; It went further indeed than ſubmiſſion; for ſhe ſeemed to deſire Death, rather than Life; And ſhe continued to the laſt minute of her life in that calm and reſigned ſtate. She had formerly wrote her mind, in many particulars, to the King: And ſhe gave order, to look carefully for a ſmall Scrutoir that ſhe made uſe of, and to deliver it to the King: And, having diſpatched that, ſhe avoided the giving herſelf or him the tenderneſs, which a final parting might have raiſed in them both. She was almoſt perpetually in Prayer; The day before ſhe dyed, ſhe received the Sacrament, all the Biſhops who were attending, being admitted to receive it with her: We were, God knows, a ſorrowful Company; For we were loſing her, who was our chief hope and glory on Earth; She followed the whole Office, repeating it after the Archbiſhop; She apprehended, not without ſome concern, that ſhe ſhould not be able to ſwallow the Bread, yet it went down eaſily. When this was over, ſhe compoſed her ſelf ſolemnly to die; She ſlumbered ſometimes, but ſaid, ſhe was not refeſhed by it; and ſaid often, that nothing did her good but Prayer; She tried once or twice to have ſaid ſomewhat to the King, but was not able to go through with it. She ordered the Archbiſhop to be reading to her ſuch paſſages of Scripture, as might fix her Attention, and raiſe her Devotion: Several Cordials were given, but all was ineffectual; She lay ſilent for ſome hours: And ſome words that came from her, ſhewed her thoughts began to break: In concluſion, ſhe died on the 28*th* of *December*, about One in the Morning, in the Thirty third year of her Age, and in the Sixth of her Reign.

And Death.

She was the moſt univerſally lamented Princeſs, and deſerved the beſt to be ſo, of any in our Age, or in our Hiſtory. I will add no more concerning her, in the way of a Character: I have ſaid a great deal already in this work; And I wrote a Book, as an Eſſay on her Character, in which I have ſaid nothing, but that which I knew to be ſtrictly true, without the enlargement of figure or Rhethorick. The King's affliction for her Death was as great as it was juſt; It was greater than thoſe who knew him beſt, thought his temper capable of: He went beyond all bounds in it; During her Sickneſs, he was in an Agony, that amazed us all, fainting often, and breaking out into moſt violent Lamentations; When ſhe died, his Spirits ſunk ſo low, that there was great reaſon to apprehend, that he was following her; For ſome Weeks after, he was ſo little Maſter of himſelf, that he was not capable of minding buſineſs, or of ſeeing Company. He turned himſelf much to the Meditations of Religion, and to ſecret Prayer; The Archbiſhop was often and long with him; He entred upon ſolemn and ſerious reſolutions of becoming, in all things, an exact, and an exemplary Chriſtian. And now I am come to the Period of this Book, with a very melancholly Proſpect: But God has ordered matters ſince, beyond all our expectations.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK VI.

Of the Life and Reign of King WILLIAM III.

THE Two Houſes of Parliament ſet an Example, that was followed by the whole Nation, of making conſolatory and dutiful Addreſſes to the King. The Queen was buried with the ordinary Ceremony, and with one piece of Magnificence that could never happen before; for both Houſes of Parliament went in Proceſſion before the Chariot, that carried her Body to *Weſtminſter* Abbey; where places were prepared for both Houſes, to ſit in form, while the Archbiſhop preached the Funeral Sermon. This could never happen before, ſince the Sovereign's Death had always diſſolved our Parliaments: It is true, the Earl of *Rocheſter* tried, if he could have raiſed a doubt of the Legality of this Parliament's continuance, ſince it was ſummoned by King *William* and Queen *Mary*; So upon her death, the writ, that ran in her name, ſeemed to die with her: This would have had fatal Conſequences, if in that ſeaſon of the year, all things muſt have ſtood ſtill, till a new Parliament could have been brought together: But the Act, that put

1695

The Proceeding in Parliament.

1695 the Adminiſtration entirely in the King, tho' the Queen had a ſhare in the dignity of Sovereign, made this cavil appear to be ſo ill-grounded, that no body ſeconded ſo dangerous a ſuggeſtion.

The ill ſtate of the Coin.

The Parliament went on with the buſineſs of the Nation; In which the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and that Party, artfully ſtudied, all that was poſſible, to embroil our affairs: The ſtate of our Coin gave then too great a handle for it. We had two ſorts of Coin, The one was milled, and could not be practiſed on: But the other was not ſo, and was ſubject to clipping; And in a courſe of ſome years, the old money was every year ſo much diminiſhed, that it at laſt grew to be leſs than the half of the intrinſick value; Thoſe who drove this Trade, were as much enriched, as the Nation ſuffered by it: When it came to be generally obſerved, the King was adviſed to iſſue out a Proclamation, that no money ſhould paſs for the future, by the tale, but by the weight, which would put a preſent end to clipping. But *Seimour*, being then in the Treaſury, oppoſed this; He adviſed the King to look on, and let that matter have its courſe: The Parliament would in due time take care of it; But in the mean while, the badneſs of money quickned the Circulation, while every one ſtudied to put out of his hands all the bad money; And this would make all people the readier to bring their caſh into the Exchequer; And ſo a Loan was more eaſily made. The badneſs of the money began now to grow very viſible; It was plain, that no remedy could be provided for it, but by recoining all the Specie of *England*; And that could not be ſet about, in the end of a Seſſion. The Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham* repreſented this very tragically in the Houſe of Lords, where it was not poſſible to give the proper remedy; It produced only an Act, with ſtricter clauſes and ſeverer penalties againſt Clippers; This had no other effect, but that it alarmed the Nation, and ſunk the value of our money in the Exchange; Guineas, which were equal in value to twenty-one Shillings and Six-pence in Silver, roſe to thirty Shillings, that is to ſay, thirty Shillings ſunk to twenty-one Shillings and Six-pence. This publick diſgrace, put on our Coin, when the evil was not cured, was in effect a great point carried, by which there was an opportunity given to ſink the credit of the Government, and of the publick Funds; And it brought a diſcount of above 40 *l. per Cent.* upon Tallies.

A Bill concerning Trials for Treaſon.

Another Bill was ſet on foot, which was long purſued, and in concluſion, carried by the Tories: It was concerning Trials for Treaſon; And the deſign of it ſeemed to be, to make men as ſafe in all treaſonable Conſpiracies and Practices, as was poſſible: Two Witneſſes were to concur to prove the ſame Fact, at the ſame time: Council in matters of Fact, and Witneſſes upon Oath, were by it allowed to the Priſoners; They were to have a Copy of the Indictment, and the Pannel in due time: All theſe things were in themſelves juſt and reaſonable: And if they had been moved by other men, and at another time, they would have met with little oppoſition: They were chiefly ſet on by *Finch*, the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Brother, who had been concerned in the hard proſecutions for Treaſons in the end of King *Charles*'s Reign, and had then carried all Prerogative points very far; but was during this Reign, in a conſtant oppoſition to every thing, that was propoſed for the King's Service: He had a copious way of ſpeaking, with an appearance of Beauty and Eloquence to vulgar Hearers: But there was a ſuperficialneſs in moſt of his harangues, that made them ſeem tedious to better Judges; His Rhetorick was all vicious, and his Reaſoning was too ſubtle. The occaſion given for this Bill, leads me to give an account of ſome Trials for Treaſon, during the laſt harveſt, which, for the relation they have to this matter, I have reſerved for this place.

Trials in *Lancaſhire*.

Lunt an *Iriſhman*, who was bold and poor, and of a mean underſtanding, had been often employed to carry Letters and Meſſages between *Ireland* and *England*, when King *James* was there. He was once taken up on ſuſpicion, but he was faithful to his Party, and would diſcover nothing; So he continued after that to be truſted by them. But, being kept very poor, he grew weary of his low eſtate, and thought of gaining the rewards of a diſcovery. He fell into the hands of one *Taaffe*, an *Iriſh* Prieſt, who had not only changed his Religion, but had married in King *James*'s time. *Taaffe* came into the ſervice of the preſent Government, and had a ſmall penſion. He was long in purſuit of a diſcovery of the

the Impoſture in the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and was engaged with more ſucceſs in diſcovering the concealed Eſtates of the Prieſts, and the Religious Orders, in which ſome progreſs was made. Theſe ſeemed to be ſure evidences of the ſincerity of the man, at leaſt in his oppoſition to thoſe, whom he had forſaken, and whom he was provoking in ſo ſenſible a manner. All this I mention, the more particularly, to ſhew how little that ſort of men is to be depended on; He poſſeſſed thoſe, to whom his other diſcoveries gave him acceſs, of the importance of this *Lunt*, who was then come from St. *Germains*, and who could make great diſcoveries: So *Lunt* was examined by the Miniſters of State; And he gave them an account of ſome diſcourſes and deſigns againſt the King, and of an Inſurrection, that was to have broke out in the year 1692, when King *James* was deſigning to come over from *Normandy*; for, he ſaid, he had carried at that time Commiſſions to the chief men of the party, both in *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*. A Carrier had been employed to carry down great quantities of Arms to them: One of the Cheſts, in which they were put up, had broke in the carriage, ſo the Carrier ſaw what was in them; And he depoſed, he had carried many of the ſame weight and ſize; The perſons concerned, finding the Carrier was true and ſecret, continued to employ him in that ſort of carriage for a great while. *Lunt*'s ſtory ſeemed probable and coherent in all its circumſtances: So orders were ſent to ſeize on ſome perſons, and to ſearch houſes for Arms. In one houſe they found Arms for a Troop of Horſe, built up within walls, very dexterouſly. *Taaffe* was all this while very zealous in ſupporting *Lunt*'s credit, and in aſſiſting him in his diſcoverics; A ſolemn Trial of the Priſoners was ordered in *Lancaſhire*. When the ſet time drew near, *Taaffe* ſent them word, that, if he ſhould be well paid for it, he would bring them all off; It may be eaſily imagined that they ſtuck at nothing for ſuch a ſervice; He had got out of *Lunt* all his depoſitions, which he diſcloſed to them; So they had the advantage of being well prepared to meet, and overthrow his evidence in many circumſtances: And at the Trial, *Taaffe* turned againſt him, and witneſſed many things againſt *Lunt*, that ſhook his credit. There was another Witneſs that ſupported *Lunt*'s evidence; but he was ſo profligate a man, that great and juſt objections lay againſt giving him any credit; But the Carrier's evidence was not ſhaken. *Lunt*, in the Trial, had named two Gentlemen wrong, miſtaking the one for the other: But he quickly corrected his miſtake, he had ſeen them but once, and they were both together; So he might miſtake their names: But he was ſure theſe were the two perſons, with whom he had thoſe treaſonable Negotiations. *Taaffe* had engaged him in company in *London*, to whom he had talked very idly, like a man who reſolved to make a fortune by ſwearing: And it ſeemed, by what he ſaid, that he had many diſcoveries yet in reſerve, which he intended to ſpread among many, till he ſhould grow rich and conſiderable by it: This was ſworn againſt him: By all theſe things, his Evidence was ſo blaſted, that no credit was given to him. Four of the Judges were ſent down to try the Priſoners at *Mancheſter*, and at *Cheſter*; where they managed matters with an impartial exactneſs: Any leaning that appeared, was in favour of the Priſoners, according to a Characteriſtick, that Judges had always pretended to, but had not of late deſerved ſo well, as upon this occaſion, of being Council for the Priſoner. The evidence, that was brought againſt *Lunt*, was afterwards found to be falſe; But it looked then with ſo good an appearance, that both the King's Council and the Judges were ſatisfied with it; And ſo, without calling for the reſt of the Evidence, the matter was let fall; And when the Judges gave the Charge to the Jury, it was in favour of the Priſoners, ſo that they were acquitted. And the reſt of thoſe, who were ordered to be tried after them, were all diſcharged without Trial. 1695

The whole Party triumphed upon this, as a Victory; and complained both of the Miniſters of State, and of the Judges; The matter was examined into, by both Houſes of Parliament; and it evidently appeared, that the proceeding had been, not only exactly according to Law, but that all reaſonable favour had been ſhewed the Priſoners: So that both Houſes were fully ſatisfied; Only the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham* hung on the matter long, and with great eagerneſs; and in concluſion, proteſted againſt the Vote, by which the Lords juſtified theſe proceedings. This Examination was brought on with much noiſe, to give the

1695 more ſtrength to the Bill of Treaſons: But the progreſs of the examination turned ſo much againſt Them, who had made this uſe of it, that it appeared there was no juſt occaſion, given by that Trial, to alter the Law. Yet the Commons paſſed the Bill: But the Lords inſiſted on a clauſe, that all the Peers ſhould be ſummoned to the Trial of a Peer, that was charged with High Treaſon; The Commons would not agree to that; And ſo the Bill was dropt for this time. By the late Trial, it had manifeſtly appeared, how little the Crown gained by one thing, which yet was thought an advantage; that the Witneſſes for the Priſoner were not upon Oath: Many things were upon this occaſion witneſſed in favour of the Priſoners, which were afterwards found to be notoriouſly falſe; And it is certain, that the terror of an Oath is a great reſtraint, and many, whom an Oath might over-awe, would more freely allow themſelves the liberty of Lying, in behalf of a Priſoner, to ſave his life.

Complaints of the Bank.

When this deſign failed, another was ſet up againſt the Bank, which began to have a flouriſhing credit, and had ſupplied the King ſo regularly with money, and that upon ſuch reaſonable terms, that thoſe who intended to make matters go heavily, tried what could be done to ſhake the credit of the Bank. But this attempt was rejected in both Houſes with indignation; it was very evident, that publick Credit would ſignify little, if what was eſtabliſhed in one Seſſion of Parliament, might be fallen upon, and ſhaken in another.

Enquiries into corrupt practices.

Towards the end of the Seſſion, complaints were made of ſome Military men, who did not pay their Quarters, pretending their own pay was in arrear; But it appearing, that they had been paid; and the matter being further examined into, it was found, that the ſuperior Officers had cheated the Subalterns, which excuſed their not paying their Quarters. Upon this, the enquiry was carried further; and ſuch diſcoveries were made, that ſome Officers were broke upon it, while others prevented complaints, by ſatisfying thoſe, whom they had oppreſſed: It was found out, that the Secretary of the Treaſury had taken two hundred Guineas, for procuring the Arrears due to a Regiment, to be payed; whereupon, he was ſent to the Tower, and turned out of his place: Many were the more ſharpned againſt him, becauſe it was believed that he, as well as *Trevor* the Speaker, were deeply concerned in corrupting the Members of the Houſe of Commons: He had held his place both in King *Charles* and King *James*'s time; And the ſhare he had in the ſecret diſtribution of money, had made him a neceſſary man for thoſe methods.

But the Houſe, being on this ſcent, carried the matter ſtill further. In the former Seſſion of Parliament, an Act had paſſed, creating a Fund for the repayment of the Debt owing to the Orphans, by the Chamber of *London*; And the Chamber had made *Trevor* a Preſent of a thouſand Guineas, for the Service he did them in that matter; This was entred in their Books; So that full proof was made of it. It was indeed believed, that a much greater Preſent had been made him in behalf of the Orphans: But no proof of that appeared; Whereas, what had been taken in ſo publick a manner could not be hid. This was objected to *Trevor* as Corruption, and a Breach of Truſt; And upon it, he was expelled the Houſe; And Mr. *Paul Foley* was choſen Speaker in his room; who had got great credit by his Integrity, and his conſtant complaining of the Adminiſtration.

And into the Preſents made by the *Eaſt-India* Company.

One diſcovery made way for another: It was found, that in the Books of the *Eaſt-India* Company, there were Entries made of great Sums given, for ſecret Service done the Company, that amounted to 170000 Pounds; And it was generally believed, that the greateſt part of it had gone among the Members of the Houſe of Commons; For the two preceding Winters, there had been attempts, eagerly purſued by ſome, for breaking the Company, and either opening a free Trade to the *Indies*, or at leaſt, erecting a new Company: But it was obſerved, that ſome of the hotteſt ſticklers againſt the Company, did inſenſibly, not only fall off from that heat, but turned to ſerve the Company, as much as they had at firſt endeavoured to deſtroy it. *Seimour* was among the chief of theſe: And it was ſaid, that he had 12000 Pounds of their money, under the colour of a Bargain for their Salt-petre. Great pains and art was uſed to ſtifle this Enquiry; But curioſity, envy, and ill-nature, as well as vertue, will on ſuch occaſions

caſions always prevail, to ſet on enquiries. Thoſe ,who have had nothing, deſire to know who have had ſomething, while the guilty perſons dare not ſhew too great a concern in oppoſing diſcoveries. Sir *Thomas Cook*, a rich Merchant, who was Governour of the Company, was examined concerning that great Sum given for Secret Service; But he refuſed to anſwer. So a ſevere Bill was brought in againſt him, in caſe he ſhould not, by a prefixed day, confeſs how all that money had been diſpoſed of. When the Bill was ſent up to the Lords, and was like to paſs, he came in, and offered to make a full diſcovery, if he might be indemnified, for all that he had done, or that he might ſay in that matter: The Enemies of the Court hoped for great diſcoveries, that ſhould diſgrace both the Miniſters and the Favourites; But it appeared, that, whereas both King *Charles* and King *James* had obliged the Company, to make them a yearly preſent of 10000 Pounds, that the King had received this but once; and that, tho' the Company offered a Preſent of 50000 Pounds, if the King would grant them a new Charter, and conſent to an Act of Parliament confirming it, the King had refuſed to hearken to it. There were indeed preſumptions, that the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* had taken a Preſent of 5000 Guineas, which were ſent back to Sir *Thomas Cook*, the morning before he was to make his diſcovery. The Lords appointed twelve of their Body to meet with twenty-four of the Houſe of Commons, to examine into this matter; But they were ſo ill ſatisfied with the account, that was given them, by the four perſons who had been entruſted with this ſecret, that by a particular Act, that paſſed both Houſes, they were committed to the Tower of *London*, till the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament, and reſtrained from diſpoſing of their Eſtates, real or perſonal. Theſe were proceedings of an extraordinary nature, which could not be juſtified, but from the extraordinary occaſion that was given for them. Some ſaid, this looked like the ſetting up a Court of Inquiſition, when new Laws were made on purpoſe to diſcover ſecret Tranſactions; and that no bounds could be ſet to ſuch a method of proceeding. Others ſaid, that when Entries were made of ſuch Sums, ſecretly diſpoſed of, it was as juſt for a Parliament to force a confeſſion, as it was common in the courſe of the Law to *ſubpœna* a man, to declare all his knowledge of any matter, how ſecretly ſoever it might have been managed, and what perſon ſoever might have been concerned in it. The Lord Preſident felt, that he was deeply wounded with this diſcovery; For while the Act, againſt *Cook*, was paſſing in the Houſe of Lords, he took occaſion to affirm, with ſolemn proteſtations, that he himſelf was not at all concerned in that matter; But now all had broke out: One *Firebraſs* a Merchant, employed by the *Eaſt-India* Company, had treated with *Bates*, a friend of the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*'s; and for the favour that Lord was to do them, in procuring them a new Charter, *Bates* was to have for his uſe five thouſand Guineas. But now a new turn was to be given to all this: *Bates* ſwore, that he indeed received the money, and that he offered it to that Lord, who poſitively refuſed to take it: But, ſince it was already payed in, he adviſed *Bates* to keep it to himſelf; tho' by the examination, it appeared, that *Bates* was to have five hundred Pounds for his own negotiating the affair: It did alſo appear, that the money was payed into one of that Lord's Servants; But he could not be come at: Upon this diſcovery, the Houſe of Commons voted an Impeachment for a Miſdemeanour againſt the Lord Preſident; He, to prevent that, deſired to be heard ſpeak to that Houſe in his own Juſtification; When he was before them, he ſet out the ſervices that he had done the Nation, in terms that were not thought very decent; He aſſumed the greateſt ſhare of the honour of the Revolution to himſelf; He expreſſed a great uneaſineſs, to be brought under ſo black an Imputation, from which he cleared himſelf as much as words could do; In the end, he deſired a preſent Trial. Articles were upon that brought againſt him; He, in anſwer to theſe, denied his having received the money. But his Servant, whoſe teſtimony only could have cleared that point, diſappearing, the ſuſpicion ſtuck ſtill on him. It was intended to hang up the matter to another Seſſion; But an Act of Grace came in the end of this, with an exception indeed as to Corruption; Yet this whole diſcovery was let fall, and it was believed, too many of all ſides were concerned in it: For by a common conſent, it was never revived; And thus the Seſſion ended. 1695

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Conſultations about the Coin.

The firſt conſultation, after it was over, was concerning the Coin, what methods ſhould be taken to prevent further clipping, and for remedying ſo great an abuſe. Some propoſed the recoining the money, with ſuch a railing of the value of the Species, as ſhould ballance the loſs upon the old money, that was to be called in: This took with ſo many, that it was not eaſy to correct an error, that muſt have had very bad effects in the concluſion: For the only fixed ſtandard muſt be the intrinſick value of an Ounce of Silver; And it was a publick Robbery, that would very much prejudice our Trade, not to keep the value of our Species, near an equality with its weight and fineneſs in Silver. So that the difference, between the old and new money, could only be ſet right by the Houſe of Commons, in a Supply to be given for that end. The Lord Keeper *Somers* did indeed propoſe that, which would have put an effectual ſtop to clipping for the future; It was, that a Proclamation ſhould be prepared with ſuch ſecrecy, as to be publiſhed over all *England* on the ſame day, ordering money to paſs only by weight; but that, at the ſame time, during three or four days after the Proclamation, all perſons in every County, that had money, ſhould bring it in to be told and weighed; and the difference was to be regiſtred, and the money to be ſealed up, to the end of the time given, and then to be reſtored to the owners; and an aſſurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight, ſhould be laid before the Parliament, to be ſupplied another way, and to be allowed them in the following Taxes. But tho' the King liked this propoſition, yet all the reſt of the Council were againſt it. They ſaid, this would ſtop the circulation of money, and might occaſion tumults in the Markets. Thoſe, whoſe money was thus to be weighed, would not believe that the difference, between the tale and the weight, would be allowed them, and ſo might grow mutinous; Therefore, they were for leaving this matter, to the Conſideration of the next Parliament. So this propoſition was laid aſide: which would have ſaved the Nation above a million of money. For now, as all people believed, that the Parliament would receive the clipt money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more viſibly ſcandalous, than ever it had been.

Conſultations among the Jacobites.

There was indeed reaſon to apprehend Tumults; For now, after the Queen's death, the Jacobites began to think, that the Government had loſt the half of its ſtrength, and that things could not be kept quite at home, when the King ſhould be beyond Sea. Some pretended, they were for putting the Princeſs, in her Siſter's place; But that was only a pretence, to which ſhe gave no ſort of encouragement: King *James* lay at bottom. They fancied, an Invaſion in the King's abſence would be an eaſy attempt, which would meet with little reſiſtance: So they ſent ſome over to *France*, in particular one *Charnock*, a Fellow of *Magdalen* College, who in King *James*'s time had turned Papiſt, and was a hot and active Agent among them: They undertook to bring a Body of 2000 Horſe, to meet ſuch an Army as ſhould be ſent over; but *Charnock* came back with a cold account, that nothing could be done at that time; Upon which it was thought neceſſary, to ſend over a man of Quality, who ſhould preſs the matter with ſome more authority: So the Earl of *Ailesbury* was prevailed on to go: He was admitted to a ſecret converſation with the *French* King: And this gave riſe to a Deſign, which was very near being executed the following Winter.

A deſign to Aſſaſſinate the King.

But if Sir *John Fenwick* did not ſlander King *James*, they at this time propoſed a ſhorter and more infallible way, by aſſaſſinating the King; For he ſaid, that ſome came over from *France* about this time, who aſſured their Party, and himſelf in particular, that a Commiſſion was coming over, ſigned by King *James*, which they affirmed they had ſeen, warranting them to attack the King's Perſon. This, it is true, was not yet arrived; But ſome affirmed, they had ſeen it, and that it was truſted to One, who was on his way hither; Therefore, ſince the King was ſo near going over to *Holland*, that he would probably be gone before the Commiſſion could be in *England*; it was debated among the Jacobites, whether they ought not to take the firſt opportunity to execute this Commiſſion, even tho' they had it not in their hands: It was reſolved to do it; and a day was ſet for it; But as *Fenwick* ſaid, he broke the deſign; and ſent them word, that he would diſcover it, if they would not promiſe to give over the thoughts of it: And upon this reaſon, he believed, he was not let into the ſecret the following

lowing winter. This his Lady told me from him, as an article of merit to obtain his pardon: But he had truſted their word very eaſily, it ſeems, ſince he gave the King no warning to be on his guard; And the two witneſſes, whom he ſaid he could produce to vouch this, were then under proſecution, and outlawed: So that the proof was not at hand, and the warning had not been given, as it ought to have been. But of all this, the Government knew nothing, and ſuſpected nothing at this time. 1695

A Government in the King's abſence.

The King ſettled the Government of *England* in ſeven Lords Juſtices, during his abſence; and in this, a great error was committed, which had ſome ill effects, and was like to have had worſe: The Queen, when ſhe was dying, had received a kind Letter from, and had ſent a reconciling Meſſage to the Princeſs; And ſo, that breach was made up. It is true, the Siſters did not meet; It was thought, That might throw the Queen into too great a commotion; So it was put off till it was too late; Yet the Princeſs came ſoon after to ſee the King; And there was after that an appearance of a good correſpondence between them: But it was little more than an appearance. They lived ſtill in terms of civility, and in formal viſits. But the King did not bring her into any ſhare in buſineſs; nor did he order his Miniſters to wait on her, and give her any account of affairs. And now, that he was to go beyond Sea, ſhe was not ſet at the head of the Councils, nor was there any care taken, to oblige thoſe who were about her. This looked either like a jealouſy and diſtruſt, or a coldneſs towards her, which gave all the ſecret Enemies of the Government a colour of complaint. They pretended zeal for the Princeſs, tho' they came little to her; And they made it very viſible, on many occaſions, that this was only a diſguiſe for worſe deſigns.

The death of ſome Lords.

Two great men had died in *Scotland* the former Winter, the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Queensbury*: They were Brothers-in-law, and had been long great friends; But they became irreconcileable Enemies. The firſt had more application, but the other had the greater genius; They were incompatible with each other, and indeed with all other perſons; For both loved to be abſolute, and to direct every thing. The Marquiſs of *Haliſax* died in *April* this year; He had gone into all the meaſures of the Tories; Only he took care to preſerve himſelf from criminal engagements; He ſtudied to oppoſe every thing, and to embroil matters all he could; His ſpirit was reſtleſs, and he could not bear to be out of buſineſs; His vivacity and judgment ſunk much in his laſt years, as well as his reputation; He died of a Gangrene, occaſioned by a Rupture that he had long neglected; When he ſaw death ſo near him, and was warned, that there was no hope, he ſhewed a great firmneſs of Mind, and a Calm that had much of true Philoſophy at leaſt; He profeſſed himſelf a ſincere Chriſtian, and lamented the former parts of his Life, with ſolemn reſolutions of becoming in all reſpects another man, if God ſhould raiſe him up. And ſo, I hope, he died a better man, than he lived.

The Lords Juſtices.

The ſeven Lords Juſtices were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Keeper*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Lord *Steward*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, the Firſt Secretary of *State*, and the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury: They had no Character nor Rank, except when Four of them were together; And they avoided aſſembling to that number, except at the Council Board, where it was neceſſary; And when they were together, they had the Regal Authority veſted in them. They were choſen by the Poſts they were in. So that no other perſon could think he was neglected, by the preference: They were not envied for this Titular Greatneſs; ſince it was indeed only Titular; For they had no real Authority truſted with them. They took care to keep within bounds, and to do nothing, but in matters of courſe, till they had the King's Orders, to which they adhered exactly: So that no complaints could be made of them, becauſe they took nothing on them, and did only keep the peace of the Kingdom, and tranſmit and execute the King's Orders. The Summer went over quietly at home; for tho' the Jacobites ſhewed their diſpoſition on ſome occaſions, but moſt ſignally on the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth-day, yet they were wiſer than to break out into any diſorder, when they had no hopes of aſſiſtance from *France*.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.

About the end of *May*, the Armies were brought together in *Flanders*: The King drew his main Force towards the *French* Lines; And the Deſign was form-

1695 ed to break thro', and to deſtroy the *French Flanders*: *Luxembourg* died this Winter; So the Command of the *French* Armies was divided between *Villeroy* and *Bouflers*: But the former commanded the ſtronger Army. An Attempt was made on the Fort of *Knock*, in order to forcing the Lines; And there was ſome action about it; But all on the ſudden, *Namur* was inveſted; And the King drew off the main part of his Army, to beſiege that place, and left above 30000 Men, under the Command of the Prince of *Vaudemont*, who was the beſt General he had; for Prince *Waldeck* died above a year before this. With that Army, he was to cover *Flanders* and *Brabant*, while the King carried on the Siege.

The Siege of *Namur*.

As ſoon as *Namur* was inveſted, *Bouflers* threw himſelf into it, with many good Officers, and a great Body of Dragoons; The Garriſon was 12000 ſtrong: A place ſo happily ſituated, ſo well fortified, and ſo well furniſhed and commanded, made the attempt ſeem bold and doubtful; The dry Seaſon put the King under another difficulty; The *Maeſe* was ſo low, that there was not water enough to bring up the Barks, loaden with Artillery and Ammunition, from *Liege* and *Maſtricht*; So that, many days were loſt in bringing theſe over Land; And if *Villeroy* had followed the King cloſe, it is thought he muſt have quitted the deſign: But the *French* preſumed upon the ſtrength of the Place and Garriſon, and on our being ſo little practiſed in Sieges: They thought, that *Villeroy* might make ſome conſiderable Conqueſt in *Flanders*, and when that was done, come in good time to raiſe the Siege. Prince *Vaudemont* managed his Army with ſuch skill and conduct, that as he covered all the Places, on which he thought the *French* had an eye, ſo he marched with that caution, that tho' *Villeroy* had above double his ſtrength, yet he could not force him to an engagement, nor gain any advantage over him. The Military men, that ſerved under him, magnified his conduct highly, and compared it to any thing that *Turenne*, or the greateſt Generals of the Age had done. Once it was thought, he could not get off; But he marched under the Cannon of *Ghent* without any loſs. In this, *Villeroy*'s conduct was blamed, but without cauſe; For he had not overſeen his advantage, but had ordered the Duke of *Mayne*, the *French* King's beloved Son, to make a motion with the Horſe, which he commanded; And probably, if that had been ſpeedily executed, it might have had ill effects on the Prince of *Vaudemont*: But the Duke *de Mayne* deſpiſed *Villeroy*, and made no haſte to obey his Orders, ſo the advantage was loſt, and the King of *France* put him under a ſlight diſgrace for it. *Villeroy* attackt *Dixmuyde* and *Deinſe*; The Garriſons were not indeed able to make a great reſiſtance; But they were ill commanded: If their Officers had been Maſters of a true judgment, or preſence of mind, they might at leaſt have got a favourable compoſition, and have ſaved the Garriſons, tho' the Places were not tenable; Yet they were baſely delivered up, and about 7000 men were made priſoners of War. And hereupon, tho' by a Cartel that had been ſettled between the two Armies, all Priſoners were to be redeemed at a ſet price, and within a limited time: Yet the *French*, having now ſo many men in their hands, did, without either colour or ſhame, give a new eſſay of their perfidiouſneſs; for they broke it, upon this occaſion, as they had often done at Sea; indeed, as often as any advantages on their ſide tempted them to it: The Governours of thoſe places were at firſt believed to have betrayed their Truſt, and ſold the Garriſons, as well as the places to the *French*; But they were tried afterwards; And it appeared, that it flowed from Cowardice, and want of Senſe; for which one of them ſuffered, and the other was broke with diſgrace.

Bruſſels was bombarded.

Villeroy marched toward *Bruſſels*, and was followed by Prince *Vaudemont*, whoſe chief care was, to order his motions ſo, that the *French* might not get between him, and the King's Camp at *Namur*. He apprehended, that *Villeroy* might bombard *Bruſſels*, and would have hindered it, if the Town could have been wrought on, to give him the aſſiſtance that he deſired of them: Townſmen, upon all ſuch occaſions, are more apt to conſider a preſent, tho' a ſmall expence, than a great, tho' an imminent danger: So Prince *Vaudemont* could not pretend to cover them: The Electreſs of *Bavaria* was then in the Town; And tho' *Villeroy* ſent a Complement to her, yet he did not give her time to retire; but bom-

bombarded the place for two days, with ſo much fury, that a great part of the lower Town was burnt down: The damage was valued at ſome Millions, and the Electoreſs was ſo frighted, that ſhe miſcarried upon it of a Boy. When this execution was done, *Villeroy* marched towards *Namur*; His Army was now ſo much encreaſed, by Detachments brought from the *Rhine*, and Troops drawn out of Garriſons, that it was ſaid to be 100,000 ſtrong: Both Armies on the *Rhine*, were ſo equal in ſtrength, that they could only lie on a Defenſive; neither ſide being ſtrong enough to undertake any thing: M. *De L'Orge* commanded the *French*, and the Prince of *Baden*, the Imperialiſts: The former was ſinking as much in his health as in his credit; So a great Body was ordered to march from him to *Villeroy*; And another Body equal to that, commanded by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, came and joined the King's Army. 1695

The Siege was carried on with great vigour; The errors, to which our want of practice expoſed us, were all corrected by the courage of our men; The Fortifications, both in ſtrength, and in the extent of the out-works, were double to what they had been when the *French* took the place; Our men did not only ſucceed in every attack, but went much further: In the firſt great Sally, the *French* loſt ſo many, both Officers and Soldiers, that after that, they kept within their Works, and gave us no diſturbance: Both the King and the Elector of *Bavaria*, went frequently into the Trenches; The Town held out one Month, and the Cittadel another: Upon *Villeroy*'s approach, the King drew off all the Troops that cou'd be ſpared from the Siege, and placed himſelf in his way, with an Army of 60000 men; But he was ſo well poſted, that after *Villeroy* had looked on him for ſome days, he found it was not adviſeable to attack him: Our men wiſhed for a Battle, as that which would not only decide the fate of *Namur*, but of the whole War; The *French* gave it out, that they would put all to hazard, rather than ſuffer ſuch a diminution of their King's Glory, as the retaking that place ſeemed to be; But the Signal of the Cittadel's treating, put an end to *Villeroy*'s deſigns: Upon which, he apprehending that the King might then attack him, drew off with ſo much precipitation, that it looked liker a flight than a retreat. *Namur* was taken.

The Capitulation was ſoon ended and ſigned by *Bouflers*, who, as was ſaid, was the firſt Mareſchal of *France* that had ever delivered up a place; He marched out with 5000 men, ſo it appeared he had loſt 7000 during the Siege: And we loſt in it only about the ſame number. This was reckoned one of the greateſt actions of the King's Life, and indeed, one of the greateſt that is in the whole Hiſtory of War. It raiſed his Character, much, both at home and abroad and gave a great reputation to his Troops: The King had the entire credit of the matter; His General Officers having a very ſmall ſhare in it, being moſt of them men of low Genius, and little practiſed in things of that nature. *Coborn*, the chief Engineer, ſignalized himſelf ſo eminently on this occaſion, that he was looked on as the greateſt Man of the Age: and out-did even *Vauban*, who had gone far beyond all thoſe, that went before him, in the conduct of Sieges: But it was confeſſed by all, that *Coborn* had carried that Art to a much farther perfection during this Siege. The Subaltern Officers and Soldiers gave hopes of a better race, that was growing up, and ſupplied the errors and defects of their Superior Officers. As the Garriſon marched out, the King ordered *Bouflers* to be ſtopt, in repriſal for the Garriſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deinſe*. *Bouflers* complained of this as a Breach of Articles, and the Action ſeemed liable to cenſure. But many authorities and precedents were brought, both from Law and Hiſtory, to juſtify it: All obligations among Princes, both in Peace and War, muſt be judged to be reciprocal; So that he who breaks theſe firſt, ſets the other at liberty. At length, the *French* conſented to ſend back the Garriſons, purſuant to the Cartel; *Bouflers* was firſt ſet at liberty, and then theſe Garriſons were releaſed according to promiſe.

The Officers were tried and proceeded againſt, by Councils of War, according to Martial Law; They were raiſed in the Army by ill methods, and maintained themſelves by worſe; Corruption had broke into the Army, and Oppreſſion and Injuſtice were much complained of; The King did not approve of thoſe practices; But he did not enquire after them, nor puniſh them, with

1695 a due ſeverity; Nor did he make difference enough between thoſe who ſerved well, ſold nothing, and uſed their Subalterns kindly, and thoſe who ſet every thing to ſale, and oppreſſed all that were under them; and when things of that kind go unpuniſhed, they will ſoon make a great progreſs. There was little more done, during the Campaign in *Flanders*; Nor was there any Action upon the *Rhine*.

Caſal was ſurrendred.

In *Italy*, there was nothing done in the Field by force of Arms: But an affair of great conſequence was tranſacted, in a very myſterious manner; The Duke of *Savoy*, after a very long Blockade, undertook the Siege of *Caſal*; but he was ſo ill provided for it, that no good account of it could be expected; The King had ſo little hopes of ſucceſs, that he was not eaſily prevailed on to conſent to the beſieging it; But either the *French* intended to gain the Pope and the *Venetians*, and in concluſion, that Duke himſelf, with this extraordinary conceſſion; Or, ſince our Fleet was then before *Toulon*, they judged it more neceſſary to keep their Troops, for the defence of their Coaſt and Fleet, than to ſend them to relieve *Caſal*; So Orders were ſent to the Governour to Capitulate, in ſuch a number of days, after the Trenches were opened: So that the Place was ſurrendred, tho' it was not at all ſtraitned: It was agreed, that it ſhould be reſtored to the Duke of *Mantua*, but ſo diſmantled, that it might give jealouſy to no ſide; And the ſlighting the Fortifications went on ſo ſlowly, that the whole Seaſon was ſpent in it, a Truce being granted all that while. Thus did the *French* give up *Caſal*, after they had been at a vaſt expence in fortifying it, and had made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Europe*.

Affairs at Sea.

Our Fleet was all the Summer, Maſter of the *Mediterranean*; The *French* were put under great diſorder, and ſeemed to apprehend a Deſcent; For *Ruſſel* came before *Marſeilles* and *Toulon* oftner than once; Contrary Winds forced him out to Sea again, but with no loſs; He himſelf told me, he believed nothing could be done there; Only the honour of commanding the Sea, and of ſhutting the *French* within their Ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs. In *Catalonia*, the *French* made no progreſs; They abandoned *Palamos*, and made *Gironne* their Frontier. The *Spaniards* once pretended to beſiege *Palamos*, but they only pretended to do it; They deſired ſome men from *Ruſſel*, for he had Regiments of Marines on Board: They ſaid, they had begun the Siege, and were provided with every thing that was neceſſary to carry it on, only they wanted men; So he ſent them ſome Battalions; But when they came thither, they found not any one thing, that was neceſſary to carry on a Siege, not ſo much as Spades, not to mention Guns and Ammunition: So *Ruſſel* ſent for his men back again. But the *French* of themſelves quitted the place; for as they found the charge of the War in *Catalonia* was great, and tho' they met with a feeble oppoſition from the *Spaniards*, yet ſince they ſaw, they could not carry *Barcelona*, ſo long as our Fleet lay in thoſe Seas, they reſolved to lay by, in expectation of a better occaſion. We had another Fleet in our own Channel, that was ordered to bombard the *French* Coaſt; They did ſome execution upon St. *Malos*, and deſtroyed *Grandville*, that lay not far from it: They alſo attempted *Dunkirk*, but failed in the execution; Some Bombs were thrown into *Calais*, but without any great effect; So that the *French* did not ſuffer ſo much by the Bombardment, as was expected: The Country indeed was much alarmed by it; They had many Troops diſperſed all along their Coaſt; So that it put their affairs in great diſorder, and we were every where Maſters at Sea. Another Squadron, commanded by the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen* (whoſe Father was created Duke of *Leeds*, to colour the diſmiſſing him from buſineſs, with an encreaſe of Title) lay off from the Iſles of *Scilly*, to ſecure our Trade, and convoy our Merchants: He was an extravagant man, both in his Pleaſures and Humours; He was ſlow in going to Sea; and, when he was out, he fancied the *French* Fleet was coming up to him, which proved to be only a Fleet of Merchant Ships: So he left his ſtation, and retired into *Milford Haven*: By which means, that Squadron became uſeleſs.

The Loſſes of our Merchants.

This proved fatal to our Trade; Many of our *Barbadoes* Ships were taken by *French* Cruizers and Privateers: Two rich Ships, coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*, were alſo taken, 150 Leagues to the Weſtward, by a very fatal accident,

or by ſome treacherous advertiſement; for Cruizers ſeldom go ſo far into the Ocean: And to compleat the misfortunes of the *Eaſt-India* Company, three other Ships, that were come near *Gallway*, on the Weſt of *Ireland*, fell into the hands of ſome *French* Privateers: Thoſe five Ships were valued at a Million, ſo here was great occaſion of diſcontent in the City of *London*. They complained, that neither the Admiralty, nor the Government, took the care that was neceſſary for preſerving the Wealth of the Nation. A *French* Man of War, at the ſame time, fell upon our Factory on the Coaſt of *Guinea*; He took the ſmall Fort we had there, and deſtroyed it; Theſe misfortunes were very ſenſible to the Nation, and did much abate the Joy, which ſo glorious a Campaign would otherwiſe have raiſed; And much matter was laid in for ill humour to work upon. 1695

The War went on in *Hungary*; The new Grand *Signior* came late into the Field; but as late as it was, the Imperialiſts were not ready to receive him: He tried to force his way into *Tranſilvania*, and took ſome weak and ill defended Forts, which he ſoon after abandoned; *Veterani*, who was the moſt beloved of all the Emperor's Generals, lay with a ſmall Army to defend the Entrance into *Tranſilvania*; The *Turks* fell upon him, and overpowered him with numbers; His Army was deſtroyed, and himſelf killed; But they ſold their Lives dear; The *Turks* loſt double their number, and their beſt Troops in the Action; So that they had only the name and honour of a Victory; They were not able to proſecute it, nor to draw any advantage from it. The ſtragglers of the defeated Army drew together, towards the Paſſes. But none purſued them, and the *Turks* marched back to *Andrianople*, with the Triumph of having made a glorious Campaign. There were ſome ſlight Engagements at Sea, between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, in which, the former pretended they had the advantage; But nothing followed upon them. Thus affairs went on abroad during this Summer. Affairs in *Hungary*.

There was a Parliament held in *Scotland*, where the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* was the King's Commiſſioner: Every thing that was asked for the King's Supply, and for the ſubſiſtance of his Troops, was granted; The Maſſacre in *Glencoe*, made ſtill a great noiſe; and the King ſeemed too remiſs in enquiring into it. But when it was repreſented to him, that a Seſſion of Parliament could not be managed, without high motions and complaints of ſo crying a matter, and that his Miniſters could not oppoſe theſe, without ſeeming to bring the guilt of that Blood, that was ſo perfidiouſly ſhed, both on the King, and on themſelves: To prevent that, he ordered a Commiſſion to be paſſed under the Great Seal, for a precognition in that matter, which is a practice in the Law of *Scotland*, of examining into Crimes, before the Perſons concerned are brought upon their Trial. This was looked on as an artifice, to cover that tranſaction by a private enquiry; Yet, when it was complained of in Parliament, not without reflections on the ſlackneſs in examining into it, the King's Commiſſioner aſſured them, that by the King's Order, the matter was then under examination, and that it ſhould be reported to the Parliament: The Enquiry went on; And, in the progreſs of it, a new practice of the Earl of *Braidalbin*'s was diſcovered; For the Highlanders depoſed that, while he was treating with them, in order to their ſubmitting to the King, he had aſſured them, that he ſtill adhered to King *James*'s Intereſt, and that he preſſed them to come into that Pacification, only to preſerve them for his ſervice, till a more favourable opportunity. This, with ſeveral other treaſonable diſcourſes of his, being reported to the Parliament, he covered himſelf with his pardon; But theſe diſcourſes happened to be ſubſequent to it; So he was ſent a Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: He pretended, he had ſecret Orders from the King, to ſay any thing that would give him credit with them; which the King owned ſo far, that he ordered a new pardon to be paſt for him. A great Party came to be formed in this Seſſion, of a very odd mixture; The High Presbyterians, and the Jacobites, joined together to oppoſe every thing; Yet it was not ſo ſtrong as to carry the Majority; But great heats aroſe among them. A Parliament in *Scotland*.

The Report of the Maſſacre of *Glencoe*, was made in full Parliament: By that it appeared, that a black deſign was laid, not only to cut off the men of *Glencoe*, The Buſineſs of *Glencoe* examined.

1695 *cbe*, but a great many more Clans, reckoned to be in all above Six Thouſand perſons: The whole was purſued in many Letters, that were writ with great earneſtneſs; And tho' the King's Orders carried nothing in them, that was in any ſort blameable, yet the Secretary of *State*'s Letters went much further. So the Parliament juſtified the King's Inſtructions, but voted the execution in *Glencoe*, to have been a barbarous Maſſacre, and that it was puſhed on by the Secretary of *State*'s Letters, beyond the King's Orders: Upon that, they voted an Addreſs to be made to the King, that he, and others concerned in that matter, might be proceeded againſt according to Law: This was carried by a great Majority.

In this Seſſion, an Act paſt, in favour of ſuch of the Epiſcopal Clergy, as ſhould enter into thoſe engagements to the King, that were by Law required; That they ſhould continue in their Benefices under the King's Protection, without being ſubject to the power of Presbytery. This was carried with ſome addreſs, before the Presbyterians were aware of the conſequences of it; for it was plainly that which they call *Eraſtianiſm*. A day was limited to the Clergy for taking the Oaths: And by a very zealous and dextrous management, about ſeventy of the beſt of them were brought to take the Oaths to the King; And ſo they came within the Protection promiſed them by the Act.

An Act for a new Company.

Another Act paſſed, that has already produced very fatal conſequences to that Kingdom, and may yet draw worſe after it: The Interlopers in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, finding that the Company was like to be favoured by the Parliament, as well as by the Court, were reſolved to try other methods to break in upon that Trade: They entred into a Treaty with ſome Merchants in *Scotland*; And they had, in the former Seſſion, procured an Act, that promiſed Letters Patents to all ſuch, as ſhould offer to ſet up new Manufactures, or drive any new Trade, not yet practiſed by that Kingdom, with an exemption for twenty-one years from all Taxes and Cuſtoms, and with all ſuch other Privileges, as ſhould be found neceſſary for eſtabliſhing or encouraging ſuch projects. But here was a neceſſity of procuring Letters Patents, which they knew the credit, that the *Eaſt-India* Company had at Court, would certainly render ineffectual. So they were now in treaty for a new Act, which ſhould free them from that difficulty. There was one *Paterſon*, a man of no education, but of great Notions; which, as was generally ſaid, he had learned from the *Buccaneers*, with whom he had conſorted for ſome time. He had conſidered a place in *Darien*, where he thought a good Sertlement might be made, with another over againſt it, in the *South-Sea*; And by two Settlements there, he fancied a great Trade might be opened both for the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; and that the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood might be kept in great ſubjection to them; So he made the Merchants believe, that he had a great ſecret, which he did not think fit yet to diſcover, and reſerved to a fitter opportunity; Only he deſired, that the *Weſt-Indies* might be named in any new Act, that ſhould be offered to the Parliament: He made them in general underſtand, that he knew of a Country, not poſſeſſed by *Spaniards*, where there were rich Mines, and Gold in abundance. While theſe matters were in treaty, the time of the King's giving the Inſtructions to his Commiſſioner for the Parliament came on; And it had been a thing of courſe, to give a general Inſtruction, to paſs all Bills for the encouragement of Trade. *Johnſtoun* told the King, that he heard there was a ſecret management among the Merchants for an Act in *Scotland*, under which the *Eaſt-India* Trade might be ſet up; So he propoſed, and drew an Inſtruction, impowering the Commiſſioner to paſs any Bill, promiſing Letters Patents for encouraging of Trade, yet limited, ſo that it ſhould not interfere with the Trade of *England*: When they went down to *Scotland*, the King's Commiſſioner either did not conſider this, or had no regard to it; for he gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act, that gave the Undertakers, either of the *Eaſt-India* or *Weſt-India* Trade, all poſſible privileges, with exemption of twenty-one years from all Impoſitions: And the Act directed Letters Patents to be paſſed under the Great Seal, without any further Warrant for them: When this was printed, it gave a great alarm in *England*, more particularly to the *Eaſt-India* Company; for many of the Merchants of *London* reſolved to join Stock with the

the *Scotch* Company; and the exemption from all Duties gave a great proſpect of gain. Such was the poſture of affairs in *Scotland*. 1695

Affairs in *Ireland.*

In *Ireland*, the three Lords Juſtices did not agree long together; the Lord *Capel* ſtudied to render himſelf popular, and eſpouſed the intereſts of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Iriſh*, without any nice regard to juſtice or equity: He was too eaſily ſet on, by thoſe who had their own end in it, to do every thing that gained him applauſe: The other two were men of ſevere tempers, and ſtudied to protect the *Iriſh*, when they were oppreſt; nor did they try to make themſelves otherwiſe popular, than by a wiſe and juſt Adminiſtration: So Lord *Capel* was highly magnified, and they were as much complained of, by all the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*. Lord *Capel* did undertake to manage a Parliament ſo, as to carry all things, if he was made Lord Deputy, and had power given him to place and diſplace ſuch as he ſhould name. This was agreed to, and a Parliament was held there, after he had made ſeveral removes: In the beginning of the Seſſion, things went ſmoothly; The Supply that was asked, for the ſupport of that Government, was granted; All the proceedings in King *James*'s Parliament were annulled, and the great Act of Settlement was confirmed and explained, as they deſired: But this good temper was quickly loſt, by the heat of ſome, who had great credit with Lord *Capel*. Complaints were made of Sir *Charles Porter*, the Lord Chancellor, who was beginning to ſet on foot a Tory humour in *Ireland*, whereas it was certainly the intereſt of that Government, to have no other diviſion among them, but that of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, and of Proteſtant and Papiſt: Lord *Capel*'s Party, moved in the Houſe of Commons, that *Porter* ſhould be impeached; But the grounds, upon which this motion was made, appeared to be ſo frivolous, after the Chancellor was heard by the Houſe of Commons, in his own juſtification, that he was voted clear from all imputation, by a Majority of two to one; This ſet the Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor, with all the friends of both, at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that it put a full ſtop, for ſome time, to all buſineſs.

Thus Factions were formed in all the King's Dominions; And he, being for ſo much of the year at a great diſtance from the ſcene, there was no pains taken to quiet theſe, and to check the animoſities which aroſe out of them. The King ſtudied only to ballance them, and to keep up among the Parties, a jealouſy of one another, that ſo he might oblige them all to depend more entirely on himſelf.

A new Parliament called.

As ſoon as the Campaign was over in *Flanders*, the King intended to come over directly into *England*; But he was kept long on the other ſide by contrary winds; The firſt point, that was under debate upon his arrival, was, whether a new Parliament ſhould be ſummoned, or the old one be brought together again, which by the Law that was lately paſſed, might ſit till *Lady-day*: The happy ſtate the Nation was in, put all men, except the Merchants, in a good temper; None could be ſure, we ſhould be in ſo good a ſtate next year; So that now probably Elections would fall on men, who were well affected to the Government; A Parliament, that ſaw it ſelf in its laſt Seſſion, might affect to be froward; The Members, by ſuch a behaviour, hoping to recommend themſelves to the next Election; Beſides, if the ſame Parliament had been continued, probably the Enquiries into Corruption would have been carried on, which might divert them from more preſſing affairs, and kindle greater heats; all which might be more decently dropt by a new Parliament, than ſuffered to lie aſleep by the old one. Theſe conſiderations prevailed, tho' it was ſtill believed, that the King's own inclinations led him, to have continued the Parliament yet one Seſſion longer; For he reckoned, he was ſure of the major Vote in it. Thus this Parliament was brought to a Concluſion, and a new one was ſummoned.

The King made a progreſs to the North; And ſtaid ſome days at the Earl of *Sunderland*'s, which was the firſt publick mark of the high favour he was in; The King ſtudied to conſtrain himſelf to a little more openneſs and affability, than was natural to him: But his cold and dry way had too deep a root, not to return too oft upon him; The Jacobites were ſo decried, that few of them were elected; But many of the ſourer ſort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the King, were choſen: Generally, they were men of Eſtates, but many were

1695 young, hot, and without experience. *Foley* was again choſen Speaker; The demand of the Supply was ſtill very high, and there was a great arrear of Deficiencies; All was readily granted, and lodged on Funds, that ſeemed to be very probable.

The ſtate of the Coin rectified.

The ſtate of the Coin was conſidered, and there were great and long Debates about the proper remedies: The motion of raiſing the money above its intrinſick value, was ſtill much preſſed; Many apprehended this matter could not be cured, without caſting us into great diſorders: Our money they thought would not paſs, and ſo the Markets would not be furniſhed; And it is certain, that if there had been ill humours then ſtirring in the Nation, this might have caſt us into great Convulſions. But none happened, to the diſappointment of our Enemies, who had their eyes and hopes long fixed on the effects, this might produce. All came in the end to a wiſe and happy reſolution, of recoining all the Specie of *England*, in mill'd money; All the old money was ordered to be brought in, in publick Payments, or Loans to the Exchequer, and that by degrees; firſt the half Crown pieces, and the reſt of the money by a longer day; Money of a bad Allay, as well as clipt money, was to be received; tho' this was thought an ill precedent, and that it gave too much encouragement to falſe Coining; Yet it was judged neceſſary upon this occaſion; And it gave a preſent calm to a ferment, that was then working all *England* over. Twelve hundred thouſand Pounds was given, to ſupply the deficiency of the bad and clipt money. So this matter was happily ſettled, and was put in a way to be effectually remedied, and it was executed with an order and a juſtice, with a quiet and an exactneſs, beyond all mens expectation. So that we were freed from a great and threatning miſchief, without any of thoſe effects, that were generally apprehended from it.

An Act of Trials in Caſes of of Treaſon.

The Bill of Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, was again brought into the Houſe of Commons, and paſſed there; When it came up to the Lords, they added the Clauſe, for ſummoning all the Peers to the Trial of a Peer, which was not eaſily carried; for thoſe, who wiſhed well to the Bill, looked on this as a device to loſe it, as no doubt it was; And therefore they oppoſed it; But, contrary to the hopes of the Court, the Commons were ſo deſirous of the Bill, that when it came down to them, they agreed to the Clauſe, and ſo the Bill paſſed, and had the Royal Aſſent.

Acts concerning Elections to Parliament.

A ſevere Bill was brought in, for voiding all the Elections of Parliament Men, where the Elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure Votes: It was very ſtrictly penned; But time muſt ſhew, whether any evaſions can be found out to avoid it: Certainly, if it has the deſired effect, it would prove one of the beſt Laws that ever was made in *England*; For abuſes in Elections were grown to moſt intolerable exceſſes, which threatned even the ruin of the Nation. Another Act paſſed againſt unlawful and double Returns; For perſons had been often returned, plainly contrary to the Vote of the Majority; and in Burroughs, where there was a conteſt, between the ſelect number of the Corporation, and the whole Populace, both ſides had obtained favourable deciſions, as that ſide prevailed, on which the perſon elected happened to be; So both Elections were returned, and the Houſe judged the matter. But by this Act, all Returns were ordered to be made, according to the laſt determination of the Houſe of Commons: Theſe were thought good Securities for future Parliaments; It had been happy for the Nation, if the firſt of theſe had proved as effectual, as the laſt was.

Complaints of the *Scotch* Act.

Great Complaints were made in both Houſes of the Act for the *Scotch Eaſt-India* Company, and Addreſſes were made to the King, ſetting forth the Inconveniencies that were like to ariſe from thence to *England*: The King anſwered, that he had been ill ſerved in *Scotland*; But he hoped Remedies ſhould be found, to prevent the ill conſequences, that they apprehended from the Act: And ſoon after this, he turned out both the Secretaries of State, and the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*: And great Changes were made in the whole Miniſtry of that Kingdom, both high and low. No Enquiry was made, nor Proceedings ordered, concerning the buſineſs of *Glencoe*; So that furniſhed the Libellers with ſome colours, in

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aſperſing the King, as if he muſt have been willing to ſuffer it to be executed, ince he ſeemed ſo unwilling to let it be puniſhed.

Scotland much ſet on ſupporting it.

But when it was underſtood in *Scotland*, that the King had diſowned the Act or the *Eaſt-India* Company, from which it was expected that great Riches ſhould low into that Kingdom, it is not eaſy to conceive how great, and how general n indignation was ſpread over the whole Kingdom; The Jacobites ſaw what a Game it was like to prove in their hands; They played it with great skill, and o the advantage of their cauſe, in a courſe of many years; and continue to ma- nage it to this day: There was a great deal of noiſe made of the *Scotch* Act in both Houſes of Parliament in *England* by ſome, who ſeemed to have no other deſign in that, but to heighten our diſtractions, by the apprehenſions that they expreſſed. The *Scotch* Nation fancied nothing but Mountains of Gold; And the credit of the deſign roſe ſo high, that Subſcriptions were made, and advances of money were offered, beyond what any believed the Wealth of that Kingdom could have furniſhed. *Paterſon* came to have ſuch credit among them, that the deſign of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, how promiſing ſoever, was wholly laid aſide; And they reſolved to employ all their wealth, in the ſettling a Colony, with a Port and Fortifications in *Darien*, which was long kept a ſecret, and was only truſted to a ſelect number, empowered by this new Company, who aſſumed to themſelves the name of the *African* Company, tho' they never meddled with any concern in that part of the World: The unhappy progreſs of this affair will appear in its proper time.

A motion for a Council of Trade.

The Loſſes of the Merchants gave great advantages to thoſe, who complained of the Adminiſtration; The conduct, with relation to our Trade, was repre- ſented as at beſt a neglect of the Nation, and of its Proſperity: Some, with a more ſpiteful malice, ſaid, it was deſigned, that we ſhould ſuffer in our Trade, that the *Dutch* might carry it from us: And how extravagant ſoever this might ſeem, it was often repeated by ſome men of virulent tempers. And in the end, when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our Trade, were ſet out, and much aggravated, a motion was made to create, by Act of Parliament, a Council of Trade.

This was oppoſed by thoſe, who looked on it, as a change of our Conſtitu- tion, in a very eſſential point: The executive part of the Government was wholly in the King: So that the appointing any Council, by Act of Parlia- ment, began a Precedent of their breaking in upon the execution of the Law, in which it could not be eaſy to ſee how far they might be carried; It was indeed offered, that this Council ſhould be much limited as to its Powers; Yet many apprehended, that if the Parliament named the perſons, how low ſoever their powers might be at firſt, they would be enlarged every Seſſion; and from being a Council to look into matters of Trade, they would be next empowered to ap- point Convoys and Cruizers; This in time, might draw in the whole Admiralty, and that part of the Revenue or Supply, that was appropriated to the Navy; So that a King would ſoon grow to be a Duke of *Venice*; And indeed thoſe, who ſet this on moſt zealouſly, did not deny that they deſigned to graft many things upon it.

The King was ſo ſenſible of the ill effects this would have, that he ordered his Miniſters to oppoſe it, as much as poſſibly they could: The Earl of *Sunder- land*, to the wonder of many, declared for it, as all that depended on him pro- moted it: He was afraid of the violence of the Republican Party, and would not venture on provoking them; The Miniſters were much offended with him for taking this method to recommend himſelf at their coſt; The King himſelf took it ill, and he told me, if he went on, driving it as he did, that he muſt break with him; He imputed it to his Fear; For the unhappy ſteps he had made in King *James*'s Time, gave his Enemies ſo many handles and colours for attacking him, that he would venture on nothing, that might provoke them. Here was a Debate, plainly in a point of Prerogative, how far the Government ſhould continue on its antient bottom of Monarchy, as to the executive part; or how far it ſhould turn to a Commonwealth; and yet by an odd reverſe, the Whigs, who were now moſt employed, argued for the Prerogative, while the Tories ſeemed zealous for publick Liberty: So powerfully does intereſt biaſs men of all forms.

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A Conſpiracy diſcovered.

This was going on, and probably would have paſt in both Houſes, when the diſcovery of a Conſpiracy turned mens thoughts quite another way: So that all angry motions were let fall, and the Seſſion came to a very happy concluſion, with greater advantages to the King, than could have been otherwiſe expected. We were all this Winter alarmed, from many different quarters, with the inſolent diſcourſes of the Jacobites, who ſeemed ſo well aſſured of a ſudden Revolution, which was to be both quick and entire; that at *Chriſtmas* they ſaid, it would be brought about, within ſix weeks. The *French* Fleet, which we had ſo long ſhut up within *Toulon*, was now fitting out, and was ordered to come round to *Breſt*; Our Fleet, that lay at *Cadiz*, was not ſtrong enough to fight them, when they ſhould paſs the Streights; *Raſſel* had come home, with many of the great Ships, and had left only a Squadron there; But a great Fleet was ordered to go thither; It was ready to have ſailed in *December*; But was kept in our Ports by contrary Winds, till *February*; This was then thought a great unhappineſs; But we found afterwards, that our preſervation was chiefly owing to it; And it was ſo extraordinary a thing, to ſee the wind fixed at South Weſt during the whole Winter, that few could reſiſt the obſerving a ſignal Providence of God in it. We were all this while in great pain for *Rook*, who commanded the Squadron that lay at *Cadiz*; and was like to ſuffer for want of the Proviſions and Stores, which this Fleet was to carry him, beſides the addition of ſtrength this would bring him, in caſe the *Toulon* Squadron ſhould come about; We were only apprehenſive of danger from that Squadron; For we thought, that we could be in none at home, till that Fleet was brought about; the advertiſements came from many places, that ſome very important thing was ready to break out: It is true, the Jacobites fed their party with ſuch ſtories every year; But they both talked and wrote now with more than ordinary aſſurance. The King had been ſo accuſtomed to alarms and reports of this kind, that he had now ſo little regard to them, as ſcarce to be willing to hearken to thoſe, who brought him ſuch advertiſements. He was ſo much ſet on preparing for the next Campaign, that all other things were little conſidered by him.

Of aſſaſſinating the King.

But in the beginning of *February*, one Captain *Fiſher* came to the Earl of *Portland*, and in general told him, there was a deſign to aſſaſſinate the King; But he would not, or could not then name any of the perſons, who were concerned in it; He never appeared more, for he had aſſurances given him, that he ſhould not be made uſe of as a witneſs; Few days after that, one *Prendergaſt*, an *Iriſh* Officer, came to the Earl of *Portland*, and diſcovered all that he knew of the matter; he freely told him his own name; but would not name any of the Conſpirators; *La Rue*, a *Frenchman*, came alſo to Brigadier *Leviſon*, and diſcovered to him all that he knew; Theſe two (*Prendergaſt* and *La Rue*) were brought to the King apart, not knowing of one another's diſcovery: They gave an account of two Plots then on foot, the one for aſſaſſinating the King, and the other for invading the Kingdom. The King was not eaſily brought to give credit to this, till a variety of circumſtances, in which the Diſcoveries did agree, convinced him of the truth of the whole deſign.

It has been already told, in how many Projects King *James* was engaged, for aſſaſſinating the King; But all theſe had failed; So now one was laid, that gave better hopes, and look'd liker a Military action, than a foul murder: Sir *George Berkeley*, a *Scotchman*, received a Commiſſion from King *James*, to go and attack the Prince of *Orange*, in his Winter Quarters: *Charnock*, Sir *William Perkins*, Captain *Porter*, and *La Rue*, were the men to whoſe conduct the matter was truſted; The Duke of *Berwick* came over, and had ſome diſcourſe with them about the method of executing it: Forty Perſons were thought neceſſary for the attempt; They intended to watch the King, as he ſhould go out to hunt, or come back from it in his Coach; Some of them were to engage the Guards, while others ſhould attack the King, and either carry him off a Priſoner, or, in caſe of any reſiſtance, kill him. This ſoft manner was propoſed, to draw Military men to act in it, as a warlike Exploit: *Porter* and *Knightly* went and viewed the Grounds, and the way thro' which the King paſt, as he went between *Kenſington* and *Richmond* Park, where he uſed to hunt commonly on *Saturdays*; And they pitched on two places, where they thought they might well execute

ecute the design. King *James* sent over some of his Guards to assist in it; He spoke himself to one *Harris* to go over, and to obey such Orders as he should receive from *Berkeley*; He ordered money to be given him, and told him, that, if he was forced to stay long at *Calais*, the President there would have orders to furnish him. 1695

When the Duke of *Berwick* had laid the matter so well here, that he thought it could not miscarry, he went back to *France*, and met King *James* at St. *Denis*, who was come so far on his way from *Paris*: He stopt there, and after a long Conference with the Duke of *Berwick*, he sent him first to his Queen at St. *Germains*, and then to the King of *France*, and he himself called for a Notary, and passed some Act: But it was not known to what effect. When that was done, he pursued his journey to *Calais*, to set himself at the head of an Army of about 20000 men, that were drawn out of the Garrisons, which lay near that Frontier. These being full in that season, an Army was in a very few days brought together, without any previous warning or noise. There came every Winter a coasting Fleet, from all the Sea-ports of *France* to *Dunkirk*, with all the provisions for a Campaign; And it was given out, that the *French* intended an early one this year. So that this coasting Fleet was ordered to be there by the end of *January*; Thus here were Transport Ships, as well as an Army, brought together in a very silent manner; There was also a small Fleet of Cruizers, and some Men of War ready to convoy them over; Many Regiments were embarked, and King *James* was waiting at *Calais*, for some tidings of that, on which he chiefly depended; For upon the first notice of the success of the Assassination, he was resolved to have set sail: So near was the matter brought to a Crisis, when it broke out by the discovery, made by the persons above named. *La Rue* told all particulars, with the greatest frankness, and named all the persons that they had intended to engage in the execution of it; For several Lists were among them, and those who concerted the matter, had those Lists given them; And took it for granted, that every man named in those Lists was engaged; Since they were persons on whom they depended, as knowing their inclinations, and believing that they would readily enter into the Project: tho' it had not been, at that time, proposed to many of them, as it appeared afterwards. The design was laid, to strike the Blow on the 15th of *February*, in a Lane that turns down from *Turnham-Green* to *Brentford*; And the Conspirators were to be scattered about the *Green*, in Taverns and Ale-houses, and to be brought together, upon a signal given. They were cast into several parties, and an *Aid de Camp* was assigned to every one of them, both to bring them together, and to give the whole the air of a Military action: *Prendergast* owned very freely to the King, that he was engaged in Interest against him, as he was of a Religion contrary to his; He said, he would have no Reward for his discovery; But he hated a base action; And the point of Honour was the only motive that prevailed on him: He owned, that he was desired to assist, in the seizing on him, and he named the person that was fixed on to shoot him; He abhorred the whole thing, and immediately came to reveal it: His story did in all particulars agree with *La Rue's*; For some time he stood on it, as a point of Honour, to name no person; But upon assurance given him, that he should not be brought as a witness against them, he named all he knew: The King ordered the Coaches and Guards to be made ready next morning, being the 15th of *February*, and on *Saturday*, his usual day of Hunting: But some accident was pretended to cover his not going abroad that day; The Conspirators continued to meet together, not doubting but that they should have occasion to execute their design the next *Saturday*; They had some always about *Kensington*, who came and went continually, and brought them an account of every thing that past there; On *Saturday*, the 22*d* of *February*, they put themselves in a readiness; And were going out to take the Posts assigned them; but were surprised, when they had notice that the King's Hunting was put off a second time; They apprehended, they might be discovered: Yet as none were seized, they soon quieted themselves. 1696

And to invade the Kingdom.

1696 Many of the Conſpirators ſeized on.

Next night, a great many of them were taken in their beds: And the day following, the whole diſcovery was laid before the Privy Council: At the ſame time, Advices were ſent to the King from *Flanders*, that the *French* Army was marching to *Dunkirk*, on deſign to invade *England*: And now, by a very happy Providence, tho' hitherto, a very unacceptable one, we had a great Fleet at *Spithead*, ready to ſail: And we had another Fleet, deſigned for the Summer's ſervice in our own Seas, quite ready, tho' not yet manned. Many brave Seamen, ſeeing the Nation was in ſuch viſible danger, came out of their lurking holes, in which they were hiding themſelves from the Preſs, and offered their Service; And all people ſhewed ſo much zeal, that in three days, *Ruſſel*, who was ſent to command, ſtood over to the Coaſt of *France*, with a Fleet of above fifty Men of War. The *French* were amazed at this; And upon it, their Ships drew ſo near their Coaſts, that he durſt not follow them in ſuch ſhallow Water, but was contented with breaking their Deſign, and driving them into their Harbours. King *James* ſtayed for ſome Weeks there. But, as the *French* ſaid, his malignant Star ſtill blaſted every project, that was formed for his Service.

The deſign of the Invaſion broken.

The Court of *France* was much out of countenance with this diſappointment; for that King had ordered his deſign of Invading *England*, to be communicated to all the Courts, in which he had Miniſters: And they ſpoke of it with ſuch an air of aſſurance, as gave violent preſumptions, that the King of *France* knew of the Conſpiracy againſt the King's Perſon, and depended upon it; for indeed, without that, the Deſign was impracticable, conſidering how great a Fleet we had at *Spithead*; Nor could any Men of common ſenſe have entertained a thought of it, but with a view of the Confuſion, into which the intended Aſſaſſination muſt have caſt us. They went on in *England*, ſeizing the Conſpirators; And a Proclamation was iſſued out, for apprehending thoſe that abſconded, with a promiſe of a thouſand Pound Reward, to ſuch as ſhould ſeize on any of them, and the offer of a Pardon to every Conſpirator, that ſhould ſeize on any of the reſt: This ſet all people at work, and in a few weeks moſt of them were apprehended; Only *Berkeley* was not found, who had brought the Commiſſion from King *James*, tho' great ſearch was made for him. For, tho' the reality of ſuch a Commiſſion, was fully proved afterwards, in the Trials of the Conſpirators, by the Evidence of thoſe, who had ſeen and read it all written in King *James*'s own hand (ſuch a Paper being too important to be truſted to any to copy) yet much pains was taken, to have found the very perſon who was intruſted with it: The Commiſſion itſelf would have been a valuable piece, and ſuch an Original, as was not to be found any where.

The Military Men would not engage on other terms; They thought, by the Laws of War, they were bound to obey all Orders, that run in a Military Stile, and no other; And ſo they imagined, that their part in it was as innocent, as the going on any deſperate deſign, during a Campaign: Many of them repined at the Service, and wiſhed that it had not been put on them; But, being commanded, they fancied that they were liable to no Blame nor Infamy, but ought to be treated as Priſoners of War.

Porter diſcovered all.

Among thoſe who were taken, *Porter* and *Prendergaſt* were brought in. *Porter* had been a vicious man, engaged in many ill things; and was very forward and furious in all their Conſultations: The Lord *Cutts*, who, as Captain of the Guards, was preſent, when the King examined *Prendergaſt*, but did not know his name, when he ſaw him brought in, preſſed him to own himſelf, and the ſervice that he had already done; But he claimed the promiſe of not being forced to be a Witneſs, and would ſay nothing: *Porter* was a man of pleaſure, who loved not the hardſhips of a Priſon, and much leſs the ſolemnities of an Execution; So he confeſſed all: And then *Prendergaſt*, who had his dependance on him, freely confeſſed likewiſe: He ſaid, *Porter* was the man who had truſted him; He could not be an Inſtrument to deſtroy him; Yet he lay under no obligations to any others among them. *Porter* had been in the management of the whole matter: So he gave a very copious account of it all, from the firſt beginning. And now it appeared, that *Prendergaſt* had been but a very few days among them, and had ſeen very few of them; and that he came and diſcovered the Conſpiracy, the next day after it was opened to him.

When

When by these Examinations the matter was clear and undeniable, the King communicated it, in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament: They immediately made Addresses of Congratulation, with assurances of adhering to him against all his Enemies, and in particular, against King *James*; And after that, Motions were made in both Houses, for an Association, wherein they should own him as their Rightful and Lawful King, and promise faithfully to adhere to him against King *James*, and the pretended Prince of *Wales*; engaging at the same time to maintain the Act of Succession, and to revenge his Death on all who should be concerned in it. This was much opposed in both Houses, chiefly by *Seimour* and *Finch* in the House of Commons, and the Earl of *Nottingham* in the House of Lords: They went chiefly upon this, that *Rightful* and *Lawful* were words, that had been laid aside in the beginning of this Reign; that they imported one that was King by Descent, and so could not belong to the present King. They said, the Crown and the Prerogatives of it were vested in him, and therefore they would obey him, and be faithful to him, tho' they could not acknowledge him their Rightful and Lawful King. Great exceptions were also taken to the word *Revenge*, as not of an Evangelical sound; But that word was so explained, that these were soon cleared; *Revenge* was to be meant in a legal sense, either in the prosecution of Justice at home, or of War abroad; And the same word had been used in that Association, into which the Nation entred, when it was apprehended, that Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life was in danger, by the practices of the Queen of *Scots*. After a warm Debate, it was carried in both Houses, that an Association should be laid on the Table, and that it might be signed by all such, as were willing of their own accord to sign it; only with this difference, that instead of the words *Rightful* and *Lawful* King, the Lords put these words, That King *William* hath the Right by Law to the Crown of these Realms, and that neither King *James*, nor the pretended Prince of *Wales*, nor any other person, has any Right whatsoever to the same. This was done, to satisfy those, who said, they could not come up to the words *Rightful* and *Lawful*; And the Earl of *Rochester* offering these words, they were thought to answer the ends of the Association, and so were agreed to. This was signed by both Houses, excepting only Fourscore in the House of Commons, and Fifteen in the House of Lords: The Association was carried from the Houses of Parliament over all *England*, and was signed by all sorts of people, a very few only excepted: The Bishops also drew a Form for the Clergy, according to that signed by the House of Lords, with some small variation, which was so universally signed, that not above an Hundred all *England* over refused it. 1696

Both Houses of Parliament enter into a voluntary Association.

Soon after this, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, declaring all men incapable of publick Trust, or to serve in Parliament, who did not sign the Association; This past with no considerable opposition; for those who had signed it of their own accord, were not unwilling to have it made general; and such as had refused it when it was voluntary, were resolved to sign it as soon as the Law should be made for it. And at the same time, an Order past in Council, for reviewing all the Commissions in *England*, and for turning out of them all those, who had not signed the Association, while it was voluntary; Since this seemed to be such a declaration of their Principles and Affections, that it was not thought reasonable, that such persons should be any longer, either Justices of Peace, or Deputy Lieutenants.

The Session of Parliament was soon brought to a conclusion. They created one Fund, upon which, two Millions and an half were to be raised, which the best judges did apprehend was neither just nor prudent. A new Bank was proposed, called the Land Bank, because the Securities were to be upon Land: This was the main difference between it, and the Bank of *England*: And by reason of this, it was pretended, that it was not contrary to a Clause in the Act for that Bank, that no other Bank should be set up in opposition to it. There was a sett of Undertakers, who engaged that it should prove effectual, for the Money for which it was given: This was chiefly managed by *Foley*, *Harley*, and the Tories; It was much laboured by the Earl of *Sunderland*; And the King was prevailed on to consent to it, or rather to desire it, tho' he was then told by many, of what ill consequence it would prove to his affairs: The Earl of *Sunderland*'s excuse for himself, when the Error appeared afterwards but too evi- A Fund upon a Land Bank.

1696 dently, was, that he thought it would engage the Tories in intereſt to ſupport the Government.

Charnock and others tried and executed.

After moſt of the Conſpirators were taken, and all Examinations were over, ſome of them were brought to their Trials. *Charnock*, *King*, and *Keys*, were begun with: The Deſign was fully proved againſt them. *Charnock* ſhewed great preſence of mind, with temper and good judgment, and made as good a defence as the matter could bear: But the proof was ſo full, that they were all found guilty. Endeavours were uſed to perſuade *Charnock* to confeſs all he knew; for he had been in all their Plots from the beginning: His Brother was employed to deal with him, and he ſeemed to be once in ſuſpence: But the next time that his Brother came to him, he told him, He could not ſave his own Life without doing that, which would take away the Lives of ſo many, that he did not think his own Life worth it. This ſhewed a greatneſs of mind, that had been very valuable, if it had been better directed. Thus this matter was underſtood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord *Somers* gave me a different account of it. *Charnock*, as he told me, ſent an Offer to the King, of a full diſcovery of all their conſultations and deſigns; and deſired no pardon, but only that he might live in ſome eaſy priſon; and if he was found to prevaricate, in any part of his diſcovery, he would look for the execution of the Sentence: But the King apprehended, that ſo many perſons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendred deſperate, that he was afraid to have ſuch a Scene opened, and would not accept of this offer. At his death, *Charnock* delivered a paper, in which he confeſſed, he was engaged in a deſign to attack the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards; But he thought himſelf bound to clear King *James*, from having given any Commiſſion to aſſaſſinate him. *King*'s Paper, who ſuffered with him, was to the ſame purpoſe; and they both took pains to clear all thoſe of their Religion, from any acceſſion to it. *King* expreſſed a ſenſe of the Unlawfulneſs of the undertaking; But *Charnock* ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the lawfulneſs of it. *Keys* was a poor ignorant Trumpeter, who had his dependance on *Porter*, and now ſuffered chiefly upon his Evidence, for which he was much reflected on: It was ſaid, that Servants had often been Witneſſes againſt their Maſters, but that a Maſter's Witneſſing againſt his Servant, was ſomewhat new and extraordinary.

King *James* was not acquitted by them.

The way that *Charnock* and *King* took to vindicate King *James*, did rather faſten the imputation more upon him; They did not deny, that he had ſent over a Commiſſion to attack the Prince of *Orange*, which, as *Porter* depoſed, *Charnock* told him he had ſeen; If this had been denied by a dying man, his laſt words would have been of ſome weight: But inſtead of denying that which was ſworn, he only denied, that King *James* had given a Commiſſion for Aſſaſſination: And it ſeems great weight was laid on this Word; for all the Conſpirators agreed in it, and denied that King *James* had given a Commiſſion to aſſaſſinate the Prince of *Orange*. This was an odious word, and perhaps no perſon was ever ſo wicked, as to order ſuch a thing, in ſo crude a manner: But the ſending a Commiſſion, to attack the King's Perſon, was the ſame thing upon the matter; and was all that the Witneſſes had depoſed. Therefore their not denying this, in the terms in which the Witneſſes ſwore it, did plainly imply a Confeſſion that it was true. But ſome, who had a mind to deceive themſelves or others, laid hold on this, and made great uſe of it, that dying men had acquitted King *James* of the Aſſaſſination. Such ſlight colours will ſerve, when people are engaged before-hand to believe, as their affections lead them.

Friend and *Perkins* tried, and ſuffered.

Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Perkins*, were tried next. The firſt of theſe had riſen from mean beginnings to great credit, and much wealth; He was employed by King *James*, and had all this while ſtuck firm to his intereſts: His Purſe was more conſidered than his head, and was open on all occaſions, as the Party applied to him: While *Parker* was formerly in the Tower, upon Information of an Aſſaſſination of the King deſigned by him, he furniſhed the money that corrupted his Keepers, and helped him to make his eſcape out of the Tower: He knew of the Aſſaſſination, tho' he was not to be an Actor in it: But he had a Commiſſion for raiſing a Regiment for King *James*, and he had entertained and payed the Officers, who were to ſerve under him: He had alſo joined with thoſe who had ſent over *Charnock*, in *May* 1695, with the Meſſage to King

King *James*, mentioned in the account of the former year: It appearing now, that they had then desired an Invasion with 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and had promised to join these with 2000 Horse, upon their landing. In this, the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Marquis of *Powis*, and Sir *John Fenwick*, were also concerned: Upon all this evidence, *Friend* was condemned, and the Earl of *Ailesbury* was committed Prisoner to the Tower. *Perkins* was a Gentleman of Estate, who had gone violently into the Passions and Interests of the Court, in King *Charles*'s time: He was one of the six Clerks in Chancery, and took all Oaths to the Government, rather than lose his Place: He did not only consent to the design of Assassination, but undertook to bring five men, who should assist in it; And he had brought up Horses for that Service, from the Country; But had not named the Persons; so this lay yet in his own breast: He himself was not to have acted in it, for he likewise had a Commission for a Regiment; And therefore, was to reserve himself for that Service: He had also provided a stock of Arms, which were hid under Ground, and were now discovered: Upon this Evidence, he was condemned. Great endeavours were used, both with *Friend* and him, to confess all they knew: *Friend* was more sullen, as he knew less; for he was only applied to and trusted, when they needed his money: *Perkins* fluctuated more; He confessed the whole thing for which he was condemned; But would not name the five persons, whom he was to have sent in, to assist in the Assassination; He said, he had engaged them in it, so he could not think of saving his own Life by destroying theirs: He confessed, he had seen King *James*'s Commission; The words differed a little from those which *Porter* had told; But *Porter* did not swear that he saw it himself; He only related what *Charnock* had told him concerning it; Yet *Perkins* said, they were to the same effect: He believed, it was all writ with King *James*'s own hand, he had seen his writing often, and was confident it was writ by him: He owned, that he had raised and maintained a Regiment; But he thought he could not swear against his Officers, since he himself had drawn them into the Service; and he affirmed that he knew nothing of the other Regiments: He sent for the Bishop of *Ely*, to whom he repeated all these particulars, as the Bishop himself told me; He seemed much troubled with a sense of his former Life, which had been very irregular: The House of Commons sent some to examine him: But he gave them so little satisfaction, that they left him to the course of the Law: His tenderness, in not accusing those whom he had drawn in, was so generous, that this alone served to create some regard for a man, who had been long under a very bad Character. In the beginning of *April*, *Friend* and he were executed together. 1696

A very unusual instance of the boldness of the Jacobites appeared upon that occasion; These two had not changed their Religion, but still called themselves Protestants; So three of the Nonjuring Clergymen waited on them to Tyburn, two of them had been oft with *Friend*, and one of them with *Perkins*; And all the three, at the place of Execution, joined to give them Publick Absolution, with an Imposition of Hands, in the view of all the People; A strain of Impudence, that was as new as it was wicked; since these persons died, owning the ill Designs they had been engaged in, and expressing no sort of Repentance for them. So these Clergymen, in this solemn Absolution, made an open Declaration of their allowing and justifying these persons, in all they had been concerned in: Two of these were taken, and censured for this in the King's Bench, the third made his escape. They had a publick Absolution given them.

Three other Conspirators, *Rookwood*, *Lowick*, and *Cranborn*, were tried next. By this time, the new Act for Trials in such cases began to take place, so these held long; for their Council stuck upon every thing. But the Evidence was now more copious: For three other Witnesses came in; The Government being so gentle as to pardon even the Conspirators, who confessed their guilt, and were willing to be Witnesses against others. The two first were Papists, they expressed their dislike of the Design; But insisted on this, that as Military Men they were bound to obey all Military Orders; And they thought, that the King, who knew the Laws of War, ought to have a regard to this, and to forgive them. *Cranborn* call'd himself a Protestant, but was more sullen than the other two; to such a degree of fury and perverseness, had the Jacobites wrought Other Conspirators tried and executed.

1696 up their Party. *Knightly* was tried next; He confeſſed all, and upon that, tho' he was condemned, he had a Reprieve, and was afterwards pardoned. Theſe were all the Trials and Executions that even this black Conſpiracy drew from the Government; for the King's Inclinations were ſo merciful, that he ſeemed uneaſy even under theſe Acts of neceſſary Juſtice.

Cook tried for the Invaſion.

Cook was brought next upon his Trial, on account of the intended Invaſion; for he was not charged with the Aſſaſſination; His Trial was conſidered as introductory to the Earl of *Ailesbury's*; for the Evidence was the ſame as to both. *Porter* and *Goodman* were two Witneſſes againſt him; They had been with him at a meeting, in a Tavern in *Leadenhall* Street, where *Charnock* received Inſtructions to go to *France*, with the Meſſage formerly mentioned; All that was brought againſt this, was, that the Maſter of the Tavern, and two of his Servants ſwore, that they remembred well when that Company was at the Tavern, for they were often coming into the Room where they ſat, both at dinner time, and after it; and that they ſaw not *Goodman* there, nay, they were poſitive, that he was not there. On the other hand, *Porter* depoſed, that *Goodman* was not with them at dinner; but that he came to that Houſe after dinner, and ſent him in a note; upon which he, with the conſent of the Company, went out and brought him in: And then it was certain, that the Servants of the Houſe were not in that conſtant attendance; nor could they be believed in a negative, againſt poſitive evidence to the contrary. Their credit was not ſuch, but that it might be well ſuppoſed, that, for the intereſt of their houſe, they might be induced to make ſtretches: The Evidence was believed, and *Cook* was found guilty, and condemned; He obtained many ſhort Reprieves, upon aſſurances that he would tell all he knew: But it was viſible he did not deal ſincerely, his puniſhment ended in a Baniſhment. Sir *John Fenwick* was taken not long after, going over to *France*, and was ordered to prepare for his Trial: Upon which, he ſeemed willing to diſcover all he knew: And in this, he went off and on, for he had no mind to die, and hoped to ſave himſelf by ſome practice or other: Several days were ſet for his Trial, and he procured new delays, by making ſome new diſcoveries: At laſt, when he ſaw that ſlight and general ones would not ſerve his turn, he ſent for the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and wrote a Paper as a diſcovery, which he gave him to be ſent to the King; And that Duke, affirming to the Lords Juſtices, that it was not fit that Paper ſhould be ſeen by any, before the King ſaw it, the matter was ſuffered to reſt for this time.

The Campaign beyond Sea feebly carried on.

The Summer went over, both in *Flanders* and on the *Rhine*, without any action: All the Funds given for this year's Service proved defective, but that of the Land Bank failed totally: And the credit of the Bank of *England* was much ſhaken. About five Millions of clipt money was brought into the Exchequer; And the loſs that the Nation ſuffered, by the recoining of the money, amounted to two Millions, and two Hundred Thouſand Pounds. The Coinage was carried on with all poſſible haſte; About eighty thouſand pounds was coined every Week: Yet ſtill this was ſlow, and the new money was generally kept up; ſo that, for ſeveral months, little of it appeared. This ſtop in the free Circulation of money, put the Nation into great diſorder: Thoſe who, according to the Act of Parliament, were to have the firſt Payments in Milled money, for the Loans they had made, kept their Specie up, and would not let it go but at an unreaſonable advantage. The King had no money to pay his Army, ſo they were in great diſtreſs, which they bore with wonderful patience: By this means, the King could undertake nothing, and was forced to lie on the defenſive: Nor were the *French* ſtrong enough to make an Impreſſion in any place: The King had a mighty Army, and was much ſuperior to the Enemy; Yet he could do nothing; And it paſſed for a happy Campaign, becauſe the *French* were not able to take any advantage from thoſe ill accidents, that our want of Specie brought us under; which indeed were ſuch, that nothing but the ſenſe all had of the late Conſpiracy, kept us quiet and free from tumults. It now appeared, what a ſtrange error the King was led into, when he accepted of ſo great a Sum, to be raiſed by a Land Bank: It was ſcarce honourable, and not very ſafe at any time; But it might have proved fatal at a time, in which, money was like to be much wanted, which want would have been leſs felt, if Paper Cre-

Credit had been kept up: But one Bank working againſt another, and the Gold- 1696
ſmiths againſt both, put us to great ſtreights: Yet the Bank ſupplied the King in this extremity, and thereby convinced him, that they were his friends in affection, as well as intereſt.

A Peace in *Piedmont.*

The ſecret practices in *Italy* were now ready to break out; The *Pope* and the *Venetians* had a mind to ſend the *Germans* out of *Italy*, and to take the Duke of *Savoy* out of the neceſſity of depending on thoſe, they called Hereticks. The management in the buſineſs of *Caſal* looked ſo dark, that the Lord *Gallway*, who was the King's General and Envoy there, did apprehend there was ſomewhat myſterious under it. One ſtep more remained, to ſettle the Peace there; for the Duke of *Savoy* would not own that he was in any Negotiation, till he ſhould have received the advances of money, that were promiſed him from *England* and *Holland*; for he much ſet on the heaping of Treaſure, even during the War; to which end, he had debaſed his Coin, ſo, that it was not above a ſixth part in intrinſick value, of what it paſſed for. He was always beſet with his Prieſts, who were perpetually complaining of the progreſs, that Hereſy was like to make in his Dominions; He had indeed granted a very full Edict, in favour of the *Vaudois*, reſtoring their former Liberties and Privileges to them, which the Lord *Gallway* took care to have put, in the moſt emphatical words, and paſt with all the formalities of Law, to make it as effectual, as Laws and Promiſes can be: Yet every ſtep, that was made in that affair, went againſt the grain, and was extorted from him, by the interceſſion of the King and the States, and by the Lord *Gallway*'s zeal.

In concluſion, the *French* were grown ſo weary of that War, and found the Charge of it ſo heavy, that they offered, not only to reſtore all that had been taken, but to demoliſh *Pignerol*, and to pay the Duke ſome Millions of Crowns; and to compleat the whole, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould marry his Daughter: To this he conſented; But to cover this Defection from his Allies, it was further agreed, that *Catinat* ſhould draw his Army together, before the Duke could bring his, to make head againſt him; And that he ſhould be ordered to attempt the Bombardment of *Turin*, that ſo the Duke might ſeem to be forced, by the extremity of his affairs, to take ſuch conditions, as were offered him. He had a mind to have caſt the blame on his Allies; But they had aſſiſted him more effectually at this time, than on other occaſions: A Truce was firſt made, and that, after a few months, was turned into an entire Peace; One Article whereof was, that the *Milaneze* ſhould have a neutrality granted them, in caſe the *German* Forces were ſent out of *Italy*; All the *Italian* Princes and States concurred in this, to get rid of the *Germans* as ſoon as was poſſible; ſo the Duke of *Savoy* promiſed to join with the *French* to drive them out. *Valence* was the firſt place, that the Duke of *Savoy* attackt; There was a good Garriſon in it, and it was better provied, than the places of the *Spaniards* generally were: It was not much preſſed, and the Siege held ſome weeks, many dying in it. At laſt, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* accepted of the Neutrality, and engaged to draw the *Germans* out of theſe parts, upon an advance of money, which the Princes of *Italy* were glad to pay, to be delivered from ſuch troubleſome gueſts.

Thus ended the War in *Piedmont*, after it had laſted ſix years: *Pignerol* was demoliſhed; But the *French*, by the Treaty, might build another Fort at *Fenеſtrella*, which is in the middle of the Hills: And ſo it will not be ſo important as *Pignerol* was, tho' it may prove an uneaſy neighbour to the Duke of *Savoy*. His Daughter was received in *France* as Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, tho' not yet of the Age of Conſent: for ſhe was but ten years old.

Nothing of conſequence paſſed in *Catalonia*; The *French* went no further than *Gironne*, and the *Spaniards* gave them no diſturbance; Both the King and Queen of *Spain* were at this time ſo ill, that, as is uſual upon ſuch occaſions, it was ſuſpected they were both poiſoned. The King of *Spain* relapſed often, and at laſt, remain'd in that low ſtate of health, in which he ſeemed to be always rather dying than living: The Court of *France* were glad of his recovery; for they were not then in a condition, to undertake ſuch a War, as the *Dauphin*'s Pretenſions muſt have engaged them in.

1696 Affairs in *Hungary*.

In *Hungary*, the *Turks* advanced again towards *Transilvania*, where the Duke of *Saxony* commanded the Imperial Army: The *Turks* did attack them, and they defended themselves so well, that, tho' they were beat, yet it cost the *Turks* so dear, that the Grand *Seignior* could undertake nothing afterwards. The Imperialists lost about 5000 men; But the *Turks* lost above twice that number; And the Grand *Signior* went back with an empty Triumph, as he did the former year: But another action happened, in a very remote place, which may come to be of a very great consequence to him. The *Muscovites*, after they had been for some years under the divided Monarchy of Two Brothers, or rather, of a Sister, who governed all in their Name, by the death of one of these came now under one *Czar*: He entered into an Alliance with the Emperor, against the *Turks*; and *Azuph*, which was reckon'd a strong place, that commanded the mouth of the *Tanais* or *Donn*, where it falls into the *Meotis-palus*, after a long Siege, was taken by his Army. This opened the *Euxine* Sea to him; So that, if he be furnished with men, skilled in the building, and in the sailing of Ships, this may have consequences, that may very much distress *Constantinople*, and be in the end, fatal to that Empire. The King of *Denmark*'s Health was now on a decline; Upon which, the Duke of *Holstein* was taking advantage, and new disputes were like to arise there.

Affairs at Sea.

Our affairs at Sea went well, with relation to Trade: All our Merchant Fleets came happily home; we made no considerable Losses; on the contrary, we took many of the *French* Privateers; they now gained little in that way of War, which in some of the former years, had been very advantageous to them. Upon the breaking out of the Conspiracy, Orders were sent to *Cadiz*, for bringing home our Fleet; The *Spaniards* murmured at this, tho' it was reasonable for us to take care of our selves in the first place. Upon that, the *French* Fleet was also ordered to come about; They met with rough Weather, and were long in the passage: So that if we had sent a Squadron before *Brest*, we had probably made some considerable advantage; but the Fleet was so divided, that Faction appeared in every order, and in every motion; Nor did the King study enough to remedy this, but rather kept it up, and seemed to think, that was the way to please both Parties; but he found afterwards, that by all his management with the Tories, he disgusted those, who were affectionate and zealous for him; and that the Tories had too deep an alienation from him, to be overcome with good usage: Their submissions however to him gained their end, which was to provoke the Whigs to be peevish and uneasy. Our Fleet sailed towards the Isle of *Rhæ*, with some Bomb Vessels: Some small Islands were burnt and plundered, as St. *Martins* was bombarded: The loss the *French* made, was not considerable in itself, but it put their affairs in great distraction: and the charge they were at in defending their Coast, was much greater than ours in attacking it. This was the state of affairs in *England*, and abroad, during this Summer.

Affairs in *Scotland*.

Scotland was falling under great misery, by reason of two successive bad Harvests, which exhausted that Nation, and drove away many of their People; the greatest number went over to *Ireland*: A Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, and in a very thin House, every thing that was asked was granted: They were in a miserable condition, for two such bad years lay extremely heavy on them.

A Treaty of Peace set on foot by the *French*.

This Summer, the *French* were making steps towards a Peace; The Court was very uneasy under so long and so destructive a War; The Country was exhausted, They had neither men nor money: Their Trade was sunk to nothing, and publick Credit was lost: The Creation of new Offices, which always was considered as a resource, never to be exhausted, did not work as formerly; Few buyers or undertakers appeared: That King's health was thought declining; He affected secrecy and retirement, so that both the temper of his mind, and the state of his affairs, disposed him to desire a Peace. One *Callieres* was sent, to make propositions to the States, as *D'Avaux* was pressing the King of *Sweden* to offer his Mediation: The States would hearken to no proposition, till two Preliminaries were agreed to; The first was, that all things should be brought back to the state, in which they were put, by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*. This imported, not only the restoring *Mons* and *Charleroy*, but likewise *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg*, and that, in the state which they were in at present;

ſent; The other Preliminary was, that *France* ſhould own the King, whenſoever the Peace ſhould be concluded. The Emperor, who deſigned to keep off any Negotiation as much as poſſible, moved that this ſhould be done before the Treaty was opened: But the King thought the other was ſufficient, and would not ſuffer the Peace to be obſtructed, by a thing, that might ſeem perſonal to himſelf. To all this, the Court of *France*, after ſome delays, conſented; But that ſpirit of Chicane and Injuſtice, that had reigned ſo long in that Court, did ſtill appear in every ſtep that was made: For they made uſe of equivocal terms, in every Paper that was offered in their name: The *States* had felt the effects of theſe in former Treaties too ſenſibly, not to be now on their guard againſt them: The *French* ſtill returned to them, and when ſome points ſeemed to be quite ſettled, new difficulties were ſtill thrown in. It was propoſed by the *French*, that the Popiſh Religion muſt continue ſtill at *Strasburg*, that the King of *France* could not in conſcience yield that point: It was alſo pretended, that *Luxembourg* was to be reſtored in the ſame ſtate, in which it was, when the *French* took it: Theſe variations did almoſt break off the Negotiation; but the *French* would not let it fall, and yielded them up again: So it was viſible all this was only an amuſement, and an artifice, by this ſhew of Peace, to get the Parliament of *England* to declare for it: Since as a Trading Nation muſt grow weary of War, ſo the Party they had among us, would join in with the inclination, that was now become general to promote the Peace: For tho' our affairs were in all reſpects, except that of the Coin, in ſo good a condition, that we felt our ſelves grow richer by the War, yet during each Campaign, we ran a greater riſque, than our Enemies did: For all our preſervation hung on the ſingle thread of the King's Life, and on that proſpect, the Party, that wrought againſt the Government, had great hopes, and acted with much ſpirit during the War, which we had reaſon to think muſt ſink with a Peace. 1696

A Seſſion of Parliament in *England.*

The Parliament met in *November*; And at the opening of the Seſſion, the King, in his Speech to the two Houſes, acquainted them with the Overtures, that were made towards a Peace: But added, that the beſt way to obtain a good one was, to be in a poſture for carrying on the War. The great difficulty was, to find a way to reſtore Credit: There was a great Arrear due; All Funds had proved deficient; And the total failing of the Land Bank had brought a great confuſion on all payments; The Arrears were put upon the Funds of the Revenue, which had been granted for a term of but five years, and that was now ending; So a new continuance of thoſe Revenues was granted; and they were put under the management of the Bank of *England*, which upon that ſecurity, undertook the payment of them all. It was long before all this was fully ſettled: The Bank was not willing to engage in it; yet at laſt it was agreed: And the Bank quickly recovered its Credit ſo entirely, that there was no diſcount upon the Notes. The Arrear amounted to ten Millions: And five Millions more were to be raiſed for the Charge of the following year. So that one Seſſion was to ſecure fifteen Millions, a Sum never before thought poſſible to be provided for, in any one Seſſion. There was not Specie enough, for giving that quick circulation, which is neceſſary for Trade; So to remedy that, the Treaſury was empowered to give out Notes, to the value of almoſt three Millions, which were to circulate as a Species of Money, and to be received in Taxes, and were to ſink gradually, as the money ſhould ariſe out of the Fund, that was created to anſwer them; By theſe methods, all the demands, both for Arrears, and for the following year, were anſwered. The Commons ſent a Bill to the Lords, limiting Elections to future Parliaments, that none ſhould be choſen, but thoſe, who had ſuch a proportion of Eſtate or Money; The Lords rejected it: They thought it reaſonable to leave the Nation to their freedom, in chooſing their Repreſentatives in Parliament: It ſeemed both unjuſt and cruel, that if a poor man had ſo fair a Reputation, as to be choſen, notwithſtanding his Poverty, by thoſe, who were willing to pay him Wages, that he ſhould be branded with an Incapacity, becauſe of his ſmall eſtate. Corruption in Elections was to be apprehended from the rich, rather than from the poor. Another Bill was ſent up by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, prohibiting the Importation of all *Eaſt-India* Silks, and *Bengales*: This was propoſed, to encourage the Silk Ma-

1696 nufacture at home; And Petitions were brought for it by great multitudes, in a very tumultuary way; But the Lords had no regard to that.

Fenwick's buſineſs.

The great buſineſs of this Seſſion, that held longeſt in both Houſes, was a Bill relating to Sir *John Fenwick*: The thing was of ſo particular a nature, that it deſerves to be related in a ſpecial manner; And the great ſhare that I bore in the Debate, when it was in the Houſe of *Lords*, makes it more neceſſary for me copiouſly to enlarge upon it: For it may at firſt view, ſeem very liable to exception, that a man of my Profeſſion ſhould enter ſo far into a Debate of that nature. *Fenwick*, when he was firſt taken, writ a Letter to his Lady, ſetting forth his Misfortune, and giving himſelf for dead, unleſs powerful applications could be made for him, or that ſome of the Jury could be hired to ſtarve out the reſt; and to that he added, *This or nothing can ſave my Life*: This Letter was taken from the perſon, to whom he had given it: At his firſt Examination, before the Lords Juſtices, he denied every thing, till he was ſhewed this Letter; and then he was confounded. In his private Treaty with the Duke of *Devonſhire*, he deſired an aſſurance of Life, upon his promiſe to tell all he knew; But the King refuſed that, and would have it left to himſelf, to judge of the truth, and the importance of the diſcoveries, he ſhould make. So he reſolving to caſt himſelf on the King's Mercy, ſent him a Paper, in which, after a bare account of the Conſultations among the Jacobites (in which he took care to charge none of his own Party) he ſaid, that King *James*, and thoſe who were employed by him, had aſſured them, that both the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Marlborough*, the Lord *Godolphin*, and Admiral *Ruſſel*, were reconciled to him, and were now in his Intereſts, and acting for him. This was a Diſcovery that could ſignify nothing, but to give the King a jealouſy of thoſe Perſons; For he did not offer the leaſt ſhadow or circumſtance, either of proof or of preſumption, to ſupport this accuſation. The King not being ſatisfied herewith, ſent an Order for bringing him to a Trial, unleſs he made fuller Diſcoveries: He deſired to be further examined by the Lords Juſtices, to whom he, being upon Oath, told ſome more Particulars; but he took care to name none of his own ſide, but thoſe againſt whom Evidence was already brought, or who were ſafe and beyond Sea; Some few others he named, who were in matters of leſs conſequence, that did not amount to High Treaſon; He owned a thread of Negotiations, that had paſſed between them and King *James*, or the Court of *France*; He ſaid, the Earl of *Ailesbury* had gone over to *France*, and had been admitted to a private Audience of the *French* King, where he had propoſed the ſending over an Army of 30000 Men, and had undertaken that a great Body of Gentlemen and Horſes ſhould be brought to join them: It appeared by his Diſcoveries, that the Jacobites in *England* were much divided: Some were called Compounders, and others Noncompounders. The firſt ſort deſired Securities from King *James*, for the preſervation of the Religion and Liberties of *England*; whereas, the ſecond ſort were for truſting him upon diſcretion, without asking any terms, putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generoſity. Theſe ſeemed indeed to act more ſuitably to the great Principle, upon which they all inſiſted, that Kings have their Power from God, and are accountable only to him for the exerciſe of it. Dr. *Lloyd*, the deprived Biſhop of *Norwich*, was the only eminent Clergyman that went into this: And therefore, all that Party had, upon *Sancroft's* Death, recommended him to King *James*, to have his nomination for *Canterbury*.

Many delays.

Fenwick put all this in writing, upon aſſurance, that he ſhould not be forced to witneſs any part of it. When that was ſent to the King, all appearing to be ſo trifling, and no other proof being offered, for any part of it, except his own word, which he had ſtipulated, ſhould not be made uſe of, his Majeſty ſent an Order to bring him to his Trial. But as the King was ſlow in ſending this Order, ſo the Duke of *Devonſhire*, who had been in the ſecret Management of the matter, was for ſome time in the Country: The Lords Juſtices delayed the matter, till he came to Town: And then the King's coming was ſo near, that it was reſpited till he came over. By theſe delays, *Fenwick* gained his main deſign in them, which was to practiſe upon the Witneſſes.

His

His Lady began with *Porter*; He was offered, that if he would go beyond Sea, he ſhould have a good Sum in hand, and an Annuity ſecured to him for his Life; He hearkned ſo far to the propoſition, that he drew thoſe, who were in Treaty with him, together with the Lady her ſelf, who carried the Sum, that he was to receive, to a meeting, where he had provided Witneſſes, who ſhould over-hear all that paſſed, and ſhould, upon a Signal, come in, and ſeize them with the money; which was done, and a proſecution upon it was ordered. The practice was fully proved, and the perſons concerned in it were cenſured, and puniſhed: So *Porter* was no more to be dealt with. *Goodman* was the other Witneſs; Firſt they gathered matter to defame him, in which his wicked courſe of Life furniſhed them very copiouſly; But they truſted not to this method, and betook themſelves to another, in which they prevailed more effectually; They perſuaded him to go out of *England*: And by this means, when the laſt Orders were given for *Fenwick*'s Trial, there were not two Witneſſes againſt him; So by the courſe of Law, he muſt have been acquitted: The whole was upon this kept entire for the Seſſion of Parliament. The King ſent to the Houſe of Commons the two Papers that *Fenwick* had ſent him; *Fenwick* was brought before the Houſe: But he refuſed to give any farther account of the matter contained in them; So they rejected them as falſe and ſcandalous, made only to create jealouſies: And they ordered a Bill of Attainder to be brought againſt *Fenwick*; which met with great oppoſition in both Houſes, in every ſtep that was made. The Debates were the hotteſt, and held the longeſt, of any that ever I knew. The Lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their abſent Members to come up; They ſent Meſſengers for them to bring them up, which ſeemed to be a great Breach on their Dignity; For the Privilege of making a Proxy was an undoubted Right belonging to their Peerage; But thoſe, who intended to throw out the Bill, reſolved to have a full Houſe. The Bill ſet forth the Artifices, *Fenwick* had uſed to gain delays; and the practice upon *Porter*, and *Goodman*'s eſcape; the laſt having ſworn Treaſon againſt him at *Cook*'s Trial, and likewiſe to the Grand Jury, who had found the Bill againſt him upon that Evidence. So now *Porter* appearing, and giving his Evidence againſt him, and the Evidence that *Goodman* had given, being proved, it was inferred, that he was guilty of High Treaſon, and that therefore he ought to be Attainted.

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Practices upon Witneſſes.

A Bill of Attainder againſt *Fenwick*.

The ſubſtance of the Arguments brought againſt this way of proceeding, was, that the Law was all Mens Security, as well as it ought to be their Rule: If this was once broke thro', no Man was ſafe: Men would be preſumed guilty without legal proofs, and be run down, and deſtroyed by a torrent: Two Witneſſes ſeemed neceſſary, by an indiſputable Law of Juſtice, to prove a Man guilty: The Law of God given to *Moſes*, as well as the Law of *England*, made this neceſſary: And, beſides all former ones, the Law lately made for Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, was ſuch a ſacred one, that it was to be hoped, that even a Parliament would not make a Breach upon it. A written Depoſition was no Evidence, becauſe the Perſon accuſed could not have the benefit of croſs interrogating the Witneſs, by which much falſe ſwearing was often detected: Nor could the Evidence given in one Trial be brought againſt a Man, who was not a party in that Trial: The Evidence that was offered to a Grand Jury, was to be examined all over again at the Trial; Till that was done, it was not Evidence. It did not appear, that *Fenwick* himſelf was concerned in the practice upon *Porter*; What his Lady did, could not be charged on him: No Evidence was brought, that *Goodman* was practis'd on; So his withdrawing himſelf could not be charged on *Fenwick*. Some very black things were proved againſt *Goodman*, which would be ſtrong to ſet aſide his Teſtimony, tho' he were preſent; And that proof, which had been brought in *Cook*'s Trial, againſt *Porter*'s Evidence, was again made uſe of, to prove that as he was the ſingle Witneſs, ſo he was a doubtful and ſuſpected one: Nor was it proper, that a Bill of this nature ſhould begin in the Houſe of Commons, which could not take Examinations upon Oath. This was the ſubſtance of the Arguments, that were urged againſt the Bill.

Reaſons againſt it.

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Reaſons for the Bill.

On the other hand, it was ſaid, in behalf of the Bill, that the nature of Government required, that the Legiſlature ſhould be recurred to, in extraordinary Caſes, for which effectual Proviſion could not be made by fixed and ſtanding Laws: Our Common Law grew up out of the Proceedings of the Courts of Law: Afterwards, This in caſes of Treaſon was thought too looſe, ſo the Law in this point was limited, firſt by the famous Statute in King *Edward* the Third's time, and then by the Statute in King *Edward* the Sixth's time; the two Witneſſes were to be brought face to face with the perſon accuſed: And that the Law, lately made, had brought the method of Trials to a yet further certainty; Yet in that, as well as in the Statute of *Edward* III. Parliamentary Proceedings were ſtill excepted; And indeed, tho' no ſuch proviſion had been expreſly made in the Acts themſelves, the nature of Government puts always an exception, in favour of the Legiſlative Authority. The Legiſlature was indeed bound to obſerve Juſtice and Equity, as much, if not more, than the inferior Courts; Becauſe the Supreme Court ought to ſet an Example to all others: But they might ſee cauſe to paſs over Forms, as occaſion ſhould require; This was the more reaſonable among us, becauſe there was no Nation in the World beſides *England*, that had not recourſe to Torture, when the Evidence was probable but defective: That was a mighty reſtraint, and ſtruck a terror into all People; And the freeſt Governments, both antient and modern, thought they could not ſubſiſt without it. At preſent, the *Venetians* have their Civil Inquiſitors, and the *Griſons* have their High Courts of Juſtice, which act without the Forms of Law, by the abſolute Truſt that is repoſed in them, ſuch as the *Romans* repoſed in Dictators, in the time of their Liberty. *England* had neither Torture, nor any unlimited Magiſtrate in its Conſtitution; And therefore, upon great Emergencies, recourſe muſt be had to the Supreme Legiſlature. Forms are neceſſary in ſubordinate Courts; But there is no reaſon to tie up the Supreme One by them: This method of Attainder, had been practiſed among us at all times; It is true, what was done in this way at one time, was often reverſed at another; But that was the effect of the violence of the Times; and was occaſioned often, by the injuſtice of thoſe Attainders: The Judgments of the inferior Courts were upon the like account often reverſed; But when Parliamentary Attainders went upon good grounds, tho' without obſerving the Forms of Law, they were never blamed, not to ſay condemned. When poiſoning was firſt practiſed in *England*, and put in a pot of Porridge in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe, this, which was only Felony, was by a ſpecial Law made to be High Treaſon; And a new Puniſhment was appointed by Act of Parliament: The Poiſoner was boiled alive. When the Nun of *Kent* pretended to Viſions, to oppoſe King *Henry* the Eighth's Divorce, and his ſecond Marriage; and ſaid, if he married again, he ſhould not live long after it, but ſhould die a Villain's death; This was judged in Parliament to be High Treaſon; and ſhe and her Accomplices ſuffered accordingly. After that, there paſſed many Attainders in that Reign, only upon Depoſitions, that were read in both Houſes of Parliament: It is true, theſe were much blamed, and there was great cauſe for it; There were too many of them; For this extream way of proceeding is to be put in practice but ſeldom, and upon great occaſions; Whereas, many of theſe went upon ſlight grounds, ſuch as the uttering ſome paſſionate and indecent Words, or the uſing ſome Embroidery in Garments and Coats of Arms, with an ill intent. But that, which was indeed execrable, was, that perſons in Priſon were attainted, without being heard in their own defence; This was ſo contrary to natural Juſtice, that it could not be enough condemned. In King *Edward* the Sixth's time, the Lord *Seimour* was attainted in the ſame manner, only with this difference, that the Witneſſes were brought to the Bar, and there examined; Whereas, formerly, they proceeded upon ſome Depoſitions, that were read to them: At the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Trial, which was both for High Treaſon and for Felony, in which he was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter, Depoſitions were only read againſt him; But the Witneſſes were not brought face to face, as he preſſed, they might be: Upon which it was, that the following Parliament enacted, that the Accuſers (that is the Witneſſes) ſhould be examined face to face, if they were alive: In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the Parliament went out of the method of Law, in all the ſteps

of

steps of their Proceedings against the Queen of *Scots*; It is true, there were no Parliamentary Attainders in *England*, during that long and glorious Reign, upon which, those who opposed the Bill, insisted much; Yet that was only, because there then was no occasion here in *England* for any such Bill: But in *Ireland*, where some things were notoriously true, which yet could not be legally proved, that Government was forced to have, on many different occasions, recourse to this method. In King *James* the First's time, those who were concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and chose to be killed, rather than taken, were by Act of Parliament, attainted after their Death; which the Courts of Law could not do, since by our Law, a Man's Crimes die with himself; for this reason, because he cannot make his own Defence, nor can his Children do it for him. The famous Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, in King *Charles* the First's time, has been much and justly censured; not so much, because it past by Bill, as because of the Injustice of it: He was accused, for having said, upon the House of Commons refusing to grant the Subsidies, the King had asked, *That the King was absolved from all the Rules of Government, and might make use of force to subdue this Kingdom.* These words were proved only by one Witness, all the rest of the Council, who were present, deposing, that they remembred no such Words, and were positive, that the Debate ran only upon the War with *Scotland*; So that tho' *this Kingdom*, singly taken, must be meant of *England*, yet it might well be meant of *that Kingdom*, which was the Subject then of the Debate; Since then the words were capable of that favourable sense, and that both he who spoke them, and they who heard them, affirmed that they were meant and understood in that sense, it was a most pernicious Precedent, first to take them in the most odious sense possible, and then to destroy him who said them, upon the testimony of one single exceptionable Witness; Whereas, if, upon the Commons refusing to grant the King's demand, he had plainly advised the King to subdue his People by force, it is hard to tell, what the Parliament might not justly have done, or would not do again in the like case. In King *Charles* the Second's time, some of the most eminent of the Regicides were attainted after they were dead; and in King *James*'s time, the Duke of *Monmouth* was attainted, by Bill: These last Attainders had their first beginning in the House of Commons. Thus it appeared, that these last two hundred years, not to mention much antienter Precedents, the Nation had upon extraordinary occasions proceeded in this Parliamentary way by Bill. There were already many Precedents of this method; And whereas it was said, that an ill Parliament might carry these too far; It is certain, the Nation, and every Person in it, must be safe, when they are in their own hands, or in those of a Representative chosen by themselves: As on the other hand, if that be ill chosen, there is no help for it; the Nation must perish, for it is by their own fault; They have already too many Precedents for this way of proceeding, if they intend to make an ill use of them: But a Precedent is only a ground or warrant for the like proceeding, upon the like occasion. 1697

The grounds upon which such a Bill was necessary and just.

Two Rules were laid down for all Bills of this nature: First, that the Matter be of a very extraordinary nature: Lesser Crimes had better be passed over, than punished by the Legislature. Of all the Crimes, that can be contrived against the Nation, certainly the most heinous one is, that of bringing in a Foreign Force to conquer us: This ruines both Us, and our Posterity for ever: Distractions at home, how fatal soever, even tho' they should end ever so tragically, as ours once did in the Murder of the King, and in a Military Usurpation, yet were capable of a Crisis and a Cure. In the Year 1660, we came again to our wits, and all was set right again; Whereas, there is no prospect after a Foreign Conquest, but of Slavery and Misery: And how black soever the assassinating the King must needs appear, yet a Foreign Conquest was worse, it was assassinating the Kingdom: And therefore the inviting and contriving that, must be the blackest of Crimes. But, as the importance of the matter ought to be equal to such an unusual way of proceeding, so the certainty of the Facts ought to be such, that if the defects in Legal Proof, are to be supplied, yet this ought to be done upon such grounds, as make the Fact charged appear so evidently true, that tho' a Court of Law could not proceed upon it, yet no Man could raise in himself a doubt concerning it. Antiently, Treason was judged, as Felony still is, upon such presumptions, as satisfied the Jury: The Law has now limited this to two Witnesses brought face to face; But the Parliament may still

1697 take that liberty, which is denied to inferior Courts, of judging this matter, as an ordinary Jury does in a caſe of Felony. In the preſent caſe, there was one Witneſs, *viva voce*, upon whoſe Teſtimony, ſeveral Perſons had been condemned, and had ſuffered; And theſe neither at their Trial, nor at their Death, diſproved or denied any circumſtance of his Depoſitions. If he had been too much a Libertine in the courſe of his Life, that did not deſtroy his credit as a Witneſs: In the firſt Trial, this might have made him a doubtful Witneſs; But what had happened ſince, had deſtroyed the poſſibility even of ſuſpecting his Evidence; A Party had been in intereſt concerned to enquire into his whole Life, and in the preſent caſe had full time for it; And every circumſtance of his Depoſition had been examined; and yet nothing was diſcovered that could ſo much as create a doubt; All was ſtill untouched, ſound and true. The only circumſtance in which the dying Speeches of thoſe who ſuffer'd on his Evidence, ſeemed to contradict him, was concerning King *James*'s Commiſſion: Yet none of them denied really what *Porter* had depoſed, which was, that *Charnock* told him, that there was a Commiſſion, come from King *James*, for attacking the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards: They only denied, that there was a Commiſſion for aſſaſſinating him. Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Perkins*, were condemned, for the Conſultation now given in Evidence againſt *Fenwick*: They died, not denying it; on the contrary, they juſtified all they had done: It could not be ſuppoſed, that, if there had been a tittle in the Evidence that was falſe, they ſhould both have been ſo far wanting to themſelves, and to their friends, who were to be tried upon the ſame Evidence, as not to have declared it in the ſolemneſt manner: Theſe things were more undeniably certain, than the Evidence of ten Witneſſes could poſſibly be. Witneſſes might conſpire to ſwear a falſhood; But in this caſe, the Circumſtances took away the poſſibility of a doubt. And therefore, the Parliament, without taking any notice of *Goodman*'s Evidence, might well judge *Fenwick* guilty, for no Man could doubt of it, in his own mind.

The antient *Romans* were very jealous of their Liberty; But how exact ſoever they might be in ordinary Caſes, yet when any of their Citizens ſeemed to have a Deſign of making himſelf King, they either created a Dictator to ſuppreſs, or deſtroy him, or elſe the People proceeded againſt him, in a ſummary way. By the *Portian* Law, no Citizen could be put to Death for any Crime whatſoever; yet ſuch regard did the *Romans* pay to Juſtice, even above Law, that, when the *Campanian* Legion had perfidiouſly broke in upon *Rhegium*, and pillaged it, they put them all to death for it. In the famous caſe of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, as the Evidence was clear, and the Danger extream; The Accomplices in it, were executed, notwithſtanding the *Portian* Law: And this was done by the Order of the Senate, without either hearing them make their own Defence, or admitting them to claim the Right, which the *Valerian* Law gave them, of an Appeal to the People. Yet that whole Proceeding was chiefly directed by the two greateſt Aſſerters of Publick Liberty, that ever lived, *Cato* and *Cicero*; And *Cæſar*, who oppoſed it, on pretence of its being againſt the *Portian* Law, was for that reaſon, ſuſpected of being in the Conſpiracy: It appeared afterwards, how little regard he had, either to Law or Liberty, though, upon this occaſion, he made uſe of the one, to protect thoſe, who were in a Plot againſt the other. This Expreſſion was much reſented by thoſe, who were againſt this Bill, as carrying a bitter reflection upon them, for oppoſing it.

The Bill paſſed.

In concluſion, the Bill paſſed, by a ſmall Majority, of only ſeven in the Houſe of Lords; The Royal Aſſent was ſoon given to it; *Fenwick* then made all poſſible applications to the King for a Reprieve; And as a main ground for that, and as an article of merit, related how he had ſaved the King's Life, two years before, as was already told in the beginning of the year 1695. But as this Fact could not be proved, ſo it could confer no obligation on the King, ſince he had given him no warning of his danger; And according to his own ſtory, had truſted the Conſpirators words very eaſily, when they promiſed to purſue their deſign no farther, which he had no reaſon to do. So that this pretenſion was not much conſidered; But he was preſt to make a full Diſcovery; And for ſome days he ſeemed to be in ſome ſuſpence, what courſe to take. He deſired to be ſecured, that nothing which he confeſt, ſhould turn to his own prejudice;

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The House of Lords sent an Address to the King, intreating, that they might be at liberty to make him this Promise; And that was readily granted. He then farther desired, that, upon his making a full Confession, he might be assured of a Pardon, without being obliged to become a Witness against any other Person: To this, the Lords answered, that he had to do with Men of Honour, and that he must trust to their Discretion; that they would mediate for him with the King, in proportion as they should find his Discoveries sincere and important: His behaviour to the King hitherto, had not been such, as to induce the Lords to trust to his Candour, it was much more reasonable, that he should trust to them. Upon this, all hopes of any Discoveries from him were laid aside. But a matter of another nature broke out, which, but for its singular Circumstances, scarce deserves to be mentioned. 1697

Practices against the Duke of *Shrewsbury*.

There was one *Smith*, a Nephew of Sir *William Perkins*, who had for some time been in Treaty at the Duke of *Shrewsbery*'s Office, pretending that he could make great Discoveries, and that he knew all the motions and designs of the Jacobites: He sent many dark and ambiguous Letters to that Duke's Under-Secretary, which were more properly to be called Amusements than Discoveries; For he only gave hints and scraps of Stories; but he had got a promise not to be made a Witness, and yet he never offered any other Witness, nor told where any of those, he informed against, were lodged, or how they might be taken. He was always asking more Money, and bragging what he could do, if he were well supplied, and he seemed to think he never had enough. Indeed, before the Conspiracy broke out, he had given such hints, that when it was discovered, it appeared, he must have known much more of it, than he thought fit to tell. One Letter he wrote, two days before it was intended to have been put in Execution, shewed, he must have been let into the Secret very far (if this was not an artifice to lay the Court more asleep) for he said, That as things ripened and came near execution, he should certainly know them better: It was not improbable, that he himself was one of the five, whom *Perkins* undertook to furnish, for assisting in the Assassination; And that he hoped to have saved himself by this pretended Discovery, in case the Plot miscarried. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* acquainted the King with his Discoveries, but nothing could then be made either of them or of him. When the whole Plot was unravelled, it then was manifest from his Letters, that he must have known more of it, than he would own: But he still claimed the Promise before made him, that he should not be a Witness. Upon the whole therefore, he rather deserved a severe Punishment, than any of those Rewards, which he pretended to. He was accordingly dismist by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who thought that even this suspicious Behaviour of his did not release him, from keeping the Promises he had made him. *Smith*, thereupon, went to the Earl of *** and possest him with bad Impressions of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and found him much inclined to entertain them; He told him, that he had made great discoveries, of which that Duke would take no notice; And because the Duke's ill Health had obliged him to go into the Country, two days before the Assassination was intended; He put this construction upon it, that he was willing to be out of the way, when the King was to be murthered. To fix this imputation, he shewed him the Copies of all his Letters, all of which, but the last more especially, had the face of a great Discovery. The Lord *** carried this to Court, and it made such an impression here, that the Earl of *Portland* sent *Smith* Money, and entertained him as a Spy, but never could by his means learn any one real piece of Intelligence. When this happened, the King was just going beyond Sea; So *Smith*'s Letters were taken, and sealed up by the King's Order, and left in the hands of Sir *William Trumball*, who was the other Secretary of State. This matter lay quiet, till *Fenwick* began to make Discoveries: And when Lord *** understood, that he had not named himself (about which he expresst too vehement a concern) but that he had named Lord *Shrewsbury*, it was said, that he entred into a Negotiation with the Dutchess of *Norfolk*, that she should, by *Fenwick*'s Lady, encourage him to persist in his Discoveries; And that he dictated some Papers to the Dutchess, that should be offered to him, as an additional one; In which, many little stories were related, which had been told the King, and might be believed

1697 by him; And by theſe, the King might have been diſpoſed to believe the reſt of *Fenwick*'s Paper; And the whole ended in ſome Diſcoveries concerning *Smith*, which would naturally occaſion his Letters to be called for, and then they would probably have had great effect. The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* declared, that he had dictated all theſe Schemes of his to her, who copied them, and handed them to *Fenwick*; And that he had left one Paper with her; It was ſhort, but contained an Abſtract of the whole deſign, and referred to a larger one, which he had only dictated to her. The Dutcheſs ſaid, ſhe had placed a Gentlewoman, who carried her Meſſages to *Fenwick*'s Lady, to overhear all that paſt; So that ſhe both had another Witneſs, to ſupport the Truth of what ſhe related, and a Paper left by him with her. She ſaid, that *Fenwick* would not be guided by him; And ſaid, he would not meddle with contrived Diſcoveries: That thereupon this Lord was highly provoked; He ſaid, if *Fenwick* would follow his Advice, he would certainly ſave him; But if he would not, he would get the Bill to paſs. And indeed, when that matter was depending, he ſpoke two full hours in the Houſe of Lords, in favour of the Bill, with a peculiar vehemence. *Fenwick*'s Lady, being much provoked at this, got her Nephew the Earl of *Carlile*, to move the Lords, that *Fenwick* might be examined, concerning any Advices that had been ſent him, with relation to his Diſcoveries: And upon this, *Fenwick* told what his Lady had brought him, and thereupon, the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* and her Confident, were likewiſe interrogated, and gave the account which I have here related: In concluſion, *Smith*'s Letters were read, and he himſelf was examined: This held the Lords ſeveral days; For the Earl of *Portland*, by the King's Orders, produced all *Smith*'s Papers: By them it appeared, that he was a very inſignificant Spy, who was always inſiſting in his old ſtrain of asking Money, and taking no care to deſerve it. The Earl of *** was, upon the Accuſation and Evidence above-mentioned, ſent to the Tower, and turned out of all his Employments. But the Court had no mind to have the matter farther examined into; For the King ſpoke to my ſelf to do all I could, to ſoften his Cenſure, which he afterwards acknowledged I had done. I did not know what new ſcheme of Confuſion might have been opened by him, in his own excuſe. The Houſe of Lords was much ſet againſt him, and ſeemed reſolved to go great Lengths: To allay that heat, I put them in mind, that he ſet the Revolution firſt on foot, and was a great promoter of it, coming twice over to *Holland*, to that end; I then moved, that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; This was agreed to, and he lay there till the end of the Seſſion, and was removed from all his Places: But that loſs, as was believed, was ſecretly made up to him, for the Court was reſolved not to loſe him quite.

Fenwick's Execution.

Fenwick ſeeing no hope was left, prepared himſelf to die; He deſired the aſſiſtance of one of the deprived Biſhops, which was not eaſily granted; But in that, and in ſeveral other matters, I did him ſuch ſervice, that he wrote me a Letter of thanks upon it. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, and died very compoſed, in a much better temper, than was to be expected; For his Life had been very irregular. At the place of his Execution, he delivered a Paper in writing, wherein he did not deny the Facts, that had been ſworn againſt him, but complained of the Injuſtice of the Procedure, and left his Thanks to thoſe, who had voted againſt the Bill. He owned his Loyalty to King *James*, and to the Prince of *Wales* after him; But mentioned the Deſign of aſſaſſinating King *William*, in terms full of horror. The Paper was ſuppoſed to have been drawn by Biſhop *White*, and the Jacobites were much provoked with the Paragraph laſt mentioned. This was the concluſion of that unacceptable affair, in which I had a much larger ſhare, than might ſeem to become a Man of my Profeſſion: But the Houſe of Lords, by ſevere Votes, obliged all the Peers to be preſent, and to give their Votes in the matter: Since I was therefore convinced, that he was guilty of the Crime laid to his charge, and that, ſuch a method of proceeding was not only lawful, but in ſome caſes neceſſary; And ſince, by the ſearch I made into Attainders and Parliamentary Proceedings, when I wrote the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, I had ſeen further into thoſe matters, than otherwiſe I ſhould ever have done; I thought, it was incumbent on me, when my opinion determined me to the ſeverer ſide, to offer what Reaſons occurred to me, in Juſtificatio

stification of my Vote. But this did not exempt me, from falling under a great load of Censure, upon this occasion. 1697

Affairs in *Flanders.*

Assoon as the Business of the Session of Parliament was at an end, the King went beyond Sea; The Summer passed over very quietly in *England*, for the Jacobites were now humble and silent. The *French* were resolved to have Peace at any rate, by the end of the year; They therefore studied to push matters as far as possible, during this Campaign, that they might obtain the better terms, and that their King might still, to outward appearance, maintain a Superiority in the Field, as if nothing could stand before him, and from thence might indulge his Vanity in boasting, that, notwithstanding all his Successes, he was willing to sacrifice his own advantages, to the quiet of *Europe*. The Campaign was opened with the Siege of *Aeth*; The Place was ill furnished, and the bad state, both of our Coin and Credit, set the King's Preparations so far back, that he could not come in time to relieve it. From thence, the *French* were advancing towards *Brussels*, on design, either to take or bombard it. But the King, by a very happy diligence preventing them, possest himself of an advantageous Camp, about three hours before the *French* could reach it; by which they were wholly incapacitated to execute their Design. After this, there was no more Action in *Flanders* all the Summer; The rest of the time was spent in Negotiation.

Barcelona taken by the *French.*

The *French* were more successful in *Catalonia*; They sent an Army against *Barcelona*, commanded by the Duke of *Vendome*, and their Fleet came to his assistance: The Garrison was under the Command of a Prince of *Hesse*, who had served in the King's Army, and, upon changing his Religion, was now at the head of the *German* Troops, that were sent into *Spain*. The Viceroy (whether by a Fate common to all the *Spaniards*, or from a jealousy, that the whole Honour would accrue to a Stranger, if the Place should hold out) so entirely neglected to do his part, that he was surprized, and his small Army was routed. The Town was large and ill fortified, yet it held out two Months, after the Trenches were opened: So that time was given to the *Spaniards*, sufficient to have brought Relief from the furthest corner of *Spain*: Nothing had happened, during the whole course of the War, that did more evidently demonstrate the feebleness, into which that Monarchy was fallen; For no Relief was sent to *Barcelona*, so that they were forced to Capitulate. By this, the *French* gained a great point; Hitherto, the *Spaniards*, who contributed the least towards carrying on the War, were the most backward to all Overtures of Peace: They had felt little of the Miseries of War, and thought themselves out of its reach: But now, *France* being Master of so important a Place, which cut off all their Communication with *Italy*; They became as earnest for Peace, as they had hitherto been averse from it.

A *French* Squadron in the *West-Indies.*

Nor was this all their Danger: A Squadron had been sent, at the same time, to seize on the Plate Fleet in the *West-Indies*; The King ordered a Squadron, which he had lying at *Cadiz*, to sail after them, and assist the *Spaniards*. The *French* finding, that the Galleons were already got to the *Havana*, where they could not attack them, sailed to *Carthagena*, which was in no condition to resist them. The Plate had all been sent away, before they came thither; But they landed and pillaged the Place, and then gave it out, that they had found many Millions there, which at first seemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be false: Yet it was confidently asserted at that time, to cover the reproach of having miscarried in the attempt, on which they had raised great expectations, and to which many Undertakers had been drawn in. Our Squadron was much superior to theirs, yet never engaged them: Once indeed, they came up to the *French*, and had some Advantage over them; but did not pursue it. The *French* sailed to the North, towards *Newfoundland*, where we had another Squadron lying, which was sent with some Land Forces, to recover *Hudson*'s Bay: These Ships might have fallen upon the *French*, and would probably have master'd them: But as they had no certain account of their strength, so being sent out upon another Service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them: So the *French* got safe home, and the Conduct of our affairs at Sea was much censured: Yet our Admiralty declared themselves satisfied, with the account the Commanders gave of their Proceedings. But that Board was accused

1697 of much partiality: On all ſuch occaſions, the unfortunate muſt expect to be blamed, and to outward appearance, there was much room given, either to cenſure the Orders, or the execution of them. The King owned, he did not underſtand thoſe matters: And *Ruſſel*, now made Earl of *Orford*, had both the Admiralty and the Navy Board, in a great dependance on himſelf; So that he was conſidered almoſt as much, as if he had been Lord High Admiral: He was too much in the power of thoſe, in whom he confided, and truſted them too far: And it was generally believed, that there was much Corruption, as it was certain there was much Faction, if not Treachery, in the conduct of our Marine. Our Miſcarriages made all people cry, that we muſt have a Peace, for we could not manage the War to any good purpoſe; Since, notwithſtanding our great ſuperiority at Sea, the *French* conducted their matters ſo much better than us, that we were Loſers, even in that Element, where we uſed to triumph moſt. Our Squadron, in the Bay of *Mexico*, did very little ſervice; They only robbed and deſtroyed ſome of the *French* Colonies; And that ſent to *Hudſon's* Bay, found it quite abandoned by the *French*; ſo that both returned home inglorious.

The King of *Poland's* Death.

A great change of affairs happened this year in *Poland*: Their King, *John Sobieski*, after he had long out-lived the Fame he had got, by raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*, died at laſt under a general contempt. He was going backwards and forwards, as his Queen's Negotiations in the Court of *France* were entertained or rejected: His Government was ſo feeble and disjointed at home, that all their Diets broke up upon Preliminaries, before they could, according to their forms, enter upon buſineſs: He was ſet on heaping up Wealth, which ſeemed neceſſary to give his Son an intereſt in the ſucceeding Election. And upon his Death, a great party appeared for him, notwithſtanding the general averſion to the Mother: But the *Poliſh* Nobility reſolved to make no haſte with their Election, they plainly ſet the Crown to Sale; And encouraged all Candidates that would bid for it; One Party declared for the Prince of *Conti*, of which their Primate, then a Cardinal, was the Head; The Emperor did all he could to ſupport the late King's Son; but when he ſaw the *French* Party were too ſtrong for him, he was willing to join with any other Pretender.

The Elector of *Saxony* choſen King of *Poland*.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Baden*, and Don *Livio Odeſchalchi*, Pope *Innocent's* Nephew, were all named; But theſe not being likely to ſucceed, a Negotiation was ſecretly managed with the Elector of *Saxony*, which ſucceeded ſo well, that he was prevailed on to change his Religion, to advance his Troops towards the Frontier of *Poland*, to diſtribute Eight Millions of Florins among the *Poles*, and to promiſe to confirm all their Privileges, and in particular, to undertake the Siege of *Caminieck*. He conſented to all this, and declared himſelf a Candidate, a very few Days before the Election; And ſo he was ſet up by the Imperialiſts, in oppoſition to the *French* Party: His Party became quickly ſo ſtrong, that tho', upon the firſt appearance at the Election, while every one of the Competitors was trying his ſtrength, the *French* Party was the ſtrongeſt, and was ſo declared by the Cardinal; yet when the other Pretenders ſaw, that they could not carry the Election for themſelves, they united in oppoſition to the *French* Intereſt, and gave over all their Voices to the Elector of *Saxony*, by which his Party became much the ſtrongeſt, ſo he was proclaimed the Elected King. The Cardinal gave notice to the Court of *France*, of what had been done in favour of the Prince of *Conti*; and deſired that he might be ſent quickly thither, well furniſhed with Arms and Ammunition, but chiefly with Money. But the Party for *Saxony* made more diſpatch; that Elector lay nearer, and had both his Money and Troops ready, ſo he took the Oaths that were required, and got the Change of his Religion to be atteſted by the Imperial Court: He made all the haſte he could with his Army to *Cracow*, and he was ſoon after Crowned, to the great joy of the Imperial Party, but the unexpreſſible trouble of all his Subjects in *Saxony*.

The Secular Men, there ſaw, that the ſupporting this Elective Crown, would ruin his Hereditary Dominions: And thoſe, who laid the concerns of the Proteſtant Religion to heart, were much more troubled, when they ſaw that Houſe, under whoſe Protection their Religion grew up at firſt, now fall off to Popery. It is true, the preſent Family, ever ſince *Maurice's* time, had ſhewed very little

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eal in that Cauſe: The Elected King had ſo mall a ſhare of Religion in himſelf, 1697
hat little was to be expected from him: Nor was it much apprehended that he ould become a Bigot, or turn a Perſecutor: But ſuch was the eagerneſs of the opiſh Clergy, toward the ſuppreſſing what they call Hereſy, and perpetual alouſies, with which therefore they would poſſeſs the *Poles*, were like to be ch, in caſe he uſed no violence towards his *Saxon* Subjects, as poſſibly might ave great effects on him; ſo that it is no wonder, if they were ſtruck with a geeral Conſternation, upon his revolt. His Electoreſs, tho' a very young perſon, deſcended of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, expreſſed ſo extraordinary a meaure of zeal and piety upon this occaſion, that it contributed much to the preſent uieting of their fears: The new King ſent a Popiſh Statholder to *Dreſden*, but weak a Man, that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from any conduct his. He alſo ſent them all the aſſurances, that could be given in words, that would make no Change among them, nor has he hitherto made any ſteps toards it.

The *Czar* travelled to *Holland* and *England*.

A very unuſual accident happened at this time, that ſerved not a little to his uiet Eſtabliſhment on the Throne of *Poland*: The *Czar* was ſo ſenſible of the efects of his Education, that, in order to the correcting theſe, he reſolved to o a little into the World, for better Information: He was forming great Deigns; He intended to make a navigable Canal between the *Volga* and the *Tanais*, which, he might carry both materials and proviſions for a Fleet to *Azuph*; nd when that Communication was opened, he apprehended great things might done afterwards; He therefore intended to ſee the Fleets of *Holland* and *England*, and to make himſelf as much Maſter of that matter, as his Genius could ſe up to. He ſent an Embaſſy to *Holland*, to regulate ſome matters of Comerce, and to ſee if they would aſſiſt him in the War, he was deſigning againſt e *Turk*; When the Ambaſſadors were ſet out, he ſettled his Affairs in ſuch ands, as he truſted moſt to, and with a ſmall retinue of two or three Servants, ſecretly followed his Ambaſſadors, and quickly overtook them; He diſcoered himſelf firſt to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who was then in *Pruſſia*, oking on the Diſpute, that was like to ariſe in *Poland*, in which, if a War ould follow, he might be forced to have a ſhare: The *Czar* concerned himſelf uch in the matter, not only by reaſon of the Neighbourhood, but becauſe he ared, that if the *French* Party ſhould prevail, *France* being in Alliance with e *Turk*, a King ſent from thence would probably not only make a Peace with e *Turk*, but turn his Arms againſt himſelf, which would hinder all his Deſigns r a great Fleet. The *French* Party was ſtrongeſt in *Lithuania*: Therefore the *zar* ſent Orders to his Generals, to bring a great Army to the Frontier of that utchy, to be ready to break into it, if a War ſhould begin in *Poland*: And e were told, that the terror of this had a great effect: From *Pruſſia* the *Czar* ent into *Holland*, and thence came over to *England*; therefore I will refer all at I ſhall ſay concerning him, to the time of his leaving *England*.

The Prince of *Conti* ſailed to *Dantzick*.

A Fleet was ordered at *Dunkirk*, to carry the Prince of *Conti* to *Poland*: A quadron of ours, that lay before that Port, kept him in for ſome time; At ſt he got out, and ſailed to *Dantzick*; But that City had declared for the new ing, ſo they would not ſuffer him to land, with all thoſe that had come with m; They only conſented to ſuffer himſelf to Land, with a ſmall Retinue; This thought would not become him; So he landed at *Marienbourg*, where he was et by ſome of the Chief of his Party; They preſſed him to diſtribute the Moy, that he had brought from *France*, among them; And promiſed to return ickly to him with a great Force; But he was limited by his Inſtructions, and ould ſee a good Force before he would part with his Treaſure. The new King nt ſome Troops to diſperſe thoſe, who were coming together to ſerve him, d theſe had once almoſt ſeized on the Prince himſelf; But he acted after that, ith great caution, and would not truſt the *Poles*; He ſaw no appearance of y force, like to be brought to him, equal to the Undertaking, and fearing aſt, if he ſtayed too long, he ſhould be frozen up in the *Baltick*, he came back *Dunkirk*: The Cardinal ſtood out ſtill: The Court of *Rome* rejoyced at the etended Converſion of the new King, and owned him; But he quickly ſaw ch a ſcene of difficulties, that he had reaſon to repent his embarking himſelf,

1697 in such a dangerous Undertaking. This may prove of such Importance, both to the Political and Religious concerns of *Europe*, that I thought it deserved that a particular mention should be made of it, tho' it lies at a great distance from us; It had some Influence, in disposing the *French*, now to be more earnest for a Peace; For if they had got a King of *Poland* in their dependance, that would have given them a great interest in the Northern Parts, with an easier access, both to assist the *Turk* and the Malecontents in *Hungary*.

The Treaty of *Ryswick*. The Negotiation for a Peace was held at *Ryswick*, a House of the King's between the *Hague* and *Delft*. The chief of our Plenipotentiaries was the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Man of eminent Virtue, and of great and profound Learning, particularly in the Mathematicks: This made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his Notions; He had great application, but he lived a little too much out of the World, tho' in a publick Station; a little more practice among Men would give him the last finishing: There was somewhat, in his person and manner, that created him an universal respect; for we had no Man among us, whom all sides loved and honoured so much, as they did him: There were two others joined with him in that Embassy.

The King of *Sweden*'s death. His Son is Mediator at the Treaty of *Ryswick*. The King of *Sweden* was received as Mediator, but he died before any progress was made in the Treaty: His Son, who succeeded him in his Throne, was also received to succeed him in the Mediation. The Father was a rough and boisterous Man; He loved fatigue, and was free from Vice; He reduced his Kingdom to a Military State, and was ever going round it, to see how his Troops were ordered, and his Discipline observed: He looked narrowly into the whole Administration; He had quite altered the Constitution of his Kingdom; It was formerly changed from being an Elective, to be a Hereditary Kingdom, yet till his time, it had continued to be rather an Aristocracy, than a Monarchy; But he got the Power of the Senators to be quite taken away, so that it was left free to him, to make use of such Counsellors as he should choose; The Senators had enriched themselves, and oppressed the People; They had devoured the Revenues of the Crown, and in two Reigns, in which the Sovereign was long in a state of Infancy, both in Queen *Christina*'s and in this King's time, the Senators had taken care of themselves, and had stripped the Crown. So the King moved for a general Resumption, and this he obtained easily of the States: Who, as they envied the Wealth of the Senators, so they hoped that by making the King rich, the People would be less charged with Taxes; This was not all; He got likewise an Act of Revision, by which those who had Grants were to account for the mean profits, and this was applied even to those who had Grants upon valuable Considerations; for when it appeared, that the valuable Consideration was satisfied, they were to account for all they had received over and above that, and to repay this, with the Interest of the Money at 12 *per Cent.* for all the Years they had enjoyed it. This brought a great Debt on all the Senators and other Families of the Kingdom, it did utterly ruin them and left them at Mercy; And when the King took from them all they had, he kept them still in a dependance upon him, giving them Imployments in the Army or Militia that he set up.

After that, he procured of the States of his Kingdom, an absolute Authority to govern them as he thought fit, and according to Law; But even this limitation seemed uneasy, and their Slavery was finished by another Act, which he obtained, that he should not be obliged to govern by Law, but by his meer Will and Pleasure: So successful was he, in the space of five Years, to ruin all the Families in his Kingdom, and to destroy their Laws and Liberties, and that by their own consent: He died when his Son was but fifteen years old, and gave great hopes of being an active, warlike, and indefatigable Prince, which his Reign ever since has demonstrated to the World.

The first act of his Reign, was the Mediation at *Ryswick*, where the Treaty went on but slowly, till *Harlay*, the first of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, came to the *Hague*, who, as was believed, had the secret. He shewed a fairer inclination, than had appeared in the others, to treat frankly and honourably; and to clear all the Difficulties, that had been started before: But while they were

negotiating, by exchanging Papers, which was a ſlow method, ſubject to much delay, and too many exceptions and evaſions; The Marſhal *Bouflers* deſired a Conference with the Earl of *Portland*, and by the order of their Maſters, they met four times, and were long alone: That Lord told me himſelf, that the ſubject of thoſe Conferences, was concerning King *James*: The King deſired to know, how the King of *France* intended to diſpoſe of him, and how he could own him, and yet ſupport the other: The King of *France* would not renounce the protecting him, by any Article of the Treaty: But it was agreed between them, that the King of *France* ſhould give him no aſſiſtance, nor give the King any diſturbance on his account: And that he ſhould retire from the Court of *France*, either to *Aviguon* or to *Italy*: On the other hand, his Queen ſhould have fifty thouſand pounds a Year, which was her Jointure, ſettled after his Death, and that it ſhould now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the Nation; and in this, the King very readily acquieſced: Theſe Meetings made the Treaty go on with more diſpatch, this tender point being once ſettled. 1697

A new Difficulty aroſe with relation to the Empire: The *French* offered *Brizack* and *Fribourg*, as an equivalent for *Strasbourg*; The Court of *Vienna* conſented to this, but the Empire refuſed it; Theſe Places belonged to the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions, whereas *Strasbourg* was a free City, as well as a Proteſtant Town; So the Emperor was ſoon brought to accept of the exchange. All other matters were concerted; *Spain* was now as impatient of Delays, as *France*: *England* and the *States* had no other concern in the Treaty, but to ſecure their Allies, and to ſettle a Barrier in the *Netherlands*; So in *September* the Treaty was ſigned by all, except the *German Princes*: But a ſet time was prefixed for them to come into it. The Duke of *Savoy* was comprehended within it; and the Princes of the Empire, finding they could ſtruggle no longer, did at laſt conſent to it. A new piece of Treachery, againſt the Proteſtant Religion, broke out in the concluſion of all: The *French* declared that, that part of the Palatinate, which was ſtipulated to be reſtored in the ſtate in which it was, by virtue of that Article, was to continue in the ſame ſtate, with relation to Religion, in which it was at that time: By this, ſeveral Churches were to be condemned, that otherwiſe, according to the Laws of the Empire, and in particular of thoſe Dominions, were to be reſtored to the Proteſtants: The Elector *Palatine* accepted of the condition very willingly, being bigotted to a high degree: But ſome of the Princes, the King of *Sweden* in particular, as Duke of *Deuxponts*, refuſed to ſubmit to it: But this had been ſecretly concerted, among the whole *Popiſh* Party, who were always firm to the Intereſts of their Religion, and zealous for them; Whereas, the Proteſtant Courts are too ready to ſacrifice the common Intereſt of their Religion, to their own private advantage. The King was troubled at this treacherous Motion, but he ſaw no Inclination in any of the Allies to oppoſe it, with the zeal with which it was preſſed on the other hand: The Importance of the thing, Sixteen Churches being only condemned by it, as the Earl of *Pembroke* told me, was not ſuch as to deſerve, he ſhould venture a rupture upon it: And it was thought, the Elector *Palatine* might, on other accounts, be ſo obnoxious to the Proteſtants, and might need their Aſſiſtance and Protection ſo much, that he would be obliged afterwards to reſtore theſe Churches, thus wreſted from them: So the King contented himſelf, with ordering his Plenipotentiaries to proteſt againſt this, which they did in a formal Act, that they paſſed.

The Peace was made and the Treaty ſigned.

The King by this Peace concluded the great Deſign, of putting a ſtop to the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, which he had conſtantly purſued from his firſt appearance on the Stage, in the Year 1672. There was not one of the Allies who complained, that he had been forgot by him, or wronged in the Treaty: Nor had the deſire, of having his Title univerſally acknowledged, raiſed any impatience in him, or made him run into this Peace with any indecent haſte. The terms of it were ſtill too much to the advantage of *France*; But the length and charge of the War had ſo exhauſted the Allies, that the King ſaw the neceſſity of accepting the beſt Conditions that could be got: It is true, *France* was more haraſſed by the War, yet the arbitrary frame of that Government made their King, the Maſter of the whole

Reflections on the Peace.

1697 whole Wealth of his people; And the War was managed on both ſides, between them and us, with this viſible difference, that every Man who dealt with the *French* King was ruined by it; whereas, among us, every Man grew rich by his dealings with the King: And it was not eaſy to ſee, how this could be either prevented or puniſhed. The regard that is ſhewn to the Members of Parliament among us, makes that few abuſes can be enquired into or diſcovered; And the King found his Reign grow ſo unacceptable to his People, by the continuance of the War, that he ſaw the neceſſity of coming to a Peace. The *States* were under the ſame preſſure; they were heavier charged, and ſuffered more by the War than the *Engliſh*: The *French* got indeed nothing by a War which they had moſt perfidiouſly begun; They were forced to return to the Peace of *Nimeguen*; *Pignerol* and *Brizack*, which Cardinal *Richlieu* had conſidered as the Keys of *Italy* and *Germany*, were now parted with; And all that baſe practice, of claiming ſo much, under the head of Re-unions and Dependencies, was abandoned: The Dutchy of *Lorrain* was alſo entirely reſtored; It was generally thought, that the King of *France* intended, to live out the reſt of his days in quiet; For his parting with *Barcelona*, made all people conclude, that he did not intend to proſecute the *Dauphin*'s Pretenſions upon the Crown of *Spain*, after that King's Death, by a new War; and that he would only try how to manage it by Negotiation.

The moſt melancholy part of this Treaty was, that no advantages were got by it, in favour of the Proteſtants in *France*; The *French* Refugees made all poſſible Applications to the King, and to the other Proteſtant Allies; But as they were no part of the Cauſe of the War, ſo it did not appear that the Allies could do more for them, than to recommend them, in the warmeſt manner, to the King of *France*; But he was ſo far engaged in a courſe of Superſtition and Cruelty, that their condition became worſe by the Peace; The Court was more at leiſure to look after them, and to perſecute them, than they thought fit to do, during the War. The Military Men in *France* did generally complain of the Peace, as diſhonourable and baſe; The Jacobites among us, were the more confounded at the News of it, becauſe the Court of *France* did, to the laſt minute, aſſure King *James*, that they would never abandon his Intereſts: And his Queen ſent over aſſurances, to their Party here, that *England* would be left out of the Treaty, and put to maintain the War alone: Of which they were ſo confident, that they entred into deep Wagers upon it; a practice little known among us before the War, but it was carried on, in the progreſs of it, to a very extravagant degree; So that they were ruined in their Fortunes, as well as ſunk in their Expectations, by the Peace; Upon which, it was ſaid, King *James*'s Queen made a bold Repartee to the *French* King, when he told her the Peace was ſigned: She ſaid, ſhe wiſhed it might be ſuch, as ſhould raiſe his Glory, as much as it might ſettle his Repoſe.

But while the Peace was concluded in theſe Parts, the War between the Emperor and the *Turk*, went on in *Hungary*: The Imperial Army was commanded by Prince *Eugene*, a Brother of the Count of *Soiſſons*, who apprehending, that he was not like to be ſo much conſidered, as he thought he might deſerve in *France*, went and ſerved the Emperor, and grew up, in a few years, to be one of the greateſt Generals of the Age.

The *Turks* Army in *Hungary* routed.

The *Grand Signior* came to command his Armies in perſon, and lay incamped on both ſides of the *Theiſſe*, having laid a Bridge over the River; Prince *Eugene* marched up to him, and attackt his Camp, on the Weſt ſide of the River, and after a ſhort diſpute, he broke in and was Maſter of the Camp, and forced all, who lay on that ſide, over the River; In this Action many were killed and drowned; He followed them croſs the *Theiſſe* and gave them a total defeat: Moſt of their Janizaries were cut off, and the Prince became Maſter of all their Artillery and Magazines: The *Grand Signior* himſelf narrowly eſcaped, with a Body of Horſe, to *Belgrade*; This was a compleat Victory, and was the greateſt Blow the *Turks* had received, in the whole War. At the ſame time, the *Czar* was very ſucceſsful on his ſide againſt the *Tartarians*. The *Venetians* did little on their part, and the Confuſions in *Poland* made that Republick but a feeble Ally: So that the weight of the War lay wholly on the Emperor. But tho' he, being now delivered from the War with *France*, was more

more at leiſure to proſecute this, yet his Revenue was ſo exhauſted, that he was willing to ſuffer a Treaty to be carried on, by the Mediation of *England* and *Holland*; And the *French*, being now no longer concerned to engage the Port to carry on the War, the *Grand Signior*, fearing a Revolution upon his ill ſucceſs, was very glad to hearken to a Treaty, which was carried on all this Winter, and was finiſhed the next year at *Carlowitz*, from which place it takes its name. 1697

The Peace of *Carlowitz*.

By it, both Parties were to keep that, of which they were then poſſeſſed, and ſo this long War of *Hungary*, which had brought both ſides by turns very near the laſt extremities, was concluded by the Direction and Mediation of the King of *England*: Upon which I will add a curious Obſervation, that tho' it may ſeem to be out of the Laws of Hiſtory, yet conſidering my Profeſſion, will I hope be forgiven.

The duration of the *Turkiſh* Wars.

Dr. *Lloyd*, the preſent moſt learned Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who has now, for above twenty Years, been ſtudying the *Revelations*, with an amazing diligence and exactneſs, had long before this Year ſaid, The Peace, between the *Turks* and the *Papal* Chriſtians, was certainly to be made in the Year 1698, which he made out thus: The four Angels, mentioned in the fourteenth Chapter of the *Revelations*, that were bound in the River *Euphrates*, which he expounds to be the Captains of the *Turkiſh* Forces, that till then were ſubject to the *Sultan* at *Babylon*, were to be looſed, or freed from that Yoke, and to ſet up for themſelves: And theſe were prepared, to ſlay the third part of men, for an hour, a day, a month, and a year: He reckons the year, in St. *John*, is the *Julian* year of 365 days, that is, in the Prophetick ſtile, each day a year; a month is 30 of theſe days; and a day makes one; which added to the former number makes 396. Now he proves from Hiſtorians, that *Ottoman* came, and began his Conqueſts at *Prouſſe*, in the year 1302, to which the former number, in which they were to ſlay the third part of men, being added, it muſt end in the year 1698: And tho' the Hiſtorians do not mark the hour, or the twelfth part of the day or year, which is a month, that is, the beginning of the Deſtruction the *Turks* were to make; yet he is confident, if that is ever known, that the Prophecy will be found, even in that, to be punctually accompliſhed. After this, he thinks their time of hurting the *Papal* Chriſtians, is at an end; They may indeed ſtill do miſchief to the *Muſcovites*, or perſecute their own Chriſtian Subjects, but they can do no hurt to the *Papalins*; and he is ſo poſitive in this, that he conſents that all his Scheme ſhould be laid aſide, if the *Turk* engages in a new War with them; and I muſt confeſs, that their refuſing now, in a courſe of three years, to take any Advantage from the Troubles in *Hungary*, to begin the War again, tho' we know they have been much ſollicited to it, gives for the preſent a confirmation, to this learned Prelate's Expoſition of that part of the Prophecy.

The King came back to *England*.

The King came over to *England*, about the middle of *November*; And was received by the City of *London*, in a ſort of Triumph, with all the Magnificence that he would admit; Some progreſs was made in preparing Triumphal Arches, but he put a ſtop to it; He ſeemed, by a natural modeſty, to have contracted an antipathy to all vain ſhows; which was much increaſed in him, by what he had heard of the groſs exceſſes of flattery, to which the *French* have run, beyond the examples of former Ages, in honour of their King; Who having ſhewed too great a pleaſure in theſe, they have been ſo far purſued, that the wit of that Nation has been for ſome years chiefly employed on theſe; For they ſaw that mens fortunes were more certainly advanced, by a new and lively invention in that way, than by any ſervice or merit whatſoever. This, in which that King has ſeemed to be too much pleaſed, rendring him contemptible to better Judges, gave the King ſuch an averſion to every thing that looked that way, that he ſcarce bore even with things, that were decent and proper.

Conſultations about a ſtanding Army.

The King ordered many of his Troops to be disbanded ſoon after the Peace; But a ſtop was put to that, becauſe the *French* were very ſlow in evacuating the Places, that were to be reſtored by the Treaty, and were not beginning to reduce their Troops: So, tho' the King declared what he intended to do, yet he made no haſte to execute it, till it ſhould appear how the *French* intended to

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govern themſelves. The King thought it was abſolutely neceſſary, to keep up a conſiderable Land Force; he knew the *French* would ſtill maintain great Armies, and that the pretended Prince of *Wales* would certainly be aſſiſted by them, if *England* ſhould fall into a feeble and defenceleſs Condition; The King of *Spain* was alſo, in ſuch an uncertain ſtate of health, ſo weak and ſo exhauſted, that it ſeemed neceſſary, that *England* ſhould be in a condition to bar *France*'s invading that Empire, and to maintain the Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But tho' he explained himſelf thus in general to his Miniſters, yet he would not deſcend to particulars, to tell how many he thought neceſſary, ſo that they had not authority to declare, what was the loweſt number the King inſiſted on.

The matter argued on both ſides.

Papers were writ on both ſides, for and againſt a ſtanding Force; On the one hand, it was pretended, that a ſtanding Army was incompatible with publick Liberty, and according to the Examples of former times, the one muſt ſwallow up the other; It was propoſed, that the Militia might be better modelled and more trained, which, with a good naval Force, ſome thought, would be an effectual ſecurity againſt Foreign Invaſions, as well as it would maintain our Laws and Liberties at home. On the other ſide, it was urged, that ſince all our Neighbours were armed, and the moſt formidable of them all kept up ſuch a mighty Force, nothing could give us a real ſecurity, but a good Body of regulated Troops; Nothing could be made of the Militia, chiefly of the Horſe, but at a vaſt charge; and if it was well regulated, and well commanded, it would prove a mighty Army; But this of the Militia was only talked of, to put by the other; for no project was ever propoſed to render it more uſeful; A Force at Sea might be ſo ſhattered, while the Enemy kept within their Ports (as it actually happened at the Revolution) that this ſtrength might come to be uſeleſs, when we ſhould need it moſt; So that without a conſiderable Land Force, it ſeemed the Nation would be too much expoſed. The word, *ſtanding Army*, had an odious ſound in *Engliſh* ears; So the popularity lay on the other ſide; And the King's Miniſters ſuffered generally in the good Characters, they had hitherto maintained, becauſe they ſtudied to ſtop the tide, that run ſo ſtrong the other way.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

At the opening the Seſſion of Parliament, the King told them, that in his opinion, a ſtanding Land Force was neceſſary; The Houſe of Commons carried the jealouſy of a ſtanding Army ſo high, that they would not bear the Motion, nor did they like the way the King took of offering them his opinion in the point: This ſeemed a preſcription to them, and might biaſs ſome, in the Counſels they were to offer the King, and be a bar to the freedom of Debate; The Managers for the Court had no Orders to name any number; So the Houſe came to a Reſolution of paying off and diſbanding all the Forces, that had been raiſed ſince the year 1680; This Vote brought the Army to be leſs than 8000: The Court was ſtruck with this; and then they tried, by an after-game, to raiſe the number to 15000 Horſe and Foot. If this had been propoſed in time, it would probably have been carried without any difficulty; but the King was ſo long upon the reſerve, that now, when he thought fit to ſpeak out his mind, he found it was too late: So a Force not exceeding 10000 Horſe and Foot was all that the Houſe could be brought to. This gave the King the greateſt diſtaſte of any thing, that had befallen him in his whole Reign; He thought it would derogate much from him, and render his Alliance ſo inconſiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the Government, after it ſhould be reduced to ſo weak and ſo contemptible a ſtate. He ſaid, that if he could have imagined, that after all the ſervice he ſhould have done the Nation, he ſhould have met with ſuch returns, he would never have meddled in our Affairs; and that he was weary of governing a Nation, that was ſo jealous, as to lay itſelf open to an Enemy, rather than truſt him, who had acted ſo faithfully during his whole Life, that he had never once deceived thoſe who truſted him. He ſaid, this, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, to my ſelf; But he ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmitting to that, which could not be helped.

A ſmall force kept up.

During theſe Debates, the Earl of *Sunderland* had argued with many upon the neceſſity of keeping up a greater Force; This was in ſo many hands, that he was charged as the Author of the Counſel, of keeping on foot a ſtanding Army: So he was often named in the Houſe of Commons, with many ſevere reflections, for which there had been too much occaſion given, during the two former Reigns. The Tories preſſed hard upon him, and the Whigs were ſo jealous of him, that he apprehending, that while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, reſolved to prevent a publick affront, and to retire from the Court and from Buſineſs; not only againſt the entreaties of his Friends, but even the King's earneſt deſire that he would continue about him; Indeed, upon this occaſion, his Majeſty expreſſed ſuch a concern and value for him, that the jealouſies were encreaſed, by the confidence the Court ſaw, the King had in him. During the time of his credit, things had been carried on, with more ſpirit and better ſucceſs than before: He had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the King, that he brought him to agree to ſome things, that few expected he would have yielded to: He managed the publick affairs, in both Houſes, with ſo much ſteddineſs and ſo good a conduct, that he had procured to himſelf a greater meaſure of eſteem, than he had in any of the former parts of his Life; And the feebleneſs and disjointed ſtate we fell into, after he withdrew, contributed not a little to eſtabliſh the Character, which his adminiſtration had gained him. 1698

The Earl of Sunderland retired from buſineſs.

The Parliament went on ſlowly in fixing the Fund for the Supplies they had voted: They ſettled a Revenue on the King for Life, for the ordinary expence of the Government, which was called the Civil Liſt: This they carried to Seven hundred thouſand pounds a year, which was much more than the former Kings of *England* could apply to thoſe occaſions; Six hundred thouſand pounds was all that was deſigned, but it had been promiſed at the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, that King *James*, being now as dead to *England*, his Queen ſhould enjoy her Jointure, that was Fifty thouſand pound a year; and it was intended to ſettle a Court about the Duke of *Glocester*, who was then nine years old; So to enable the King, to bear that expence, this large proviſion was made for the Civil Liſt: But by ſome great error in the management, tho' the Court never had ſo much, and never ſpent ſo little, yet payments were ill made, and by ſome ſtrange conſumption, all was waſted.

The Civil Liſt ſettled on the King for Life.

While the Houſe of Commons was ſeeking a Fund, for paying the Arrears of the Army, and for the expence at Sea and Land for the next year; A Propoſition was made, for conſtituting a new *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſhould trade with a joint Stock, others being admitted in a determinate Proportion to a ſeparate Trade: The old *Eaſt-India* Company oppoſed this, and offered to advance a Sum (but far ſhort of what the publick Occaſions required) for an Act of Parliament, that ſhould confirm their Charters. The Projectors of the new Company offered two Millions, upon the ſecurity of a good Fund, to pay the Intereſt of their Money at eight *per Cent*; Great oppoſition was made to this: For the King, upon an Addreſs that was made to him by the Houſe of Commons, had granted the old Company a new Charter, they being obliged to take in a new Subſcription of Seven hundred thouſand pounds; to encreaſe their Stock and Trade. Thoſe empowered by this new Charter, were not charged with any Maleverſation; They had been trading under great diſadvantages, and with great loſſes, by reaſon of the War: It is true, the King had reſerved a power to himſelf, by a clauſe in the Charter, to diſſolve them upon warning given, three years before ſuch diſſolution: So it was ſaid, that no injuſtice was done them, if publick notice ſhould be given of ſuch an intended diſſolution. To this it was anſwered, that the Clauſe, reſerving that power, was put in many Charters, but that it was conſidered only as a threatning, obliging them to a good conduct; But that it was not ordinary to diſſolve a Company, by vertue of ſuch a Clauſe, when no Error or Maleverſation was objected: The old Company came at laſt to offer the whole Sum that was wanted; But the Party was now formed, ſo they came too late, and this had no other effect, but to raiſe a clamour againſt this proceeding, as extremely rigorous, if not unjuſt. This threw the old Company, and all concerned in it, into the hands of the Tories,

A new East-India Company.

1698

The Whigs loſe their credit in the Nation.

and made a great breach and disjointing in the City of *London*: And it is certain, that this Act, together with the Inclinations which thoſe of the Whigs, who were in good Poſts, had expreſſed for keeping up a greater Land Force, did contribute to the blaſting the reputation, they had hitherto maintained, of being good Patriots, and was made uſe of over *England* by the Tories, to diſgrace both the King and them. To this, another charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the Publick, and applied much of the Money, that was given for the ſervice of the Nation, both to the ſupporting a vaſt Expence, and to the raiſing great Eſtates to themſelves. This was ſenſible to the people, who were uneaſy under heavy Taxes, and were too ready to believe, that, according to the practice in King *Charles*'s time, a great deal of the Money that was given in Parliament, was divided among thoſe who gave it. Theſe clamours were raiſed and managed with great dexterity, by thoſe, who intended to render the King, and all who were beſt affected to him, ſo odious to the Nation, that by this means they might carry ſuch an Election of a new Houſe of Commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was ſaid, that the Bank of *England* and the new *Eaſt-India* Company, being in the hands of Whigs, they would have the command of all the Money, and by conſequence, of all the Trade of *England*; So a great Party was raiſed againſt the new Company, in both Houſes: But the Act for it was carried: The King was very indifferent in the matter at firſt, but the greatneſs of the Sum that was wanted, which could not probably be raiſed by any other Project, prevailed on him; The Intereſts of Princes carrying them often to act againſt their private Opinions and Inclinations.

The King of *Spain*'s ill ſtate of health.

Before the King went into *Holland*, which was in *July*, News came from *Spain*, that their King was dying; This Alarm was often given before, but it came much quicker now; The *French* upon this, ſent a Fleet to lie before *Cadiz*, which came thither, at the time that the Galleons were expected home from the *Weſt-Indies*; And it was apprehended, that, if the King had died, they would have ſeized on all that Treaſure. We ſent a Fleet thither to ſecure them, but it came too late, to have done any ſervice, if it had been needed; This was much cenſured, but the Admiralty excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that the Parliament was ſo late in fixing the Funds for the Fleet, that it was not poſſible to be ready ſooner than they were: The King of *Spain* recovered for that time, but it was ſo far from any entire recovery, that a Relapſe was ſtill apprehended. When the King went to *Holland*, he left ſome ſealed Orders behind him, of which ſome of his Miniſters told me, they knew not the contents till they were opened: By theſe, the King ordered 16000 Men to be kept up; For excuſing this, it was ſaid, that tho' the Parliament had, in their Votes, mentioned only 10000 Land men, to whom they had afterwards added 3000 Marines, and had raiſed only the Money neceſſary for that number, yet no determined number was mentioned in the Act itſelf; So, ſince the apprehenſion of the King of *Spain*'s Death made it adviſable, to have a greater force ready for ſuch an Accident, the King reſolved to keep up a Force, ſomewhat beyond that, which the Houſe of Commons had conſented to; The leaving theſe Orders ſealed, made the whole blame to be caſt ſingly on the King, as it skreened the Miniſters from a ſhare in this Counſel: And we have more than once known Miniſters put the advices, that they themſelves gave, in ſuch a manner on their Maſters, that in executing them, our Kings have taken more care to ſhelter their Miniſters, than to preſerve themſelves.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* put in a method of Education.

The King, before his leaving *England*, ſettled a Houſhold about the Duke of *Gloceſter*; The Earl of *Marlborough*, who was reſtored to favour, was made his Governor, and I was named by the King, to be his Preceptor. I uſed all poſſible endeavours to excuſe my ſelf; I had hitherto no ſhare in the Princeſs's favour or confidence; I was alſo become uneaſy at ſome things in the King's conduct; I conſidered him as a glorious Inſtrument, raiſed up by God, who had done great things by him; I had alſo ſuch obligations to him, that I had reſolved, on publick as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any oppoſition to him, and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did; And that he was giving his Enemies handles, to weaken his Government. I had tried, but with little ſucceſs, to uſe all due freedom with him;

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He did not love to be found fault with; and tho' he bore every thing that I ſaid very gently, yet he either diſcouraged me with ſilence, or anſwered in ſuch general expreſſions, that they ſignified little or nothing. Theſe conſiderations diſpoſed me, rather to retire from the Court and Town, than to engage deeper in ſuch a conſtant attendance, for ſo many years, as this Imployment might run out to; The King made it indeed eaſy, in one reſpect; for as the young Prince was to be all the Summer at *Windſor*, which was in my Dioceſe; So he allowed me ten weeks in the year, for the other parts in my Dioceſe. All my endeavours to decline this were without effect; the King would truſt that care only to me, and the Princeſs gave me ſuch encouragement, that I reſolved not only to ſubmit to this, which ſeemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give myſelf wholly up to it. I took, to my own Province, the reading and explaining the Scriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the Principles of Religion, and the Rules of Virtue, and the giving him a view of Hiſtory, Geography, Polilicks and Government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to all the Maſters, that were appointed to teach him other things; But now I turn, to give an account of ſome things, that more immediately belong to my own Profeſſion. 1698

The progreſs of Socinianiſm.

This year, *Thomas Firmin*, a famous Citizen of *Loudon*, died; he was in great eſteem, for promoting many charitable Deſigns, for looking after the Poor of the City, and ſetting them to work; for raiſing great Sums for Schools and Hoſpitals, and indeed, for Charities of all ſorts, private and publick; He had ſuch credit with the richeſt Citizens, that he had the command of great Wealth, as oft as there was occaſion for it; And he laid out his own time chiefly, in advancing all ſuch deſigns: Theſe things gained him a great reputation; He was called a *Socinian*, but was really an *Arian*, which he very freely owned, before the Revolution; But he gave no publick vent to it, as he did afterwards. He ſtudied to promote his Opinions, after the Revolution, with much heat; Many Books were printed againſt the Trinity, which he diſperſed over the Nation, diſtributing them freely to all who would accept of them; Profane Wits were much delighted with this; It became a common Topick of Diſcourſe, to treat all Myſteries in Religion, as the contrivances of Prieſts, to bring the World into a blind ſubmiſſion to them; Prieſtcraft grew to be another word in faſhion, and the Enemies of Religion vented all their Impieties, under the cover of theſe words; But while theſe pretended much zeal for the Government, thoſe who were at work to undermine it, made great uſe of all this; They raiſed a great outcry againſt Socinianiſm, and gave it out, that it was like to over-run all; For Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, and ſome of the Biſhops, had lived in great friendſhip with Mr. *Firmin*, whoſe charitable temper they thought it became them to encourage; Many undertook to write in this Controverſy; Some of theſe were not fitted for handling ſuch a nice Subject; A learned Deiſt made a ſevere remark on the progreſs of this Diſpute; He ſaid, he was ſure the Divines would be too hard for the *Socinians*, in proving their Doctrines out of Scripture; But if the Doctrine could be once laughed at and rejected as abſurd, then its being provd, how well ſoever, out of Scripture, would turn to be an Argument againſt the Scriptures themſelves, as containing ſuch incredible Doctrines.

Different Explanations of the Trinity.

The Divines did not go all in the ſame method, nor upon the ſame Principles; Dr. *Sherlock* engaged in the Controverſy; He was a clear, a polite and a ſtrong Writer, and had got great credit in the former Reign, by his Writings againſt thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; But he was apt to aſſume too much to himſelf, and to treat his Adverſaries with contempt; This created him many Enemies, and made him paſs for an inſolent haughty Man; He was at firſt a Jacobite, and while, for not taking the Oaths, he was under ſuſpenſion, he wrote againſt the *Socinians*, in which he took a new method of explaining the Trinity; He thought there were three eternal Minds; two of theſe iſſuing from the Father, but that theſe were one, by reaſon of a mutual conſciouſneſs in the three, to every of their thoughts: This was looked on as plain Tritheiſm; But all the Party applauded him and his Book; Soon after that, an accident of an odd nature happened.

Dr. *Sherlock* left the Jacobites.

There was a Book drawn up by Biſhop *Overall*, fourſcore years ago, concerning Government; in which, its being of a Divine Inſtitution was very poſitively aſſerted;

1698 aſſerted; It was read in Convocation, and paſſed by that body, in order to the publiſhing it, in oppoſition to the Principles laid down, in that famous book of *Parſon*'s the Jeſuit, publiſhed under the name of *Dollman*; King *James* the Firſt did not like a Convocation entring into ſuch a Theory of Politicks; So he wrote a long Letter to *Abbot*, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but was then in the Lower Houſe; I had the Original, writ all in his own hand, in my poſſeſſion; By it he deſired, that no further progreſs ſhould be made in that matter, and that this Book might not be offered to him for his aſſent: Thus that matter ſlept, but *Sancroft* had got *Overall*'s own Book into his Hands; So, in the beginning of this Reign, he reſolved to publiſh it, as an authentick Declaration, that the Church of *England* had made in this matter; And it was publiſhed, as well as licenſed by him, a very few days before he came under ſuſpenſion for not taking the Oaths: But there was a Paragraph or two in it, that they had not conſidered, which was plainly calculated, to juſtify the owning the United Provinces to be a lawful Government: For it was there laid down, that when a change of Government was brought to a thorough ſettlement, it was then to be owned and ſubmitted to, as a work of the Providence of God; and a part of King *James*'s Letter to *Abbot* related to this. When *Sherlock* obſerved this, he had ſome Conferences with the Party, in order to convince them by that, which he ſaid had convinced himſelf; Soon after that he took the Oaths, and was made Dean of St. *Paul*'s; he publiſhed an account of the grounds he went on, which drew out many virulent Books againſt him; After that they purſued him with the clamour of Tritheiſm, which was done with much malice, by the very ſame perſons, who had highly magnified the performance, while he was of their Party: So powerful is the biaſs of intereſt and paſſion, in the moſt ſpeculative and the moſt important Doctrines.

Dr. *South* wrote againſt him.

Dr. *South*, a learned but an ill-natured Divine, who had taken the Oaths, but with the reſerve of an equivocal ſenſe, which he put on them, attackt Dr. *Sherlock*'s Book of the Trinity, not without Wit and Learning, but without any meaſure of Chriſtian Charity, and without any regard, either to the dignity of the Subject, or the decencies of his Profeſſion. He explained the Trinity in the common method, that the Deity was one Eſſence in three Subſiſtencies; *Sherlock* replied, and charged this as Sabellianiſm; and ſome others went into the Diſpute, with ſome Learning, but with more heat: One preached *Sherlock*'s Notion, before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, for which he was cenſured; but *Sherlock* wrote againſt that Cenſure, with the higheſt ſtrains of contempt: The *Socinians* triumphed, not a little upon all this: and, in ſeveral of their Books, they divided their Adverſaries into real and nominal Trinitarians; *Sherlock* was put in the firſt Claſs; As for the ſecond Claſs, they pretended it had been the Doctrine of the Weſtern Church, ever ſince the time that the fourth Council in the *Lateran* ſat; Some, who took advantage from theſe Debates to publiſh their Impieties without fear or ſhame, rejoiced to ſee the Divines engaged in ſuch ſubtle Queſtions; And they reckoned, that, which ſide ſoever might have the better, in the turn of this Controverſy, yet in concluſion they alone muſt be the Gainers by every Diſpute, that brought ſuch important matters to a doubtfulneſs, which might end in Infidelity at laſt.

The King's Injunctions ſilence thoſe diſputes.

The ill effects that were like to follow, on thoſe different Explanations, made the Biſhops move the King to ſet out Injunctions, requiring them to ſee to the repreſſing of Error and Hereſy, with all poſſible zeal, more particularly in the fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: And to watch againſt and hinder the uſe of new Terms or new Explanations in thoſe matters: This put a ſtop to thoſe Debates, as Mr. *Firmin*'s Death put a ſtop to the printing and ſpreading of *Socinian* Books. Upon all this, ſome angry Clergymen, who had not that ſhare of Preferment, that they thought they deſerved, began to complain, that no Convocation was ſuffered to ſit, to whom the judging in ſuch points, ſeemed moſt properly to belong: Books were writ on this head: It was ſaid, that the Law made in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, that limited the power of that body, ſo that no new Canons could be attempted or put in uſe, without the King's Licenſe and Conſent, did not diſable them from ſitting: On the contrary, a Convocation was held to be a part of the Parliament, ſo that

it ought always to attend upon it, and to be ready, when adviſed with, to give their Opinions chiefly in matters of Religion. They had alſo, as theſe men pretended, a right to prepare Articles and Canons, and to lay them before the King, who might indeed deny his aſſent to them, as he did to Bills, that were offered him by both Houſes or Parliament. This led them to ſtrike at the King's Supremacy, and to aſſert the intrinſic Power of the Church which had been diſowned by this Church, ever ſince the time of the Reformation: And indeed, the King's Supremacy was thought to be carried formerly too high, and that, by the ſame ſort of men, who were now ſtudying to lay it as low. It ſeemed, that ſome men were for maintaining it, as long as it was in their management, and that it made for them: but reſolved to weaken it, all they could, as ſoon as it went out of their hands, and was no more at their diſcretion: Such a turn do mens intereſts and partialities give to their Opinions. 1698

Diviſions among the Clergy.

All this while it was manifeſt, that there were two different Parties among the Clergy; One was firm and faithful to the preſent Government, and ſerved it with zeal; Theſe did not envy the Diſſenters the eaſe, that the Toleration gave them; they wiſhed for a favourable opportunity of making ſuch alterations, in ſome few Rites and Ceremonies, as might bring into the Church thoſe, who were not at too great a diſtance from it; And I do freely own that I was of this number. Others took the Oaths indeed, and concurred in every act of compliance with the Government, but they were not only cold in ſerving it, but were always blaming the Adminiſtration, and aggravating misfortunes; They expreſſed a great eſteem for Jacobites, and, in all Elections, gave their Votes to thoſe, who leaned that way: At the ſame time, they ſhewed great reſentments againſt the Diſſenters, and were enemies to the Toleration, and ſeemed reſolved never to conſent to any alteration in their favour. The bulk of the Clergy ran this way, ſo that the moderate Party was far out numbred. Profane minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting ſeverely on a body of men, that took Oaths, and performed publick Devotions, when the reſt of their Lives was too publick and too viſible a contradiction, to ſuch Oaths and Prayers.

Diviſions among the Papiſts.

But while we are thus unhappily diſjointed in matters of Religion, our Neighbours are not ſo entirely united, as they pretend to be; The Quietiſts are ſaid to encreaſe not only in *Italy*, but in *France*; The Perſecution there began at firſt, upon a few *Janſeniſts*, but it turned ſoon to the Proteſtants, on whom it has been long very heavy and bloody; This had put an end to all Diſputes in thoſe matters; A new Controverſy has ſince been managed, with great heat, between *Boſſuet*, the famous Biſhop, firſt of *Condom* and now of *Meaux*; and *La Motte Fenelon*, who was once in high favour with Madam *Maintenon*, and was, by her means, made Preceptor to the *Dauphin*'s Children, and afterwards advanced to be Archbiſhop of *Cambray*. He wrote a Treatiſe of Spiritual Maxims, according to the ſubtilty, as well as the ſublimity of the Writers, called the Myſticks; In it, he diſtinguiſhed between that, which was falſly charged upon them, and that which was truly their Doctrine: He put the perfection of a ſpiritual Life, in the loving of God purely for himſelf, without any regard to our ſelves, even to our own Salvation: And in our being brought to ſuch a ſtate of Indifference, as to have no will nor deſire of our own, but to be ſo perfectly united to the Will of God, as to rejoice in the hope of Heaven, only becauſe it is the Will of God, to bring us thither, without any regard to our own happineſs. *Boſſuet* wrote ſo ſharply againſt him, that one is tempted to think, a rivalry for favour and preferment had as great a ſhare in it, as zeal for the Truth. The matter was ſent to *Rome*, *Fenelon* had ſo many authorized and canonized Writers of his ſide, that many diſtinctions muſt be made uſe of to ſeparate them from him; But the King was much ſet againſt him; He put him from his attendance on the young Princes, and ſent him to his Dioceſe; His diſgrace ſerved to raiſe his Character. Madam *Maintenon*'s violent averſion to a man, ſhe ſo lately raiſed, was imputed to his not being ſo tractable as ſhe expected, in perſwading the King to own his Marriage with her: But that I leave to conjecture. There is a breach running thro' the *Lutheran* Churches; It appeared at firſt openly at *Hamborough*, where many were going into ſtricter methods of Piety, who from thence were called Pietiſts; there is no difference of Opinion between them and the reſt, who are

1698 moſt rigid to old forms, and are jealous of all new things, eſpecially of a ſtricter courſe of Devotion, beyond what they themſelves are inclined to practiſe: There is likewiſe a Spirit of Zeal and Devotion, and of publick Charities, ſprung at home, beyond what was known among us in former times; of which I may have a good occaſion to make mention hereafter.

The *Scotch* ſettle at *Darien.*

But to return from this digreſſion: The Company in *Scotland*, this year, ſet out a Fleet, with a Colony, on deſign to ſettle in *America*; The ſecret was better kept, than could have been well expected, conſidering the many hands in which it was lodged; It appeared at laſt, that the true deſign had been gueſſed, from the firſt motion of it; They landed at *Darien*, which, by the report that they ſent over, was capable of being made a ſtrong place, with a good Port. It was no wonder, that the *Spaniards* complained loudly of this; It lay ſo near *Porto Belo* and *Panama* on the one ſide, and *Carthagena* on the other, that they could not think they were ſafe, when ſuch a Neighbour came ſo near the Center of their Empire in *America*; The King of *France* complained alſo of this, as an Invaſion of the *Spaniſh* Dominion, and offered the Court of *Madrid* a Fleet to diſlodge them. The *Spaniards* preſſed the King hard upon this; They ſaid, they were once poſſeſſed of that place; and tho' they found it too unhealthy to ſettle there, yet the right to it belonged ſtill to them: So this was a breach of Treaties, and a violent poſſeſſion of their Country; In anſwer to this, the *Scotch* pretended, that the Natives of *Darien* were never conquered by the *Spaniards*, and were by conſequence a free People; they ſaid, they had purchaſed of them leave to poſſeſs themſelves of that place, and that the *Spaniards* abandoned the Country, becauſe they could not reduce the Natives: So the pretenſion of the firſt diſcovery was made void, when they went off from it, not being able to hold it; and then the Natives being left to themſelves, it was lawful for the *Scots* to treat with them: It was given out, that there was much Gold in the Country. Certainly, the Nation was ſo full of hopes from this Project, that they raiſed a Fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that Kingdom could ſtretch to; Four hundred thouſand pounds Sterling was ſubſcribed, and a fourth part was paid down, and afterwards, Seventy thouſand pounds more was brought in, and a National Fury ſeemed to have tranſported the whole Kingdom, upon this Project.

Great Diſputes about it.

The Jacobites went into the management, with a particular heat; They ſaw the King would be much preſſed from *Spain*; The *Engliſh* Nation apprehending, that this would be ſet up as a breach of Treaties, and that upon a Rupture, their Effects in *Spain* might be ſeized, grew alſo very uneaſy at it; upon which it was thought, that the King would in time be forced to diſown this Invaſion, and to declare againſt it, and in that caſe, they hoped to have inflamed the Kingdom with this, that the King denied them his Protection, while they were only acting according to Law; and this, they would have ſaid, was contrary to the Coronation Oath, and ſo they would have thought they were freed from their Allegiance to him. The Jacobites, having this proſpect, did all that was poſſible to raiſe the hopes of the Nation to the higheſt degree; Our *Engliſh* Plantations grew alſo very jealous of this new Colony; They feared, that the double proſpect, of finding Gold, and of robbing the *Spaniards*, would draw many Planters from them, into this new Settlement; and that the *Buccaneers* might run into them: For by the *Scotch* Act, this place was to be made a free Port; and if it was not ruined, before it was well formed, they reckoned it would become a ſeat of Piracy and another *Algiers* in thoſe parts. Upon theſe grounds, the *Engliſh* Nation inclined to declare againſt this, and the King ſeemed convinced, that it was an infraction of his Treaties with *Spain*: So Orders were ſent, but very ſecretly, to the *Engliſh* Plantations, particularly to *Jamaica* and the *Leeward* Iſlands, to forbid all Commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*. The *Spaniards* made ſome faint attempts on them, but without ſucceſs; This was a very great difficulty on the King; He ſaw how much he was like to be preſſed on both hands, and he apprehended what ill conſequences were like to follow, on his declaring himſelf either way.

The preſent Miniſtry's good conduct.

The Parliament of *England* had now ſate its period of three years, in which great things had been done; The whole Money of *England* was recoined, the King

was ſecured in his Government, an honourable Peace was made, Publick Credit was reſtored, and the Payment of Publick Debts was put on ſure and good Funds. The chief conduct lay now in a few hands; The Lord *Somers* was made a Baron of *England*; and as he was one of the ableſt and the moſt incorrupt Judges, that ever ſate in Chancery; ſo his great Capacity for all Affairs made the King conſider him beyond all his Miniſters, and he well deſerved the confidence that the King expreſſed for him on all occaſions. In the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Mountague* had gained ſuch a viſible aſcendant over all, that were zealous for the King's Service, that he gave the Law to the reſt, which he did always with great ſpirit, but ſometimes with too aſſuming an air: The Fleet was in the Earl of *Orford*'s management, who was both Treaſurer of the Navy, and was at the head of the Admiralty; he had brought in many into the Service, who were very zealous for the Government, but a ſpirit of Impiety and Diſſolution ran thro' too many of them, ſo that thoſe, who intended to caſt a load upon the Government, had too great advantages given by ſome of theſe. The Adminiſtration at home was otherwiſe without exception, and no grievances were complained of. 1698

A new Parliament.

There was a new Parliament called, and the Elections fell generally on men, who were in the Intereſts of the Government: Many of them had indeed ſome popular Notions, which they had drank in under a bad Government, and thought they ought to keep them under a good one; So that thoſe who wiſhed well to the publick, did apprehend great difficulties in managing them. The King himſelf did not ſeem to lay this to heart, ſo much as was fitting; He ſtayed long beyond Sea; He had made a viſit to the Duke of *Zell*, where he was treated in a moſt magnificent manner. Croſs Winds hinder'd his coming to *England*, ſo ſoon as he had intended; upon which, the Parliament was prorogued for ſome weeks, after the Members were come up; even this ſoured their ſpirits, and had too great a ſhare in the ill humour, that appeared among them.

The Forces much diminiſhed.

The King's keeping up an Army beyond the Votes of the former Parliament, was much reſented, nor was the occaſion for doing it enough conſidered; All this was encreaſed by his own management after he came over. The Miniſters repreſented to him, that they could carry the keeping up a Land Force of ten or twelve thouſand, but that they could not carry it further; He ſaid, ſo ſmall a number was as good as none at all, therefore he would not authorize them to propoſe it; On the other hand, they thought they ſhould loſe their Credit with their beſt friends, if they ventured to ſpeak of a greater number. So, when the Houſe of Commons took up the Debate, the Miniſtry were ſilent and propoſed no number; upon which thoſe, who were in the contrary intereſt, named Seven thouſand Men, and to this they added, that they ſhould be all the King's natural born Subjects: Both the parts of this Vote gave the King great uneaſineſs; he ſeemed not only to lay it much to heart, but to ſink under it; He tried all that was poſſible to ſtruggle againſt it, when it was too late; it not being ſo eaſy to recover things in an after-game, as it was to have prevented this miſunderſtanding, that was like to ariſe between him and his Parliament. It was ſurmiſed, that he was reſolved not to paſs the Bill, but that he would abandon the Government, rather than hold it, with a Force that was too ſmall to preſerve and protect it; yet this was conſidered only as a threatning, ſo that little regard was had to it: The Act paſſed with ſome oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons; a feeble attempt was made in the Houſe of Lords againſt it, but it was rather a reproach, than a ſervice to the Goverment, it being faintly made and ill ſupported. The Royal Aſſent was given, and when it was hoped, that the paſſing the Act had ſoftned peoples minds, a new attempt was made for keeping the *Dutch* Guards in *England*, but that was rejected, tho' the King ſent a Meſſage deſiring it.

The Party oppoſed the King with great bitterneſs

In the carrying theſe points, many hard things were ſaid againſt the Court, and againſt the King himſelf; It was ſuggeſted, that he loved not the Nation; that he was on the reſerve with all *Engliſhmen*, and ſhewed no confidence in them; But that as ſoon as the Seſſion of Parliament was over, he went immediately to *Holland*; And they ſaid, this was not to look after the affairs of the *States*, which had been more excuſable; but that he went thither to enjoy a lazy privacy at

1698 *Loo*; where, with a few favourites, he hunted and paſſed away the Summer, in a way that did not raiſe his Character much. It is certain, the uſage he had met with of late, put his Spirits too much on the fret; and he neither took care to diſguiſe that, nor to overcome the ill humour, which the manner of his deportment, rather than any juſt occaſion given by him, had raiſed in many againſt him. Some, in the Houſe of Commons, began to carry things much further, and to ſay, that they were not bound to maintain the Votes, and to keep up the Credit of the former Parliament; And they tried to ſhake the Act, made in favour of the new *Eaſt-India* Company: This was ſo contrary to the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution, that it gave cauſe of Jealouſy, ſince this could be intended for nothing, but to ruine the Government: Money raiſed by Parliament, upon Bargains and Conditions that were performed, by thoſe who advanced it, gave them ſuch a purchaſe of thoſe Acts, and this was ſo ſacred, that to overturn it muſt deſtroy all Credit for the future, and no Government could be maintained that did not preſerve this religiouſly.

1699 Among other Complaints, one made againſt the Court was, that the King had given Grants of the confiſcated Eſtates in *Ireland*; It was told before, that a Bill being ſent up by the Commons, attainting the *Iriſh* that had been in Arms, and applying their Eſtates to the paying the Publick Debts, leaving only a Power to the King, to diſpoſe of the third part of them, was like to lie long before the Lords; Many Petitions being offered againſt it; Upon which the King, to bring the Seſſion to a ſpeedy concluſion, had promiſed, that this matter ſhould be kept entire, till their next meeting: But the next Seſſion going over, without any proceeding in it, the King granted away all thoſe Confiſcations: It being an undoubted Branch of the Royal Prerogative, that all Confiſcations accrued to the Crown, and might be granted away at the pleaſure of the King: It was pretended, that thoſe Eſtates came to a Million and a half in value. Great objections were made to the merits of ſome, who had the largeſt ſhare in thoſe Grants; Attempts had been made, in the Parliament of *Ireland*, to obtain a confirmation of them, but that which *Ginkle*, who was created Earl of *Athlone*, had, was only confirmed; Now it was become a popular ſubject of Declamation, to arraign both the Grants, and thoſe who had them: Motions had been often made, for a general Reſumption of all the Grants, made in this Reign; But in anſwer to this, it was ſaid, that ſince no ſuch motion was made, for a Reſumption of the Grants made in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, notwithſtanding the extravagant profuſion of them, and the ill grounds, upon which they were made, it ſhewed both a diſreſpect and a black ingratitude, if, while no other Grants were reſumed, this King only ſhould be called in queſtion. The Court Party ſaid often, let the Retroſpect go back to the year 1660, and they would conſent to it, and that which might be got by it would be worth the while. It was anſwered, this could not be done after ſo long a time, that ſo many Sales, Mortgages, and Settlements had been made, purſuant to thoſe Grants; So all theſe attempts came to nothing. But now they fell on a more effectual method: A Commiſſion was given, by Act of Parliament, to ſeven perſons named by the Houſe of Commons, to enquire into the Value of the confiſcated Eſtates in *Ireland* ſo granted away, and into the Conſiderations, upon which thoſe Grants were made. This paſt in this Seſſion, and in the Debates, a great alienation diſcovered itſelf in many from the King and his Government, which had a very ill effect upon all affairs, both at home and abroad. When the time prefixed for the disbanding the Army came, it was reduced to Seven thouſand Men: of theſe, Four thouſand were Horſe and Dragoos, the Foot were Three thouſand; The Bodies were alſo reduced to ſo ſmall a number of Soldiers that it was ſaid we had now an Army of Officers: The new model was much approved of by proper judges, as the beſt into which ſo ſmall a number could have been brought. There was at the ſame time, a very large Proviſion made for the Sea, greater than was thought neceſſary in a time of Peace. Fifteen thouſand Seamen, with a Fleet proportioned to that Number, was thought a neceſſary ſecurity, ſince we were made ſo weak by Land.

A Debate concerning Grants of *Iriſh* Eſtates.

I mentioned, in the relation of the former year, the *Czar's* coming out of his own Country; on which I will now enlarge: He came this Winter over to *England*, and

The *Czar* of *Moſcovy* in *England*.

d ſtayed ſome Months among us; I waited often on him, and was ordered, 1699
th by the King and the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, to attend upon him, and to
fer him ſuch Informations of our Religion and Conſtitution, as he was willing
receive; I had good Interpreters, ſo I had much free diſcourſe with him; He
a man of a very hot temper, ſoon inflamed and very brutal in his Paſſion; He
iſes his natural heat, by drinking much Brandy, which he rectifies himſelf with
eat application; He is ſubject to convulſive Motions all over his Body, and
s Head ſeems to be affected with theſe; He wants not Capacity, and has a
rger meaſure of Knowledge, than might be expected from his Education, which
as very indifferent; A want of Judgment, with an inſtability of Temper, ap-
ar in him too often and too evidently; He is mechanically turn'd, and ſeems
ſigned by Nature rather to be a Ship Carpenter, than a great Prince; This
as his chief ſtudy and exerciſe, while he ſtayed here: He wrought much with
s own hands, and made all about him work at the Models of Ships; He told
, he deſigned a great Fleet at *Azuph*, and with it to attack the *Turkiſh* Em-
ro; But he did not ſeem capable of conducting ſo great a Deſign, though his
nduct in his Wars ſince this, has diſcovered a greater Genius in him, than ap-
ared at that time; He was deſirous to underſtand our Doctrine, but he did
t ſeem diſpoſed to mend matters in *Moſcovy*; He was indeed reſolved to en-
urage Learning, and to poliſh his People, by ſending ſome of them to travel
other Countries, and to draw Strangers to come and live among them; He
emed apprehenſive ſtill of his Siſter's Intrigues; There was a mixture both of
ſſion and Severity in his temper. He is reſolute, but underſtands little of
ar, and ſeemed not at all inquiſitive that way: After I had ſeen him often,
d had converſed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Pro-
dence of God, that had raiſed up ſuch a furious man, to ſo abſolute an Autho-
y over ſo great a part of the World.

David, conſidering the great things God had made for the uſe of man, broke
t into the Meditation, *What is man, that thou art ſo mindful of him?* But here
ere is an occaſion, for reverſing theſe words, ſince Man ſeems a very contemp-
ble thing, in the ſight of God, while ſuch a perſon as the *Czar* has ſuch multi-
des, put as it were under his feet, expoſed to his reſtleſs Jealouſy and ſavage
emper. He went from hence to the Court of *Vienna*, where he purpoſed to
ve ſtayed ſome time, but he was called home, ſooner than he had intended, upon
diſcovery or a ſuſpicion of Intrigues managed by his Siſter: The Strangers to
om he truſted moſt, were ſo true to him, that thoſe deſigns were cruſhed be-
e he came back; But on this occaſion, he let looſe his fury on all whom he
ſpected; Some hundreds of them were hanged all round *Moſcow*, and it was
d, that he cut off many Heads with his own hand, and ſo far was he from re-
nting or ſhewing any ſort of tenderneſs, that he ſeemed delighted with it:
ow long he is to be the Scourge of that Nation, or of his Neighbours, God only
ows: So extraordinary an incident will, I hope, juſtify ſuch a digreſſion.

The King of *Poland* was not much better thought of by the *Poles*, though The Affairs
newhat deeper in his deſigns; He had given that Republick great cauſe of ſuſ- of *Poland*.
cting, that he intended to turn that free and elective State, into an hereditary
d abſolute Dominion; Under the pretence of a Civil War, like to ariſe at
me, on the Prince of *Conti*'s account, and of the War with the *Turks*, he had
ought in an Army of *Saxons*, of whom the *Poles* were now become ſo jealous,
t if he does not ſend them home again, probably that Kingdom will fall into
w Wars.

The young King of *Sweden* ſeemed to inherit the roughneſs of his Father's The Affairs
mper, with the Piety and the Virtues of his Mother; His Coronation was per- of *Sweden*.
med in a particular manner; He took up the Crown himſelf, and ſet it on his
d; The deſign of this Innovation in the Ceremonial ſeems to be, that he will
have his Subjects think, that he holds his Crown in any reſpect by their Grant
Conſent, but that it was his own by Deſcent: Therefore no other perſon
s to ſet it on his head: Whereas, even abſolute Princes are willing to leave this
or remnant and ſhadow of a popular Election, among the Ceremonies of their
ronation; ſince they are crowned upon the deſires and ſhoutings of their Peo-
. Thus the two Northern Crowns, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, that were long un-

1699 der great reſtraints by their Conſtitution, have in our own time, emancipated themſelves ſo entirely, that in their Government they have little regard, either to the rules of Law or the decencies of Cuſtom. A little time will ſhew, whether *Poland* can be brought to ſubmit to the ſame abſoluteneſs of Government: They who ſet their Crown to Sale, in ſo bare-faced a manner, may be ſuppoſed ready likewiſe to ſell their Liberties, if they can find a Merchant, that will come to their Price.

A Treaty for the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*.

The frequent relapſes, and the feeble ſtate of the King of *Spain*'s Health, gave the World great alarms. The Court of *Vienna*, truſted to their intereſt in the Court of *Spain*, and in that King himſelf; The *French* Court was reſolved not to let go their Pretenſions to that Succeſſion, without great advantages; The King and the States were not now ſtrong enough, to be the Umpires in that matter; This made them more eaſily hearken to Propoſitions, that were ſet on foot by the Court of *France*; The Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* was propoſed, he being the only Iſſue of the King of *Spain*'s ſecond Siſter, who was married to the Emperor. Into this, the King, the States, and the Elector of *Bavaria* entred; The Court of *Spain* agreed to this; and that King, by his Will, confirmed his Father's Will, by which the Succeſſion of the Crown was ſettled on the Iſſue of the ſecond Daughter, and it was reſolved to engage all the Grandees and Cities of *Spain*, to maintain the Succeſſion, according to this Settlement. The Houſe of *Auſtria* complained of this, and pretended that, by a long tract of reciprocal Settlements, ſeveral mutual Entails had paſſed, between thoſe two Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; The Court of *France* ſeemed alſo to complain of it, but they were ſecretly in it, upon engagements, that the Dominions in *Italy* ſhould fall to their ſhare; But while theſe engagements, in favour of the Prince Electoral, were raiſing great apprehenſions every where, that young Prince, who ſeemed marked out for great things, and who had all the promiſing beginnings, that could be expected in a Child of ſeven years old, fell ſick, and was carried off the third or fourth day of his illneſs; So uncertain are all the proſpects, and all the hopes, that this World can give. Now the *Dauphin* and the Emperor were to diſpute, or to divide this Succeſſion between them; So a new Treaty was ſet on foot: It was generally given out, and too eaſily believed, that the King of *France* was grown weary of War, and was reſolved to paſs the reſt of his days in Peace and Quiet; But that he could not conſent to the exaltation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; yet if that Houſe were ſet aſide, he would yield up the *Dauphin*'s pretenſions; and ſo the Duke of *Savoy* was much talked of, but it was with the proſpect of having his Hereditary Dominions yielded up to the Crown of *France*: But this great matter came to another digeſtion a few Months after.

The Earl of *Albemarle*'s favour.

About this time, the King ſet up a new Favourite: *Keppel*, a Gentleman of *Guelder*, was raiſed from being a Page, into the higheſt degree of favour, that any perſon had ever attained, about the King: He was now made Earl of *Albemarle*, and ſoon after Knight of the Garter, and by a quick and unaccountable progreſs, he ſeemed to have engroſſed the Royal Favour, ſo entirely, that he diſpoſed of every thing, that was in the King's Power. He was a cheerful young man, that had the art to pleaſe, but was ſo much given up to his own pleaſures, that he could ſcarce ſubmit to the attendance and drudgery, that was neceſſary to maintain his Poſt. He never had yet diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any thing, tho' the King did it in every thing. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of *Portland* was thought to be; who ſeemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himſelf, and not one friend: But the Earl of *Albemarle* had all the Arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured many favours. The Earl of *Portland* obſerved the progreſs of this favour with great uneaſineſs; They grew to be not only incompatible, as all Rivals for favour muſt needs be, but to hate and oppoſe one another in every thing; by which the King's Affairs ſuffered much; The one had more of the confidence, and the other much more of the favour; The King had heaped many Grants on the Earl of *Portland*, and had ſent him Ambaſſador to *France*, upon the Peace; where he appeared with great Magnificence, and at a vaſt Expence, and had many very unuſual Reſpects paid upon him by that King and all that Court; But upon his return, he could not be

bear the visible superiority in favour, that the other was grown up to; So he took occasion, from a small preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own Post, as Groom of the Stole, and upon it withdrew from the Court, and laid down all his Imployments. The King used all possible means to divert him from this resolution, but without prevailing on him; He consented to serve the King still in his affairs, but he would not return to any Post in the Houshold; And not long after that he was employed in the new Negotiation, set on foot for the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*. 1699

This year died the Marquis of *Winchester*, whom the King had created Duke of *Bolton*; He was a man of a strange mixture; He had the Spleen to a high degree, and affected an extravagant behaviour; for many weeks he would take a conceit not to speak one word; and at other times, he would not open his mouth, till such an hour of the day, when he thought the Air was pure; He changed the day into night, and often hunted by torch light, and took all sorts of Liberties to himself, many of which were very disagreeable to those about him. In the end of King *Charles*'s time, and during King *James*'s reign, he affected an appearance of folly, which afterwards he compared to *Junius Brutus*'s behaviour under the *Tarquins*. With all this, he was a very knowing and a very crafty politick man: and was an artful Flatterer, when that was necessary to compass his end, in which generally he was successful: He was a man of a profuse expence, and of a most ravenous avarice to support that; and tho' he was much hated, yet he carried matters before him with such authorit yand success, that he was in all respects, the great Riddle of the age. The Death of the Duke of *Bolton*.

This Summer, Sir *Josiah Child* died; He was a man of great Notions as to Merchandize, which was his Education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time; He applied himself chiefly to the *East India* Trade, which by his management was raised so high, that it drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the Company; He had a compass of knowledge and apprehension, beyond any Merchant I ever knew; He was vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, tho' to me he seemed always sincere. And of Sir *Josiah Child*.

The Complaints that the Court of *France* sent to *Rome*, against the Archbishop of *Cambray*'s Book, procured a Censure from thence; But he gave such a ready and entire submission to it, that how much soever that may have lessened him, in some mens Opinions, yet it quite defeated the designs of his enemies against him: Upon this occasion, it appeared how much both the Clergy of *France*, and the Courts of Parliament there, were sunk from that firmness, which they had so long maintained against the incroachment of the Court of *Rome*; not so much as one person of those bodies, has set himself to assert those Liberties, upon which they had so long valued themselves; The whole Clergy submitted to the *Bull*, the King himself received it, and the Parliament registred it: We do not yet know, by what methods and practices this was obtained at the Court of *Rome*, nor what are the distinctions, by which they save the Doctrine of so many of their Saints, while they condemn this Archbishop's Book; For it is not easy to perceive a difference between them: From the conclusion of this Process at *Rome*, I turn to another, against a Bishop of our own Church, that was brought to a sentence and conclusion this Summer. The Archbishop of *Cambray*'s Book condemned.

Dr. *Watson* was promoted by King *James* to the Bishoprick of St. *David*'s; It was believed that he gave money for his advancement, and that, in order to the reimbursing himself, he sold most of the spiritual Preferments in his Gift: By the Law and Custom of this Church, the Archbishop is the only Judge of a Bishop, but, upon such occasions, he calls for the assistance of some of the Bishops; He called for six in this cause; I was one of them; It was proved, that the Bishop had collated a Nephew of his to a great many of the best Preferments in his Gift, and that, for many years, he had taken the whole profits of these to himself, keeping his Nephew very poor, and obliging him to perform no part of his duty: It was also proved, that the Bishop obtained leave to keep a Benefice, which he held before his Promotion, by a *Commendam* (one of the abuses, which the Popes brought in among us, from which we have not been able hitherto to free our Church) he had sold both the Cure, and the Profits to a Clergyman, for a sum of Money, and had obliged himself to resign it upon demand; The Bishop of St. *David*'s deprived for Simony.

1699 That is, as ſoon as the Clergyman could, by another ſum, purchaſe the next preſentation of the Patron: Theſe Things were fully proved. To theſe, was added a charge of many oppreſſive Fees, which being taken for Benefices, that were in his Gift, were not only Extortion but a preſumptive Simony: all theſe he had taken himſelf, without making uſe of a Regiſter or Actuary; for as he would not truſt thoſe ſecrets to any other, ſo he ſwallowed up the Fees, both of his Chancellor and Regiſter; He had alſo ordained many perſons, without tendring them the Oaths, enjoined by Law, and yet, in their Letters of Orders, he had certified under his hand and Seal, that they had taken thoſe Oaths; This was, what the Law calls *Crimen falſi*, the certifying that, which he knew to be falſe; No exceptions lay to the Witneſſes, by whom theſe things were made out, nor did the Biſhop bring any proofs, on his ſide, to contradict their Evidence; Some affirmed, that he was a ſober and regular man, and that he ſpoke often of Simony, with ſuch deteſtation, that they could not think him capable of committing it. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* withdrew from the Court, on the day, in which Sentence was to be given; He conſented to a ſuſpenſion, but he did not think that a Biſhop could be deprived, by the Archbiſhop: When the Court ſate to give Judgment, the Biſhop reſumed his Privilege of Peerage, and pleaded it; but he, having waved it in the Houſe of Lords, and having gone on ſtill ſubmitting to the Court; No regard was had to this, ſince a Plea to the Juriſdiction of the Court, was to be offered in the firſt inſtance, but could not be kept up to the laſt, and then be made uſe of: The Biſhops, that were preſent, agreed to a ſentence of Deprivation: I went further, and thought that he ought to be excommunicated. He was one of the worſt men, in all reſpects, that ever I knew in Holy Orders: paſſionate, covetous, and falſe in the blackeſt inſtances; without any one virtue or good quality, to balance his many bad ones. But, as he was advanced by King *James*, ſo he ſtuck firm to that Intereſt; and the Party, tho' aſhamed of him, yet were reſolved to ſupport him, with great zeal: He appealed to a Court of Delegates; and they, about the end of the year, confirmed the Archbiſhop's ſentence. Another proſecution followed for Simony, againſt *Jones* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, in which, tho' the preſumptions were very great, yet the Evidence was not ſo clear, as in the former caſe; The Biſhops in *Wales* give almoſt all the Benefices in their Dioceſe; So this Primitive Conſtitution, that is ſtill preſerved among them, was ſcandalouſly abuſed by ſome wicked men, who ſet holy things to ſale, and thereby encreaſed the prejudices, that are but too eaſily received, both againſt Religion and the Church.

I publiſhed an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles.

I publiſhed this year an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles of Religion: It ſeemed a Work much wanted, and it was juſtly to be wondred at, that none of our Divines had attempted any ſuch Performance, in a way ſuitable to the dignity of the ſubject: For ſome ſlight Analyſes of them are not worth, either mentioning or reading. It was a work, that required ſtudy and labour, and laid a man open to many malicious attacks; This made ſome of my Friends adviſe me againſt publiſhing it; In compliance with them, I kept it five years by me, after I had finiſhed it: But I was now prevail'd on by the Archbiſhop and many of my own Order, beſides a great many others, to delay the publiſhing it no longer. It ſeemed a proper addition to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, to explain and prove the Doctrine, which was then eſtabliſhed. I was moved firſt, by the late Queen, and preſſed by the late Archbiſhop to write it; I can appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that I wrote it, with great ſincerity and a good Intention; and with all the application and care, I was capable of; I did then expect, what I have ſince met with, that malicious men would imploy both their induſtry and ill-nature, to find matter for cenſure and cavils; But tho' there have been ſome Books writ on purpoſe againſt it, and many in Sermons and other Treatiſes have occaſionally reflected, with great ſeverity, upon ſeveral paſſages in it, yet this has been done, with ſo little juſtice or reaſon, that I am not yet convinced, that there is one ſingle period or expreſſion, that is juſtly remarked on, or that can give me any occaſion, either to retract, or ſo much as to explain any one part of that whole Work; which I was very ready to have done, if I had ſeen cauſe for it. There was another reaſon, that ſeemed to determine me to the publiſhing it at this time.

Upon

1699

The growth of Popery.

Upon the Peace of *Ryſwick*, a great ſwarm of Prieſts came over to *England*, not only thoſe, whom the Revolution had frighted away, but many more new men, who appeared in many places with great inſolence; And it was ſaid, that they boaſted of the favour and protection, of which they were aſſured. Some enemies of the Government began to give it out, that the favouring that Religion was a ſecret Article of the Peace; and ſo abſurd is malice and calumny, that the Jacobites began to ſay, that the King was either of that Religion, or at leaſt a favourer of it: Complaints of the avowed practices and inſolence of the Prieſts were brought from ſeveral places, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and thoſe were maliciouſly aggravated by ſome, who caſt the blame of all on the King.

An Act againſt Papiſts.

Upon this, ſome propoſed a Bill, that obliged all perſons educated in that Religion, or ſuſpected to be of it, who ſhould ſucceed to any Eſtate, before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Teſt, as ſoon as they came to that age; and till they did it, the Eſtate was to devolve to the next of kin, that was a Proteſtant; but was to return back to them, upon their taking the Oaths. All Popiſh Prieſts were alſo baniſhed by the Bill, and were adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, if they ſhould again return into *England*; and the reward of an hundred pound was offered to every one, who ſhould diſcover a Popiſh Prieſt, ſo as to convict him. Thoſe, who brought this into the Houſe of Commons, hoped, that the Court would have oppoſed it; But the Court promoted the Bill; So when the Party ſaw their miſtake, they ſeemed willing to let the Bill fall; and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many ſevere and ſome unreaſonable Clauſes, hoping that the Lords would not paſs the Act; And it was ſaid, that if the Lords ſhould make the leaſt Alteration in it, they, in the Houſe of Commons, who had ſet it on, were reſolved to let it lie on their Table, when it ſhould be ſent back to them. Many Lords, who ſecretly favoured Papiſts, on the Jacobite account, did for this very reaſon, move for ſeveral alterations; Some of theſe importing a greater ſeverity; But the zeal againſt Popery was ſuch in that Houſe, that the Bill paſt without any amendment, and it had the Royal Aſſent. I was for this Bill, notwithſtanding my Principles for Toleration, and againſt all Perſecution for Conſcience ſake; I had always thought, that if a Government found any Sect in Religion, incompatible with its quiet and ſafety, it might, and ſometimes ought to ſend away all of that Sect, with as little hardſhip as poſſible; It is certain, that as all Papiſts muſt, at all times, be ill ſubjects to a Proteſtant Prince, ſo this is much more to be apprehended, when there is a pretended Popiſh Heir in the caſe; This Act hurt no man, that was in the preſent poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, it only incapacitated his next Heir, to ſucceed to that Eſtate, if he continued a Papiſt; So the danger of this, in caſe the Act ſhould be well looked to, would put thoſe of that Religion, who are men of Conſcience, on the ſelling their Eſtates; and in the courſe of a few years, might deliver us from having any Papiſts left among us. But this Act wanted ſeveral neceſſary Clauſes, to enforce the due execution of it; The word *next of kin*, was very indefinite, and the *next of kin* was not obliged to claim the benefit of this Act, nor did the Right deſcend to the remoter Heirs, if the more immediate ones ſhould not take the benefit of it; The Teſt, relating to matters of Doctrine and Worſhip, did not ſeem a proper ground for ſo great a ſeverity; So this Act was not followed nor executed in any ſort; But here is a Scheme laid, tho' not fully digeſted, which on ſome great provocation, given by thoſe of that Religion, may diſpoſe a Parliament to put ſuch Clauſes in a new Act, as may make this effectual.

Affairs in *Holſtein*.

The King of *Denmark* was in a viſible decline all this year, and died about the end of Summer; While he was languiſhing, the Duke of *Holſtein* began to build ſome new Forts in that Dutchy; This the *Danes* ſaid, was contrary to the Treaties, and to the *Condominium*, which that King and the Duke have in that Dutchy; The Duke of *Holſtein* had married the King of *Sweden's* Siſter, and depended on the aſſurances he had, of being ſupported by that Crown; The young King of *Denmark*, upon his coming to the Crown, as he complained of theſe Infractions, ſo he entred into an Alliance, with the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and, as was ſaid, with the Landgrave of *Heſſe* and the

1699 Duke of *Wolfembuttel*, to attack *Sweden* and *Holſtein* at once, on all hands. The King of *Poland* was to invade *Livonia*; The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was to fall into the Regal *Pomerania*, and the other Princes were to keep the Dukes of *Zell* and *Hannover*, from aſſiſting *Holſtein*; The King of *Denmark* himſelf was to attack *Holſtein*, but his Father's chief Miniſter and Treaſurer, the Baron *Pleſſe*, did not like the Concert, and apprehended it would not end well; So he withdrew from his Poſt, which he had maintained long, with a high reputation, both for his capacity and integrity; which appeared in this, that, tho' that King's Power is now carried to be abſolute, yet he never ſtretched it to new or oppreſſive Taxes; and therefore ſeeing things were like to take another ply in a new Reign, he reſigned his employment. He was the ableſt and the worthieſt man, that I ever knew belonging to thoſe parts; He was much truſted and employed by Prince *George*; So that I had great opportunities to know him.

A War raiſed againſt the King of *Sweden*.

The King of *Sweden*, ſeeing ſuch a Storm coming upon him from ſo many hands, claimed the Effects of his Alliance with *England* and *Holland*, who were Guarantees of the ſeveral Treaties made in the North, particularly of the laſt made at *Altena*, but ten years before. The Houſe of *Lunenburgh* was alſo engaged in intereſt, to preſerve *Holſtein*, as a Barrier between them and *Denmark*: The King of *Poland* thought the invaſion of *Livonia*, which was to be begun with the Siege of *Riga*, would prove both eaſy and of great advantage to him. *Livonia* was antiently a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, and delivered itſelf for protection, to the Crown of *Sweden*, by a Capitulation: By that, they were ſtill to enjoy their ancient Liberties; afterwards, the pretenſion of the Crown of *Poland* was yielded up, about threeſcore years ago: So that *Livonia* was an abſolute but legal Government: Yet the late King of *Sweden* had treated that principality, in the ſame rough manner, in which he had oppreſſed his other Dominions; So it was thought, that the *Livonians* were diſpoſed (as ſoon as they ſaw a power ready to protect them, and to reſtore them to their former Liberties) to ſhake off the *Swediſh* Yoke; eſpecially, if they ſaw the King attack'd in ſo many different places at once.

The King of *Poland's* deſigns.

The King of *Poland* had a farther deſign in this Invaſion: He had an Army of *Saxons* in *Poland*, to whom he chiefly truſted, in carrying on his Deſigns there; The *Poles* were become ſo jealous, both of him and of his *Saxons*, that in a general Diet, they had come to very ſevere Reſolutions, in caſe the *Saxons* were not ſent out of the Kingdom, by a prefixed day; That King therefore reckoned, that as the reduction of *Livonia* had the fair appearance, of recovering the antient inheritance of the Crown; So by this means, he would carry the *Saxons* out of *Poland*, as was decreed, and yet have them within call: He likewiſe ſtudied to engage thoſe of *Lithuania*, to join with him in the attempt. His chief dependance was on the *Czar*, who had aſſured him, that if he could make Peace with the *Turk*, and keep *Azuph*, he would aſſiſt him powerfully againſt the *Swedes*; His deſign being to recover *Narva*, which is capable of being made a good Port. By this means, he hoped to get into the *Baltick*, where if he could once ſettle, he would ſoon become an uneaſy Neighbour, to all the Northern Princes: The King of *Poland* went into *Saxony*, to mortgage and ſell his Lands there, and to raiſe as much money, as was poſſible, for carrying on this War; and he brought the Electorate to ſo low a ſtate, that if his Deſigns in *Poland* miſcarry; and if he is driven back into *Saxony*, he, who was the richeſt Prince of the Empire, will become one of the pooreſt. But the Amuſements of Balls and Opera's conſumed ſo much, both of his Time and Treaſure, that whereas the Deſign was laid to ſurprize *Riga*, in the middle of the Winter, he did not begin his attempt upon it, before the end of *February*, and theſe Deſigns went no farther this year.

The Partition Treaty.

While the King was at *Loo* this Summer, a new Treaty was ſet on foot, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*; The King and the States of the United Provinces ſaw the danger, to which they would be expoſed, if they ſhould engage in a new War, while we were yet under the vaſt Debts, that the former had brought upon us; The King's Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons aſſured him, that it would be a very difficult thing to bring them, to enter into a new War, for maintaining the rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. During the Debates,

bates concerning the Army, when ſome mentioned the danger of that Monarchy falling into the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, it was ſet up for a maxim, that it would be of no conſequence to the affairs of *Europe*, who was King of *Spain*, whether a *Frenchman* or a *German*; And that as ſoon as the Succeſſor ſhould come within *Spain*, he would become a true *Spaniard*, and be governed by the Maxims and Intereſts of that Crown; So that there was no proſpect of being able to infuſe into the Nation an apprehenſion of the conſequence of that Succeſſion. The Emperor had a very good claim; but as he had little ſtrength to ſupport it by Land, ſo he had none at all by Sea; and his Treaſure was quite exhauſted, by his long War with the *Turk*: The *French* drew a great Force towards the Frontiers of *Spain*, and they were reſolved to march into it, upon that King's Death: There was no ſtrength ready to oppoſe them, yet they ſeemed willing to compound the matter; But they ſaid, the conſideration muſt be very valuable, that could make them deſiſt from ſo great a Pretenſion; and both the King and the States thought it was a good Bargain, if, by yielding up ſome of the leſs important branches of that Monarchy, they could ſave thoſe in which they were moſt concerned, which were *Spain* it ſelf, the *Weſt-Indies*, and the *Netherlands*. The *French* ſeemed willing to accept of the Dominions in and about *Italy*, with a part of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and to yield up the reſt to the Emperor's ſecond Son, the Archduke *Charles*; The Emperor entred into the Treaty, for he ſaw he could not hope to carry the whole Succeſſion entire; but he preſſed to have the Dutchy of *Milan* added to his hereditary Dominions in *Germany*; The expedient that the King propoſed was, that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould have the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that *France* ſhould accept of *Lorrain* inſtead of it; He was the Emperor's Nephew, and would be entirely in his Intereſts; The Emperor did not agree to this, but yet he preſſed the King, not to give over the Treaty, and to try if he could make a better Bargain for him; above all things, he recommended Secrecy, for he well knew how much the *Spaniards* would be offended, if any Treaty ſhould be owned, that might bring on a diſmembring of their Monarchy; for tho' they were taking no care to preſerve it, in whole or in part, yet they could not bear the having any branch torn from it. The King reckoned that the Emperor, with the other Princes of *Italy*, might have ſo much intereſt in *Rome*, as to ſtop the Pope's giving the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*; And which way ſoever that matter might end, it would oblige the Pope to ſhew great partiality, either to the Houſe of *Auſtria* or the Houſe of *Bourbon*; which might occaſion a breach among them, with other conſequences, that might be very happy to the whole Proteſtant Intereſt; Any War, that might follow in *Italy*, would be at great diſtance from us, and in a Country, that we had no reaſon to regard much; Beſides, that the Fleets of *England* and *Holland* muſt come, in concluſion, to be the Arbiters of the matter. 1699

Theſe were the King's ſecret motives; for I had moſt of them from his own mouth: The *French* conſented to this Scheme, and if the Emperor would have agreed to it, his Son the Archduke was immediately to go to *Spain*, to be conſidered as the Heir of that Crown: By theſe Articles, ſigned both by the King of *France* and the *Dauphin*, they bound themſelves not to accept of any Will, Teſtament, or Donation, contrary to this Treaty, which came to be called the *Partition Treaty*. I had the Original in my hands, which the *Dauphin* ſigned; The *French* and the Emperor tried their ſtrength in the Court of *Spain*; It is plain the Emperor truſted too much to his Intereſt in that Court, and in that King himſelf; And he refuſed to accept of the Partition, meerly to ingratiate himſelf with them; otherwiſe, it was not doubted, but that, ſeeing the impoſſibility of mending matters, he would have yielded to the neceſſity of his affairs. The *French* did, in a moſt perfidious manner, ſtudy to alienate the *Spaniards* from their Allies, by ſhewing them to how great a diminution of their Monarchy they had conſented; So that no way poſſible was left, for them to keep thoſe Dominions ſtill united to their Crown, but by accepting the Duke of *Anjou* to be their King, with whom all ſhould be again reſtored. The *Spaniards* complained in the Courts of their Allies, in ours in particular, of this Partition, as a deteſtable Project, which was to rob them of thoſe Dominions, that belonged

1699 to their Crown, and ought not to be torn from it; No mention was made of this, during the Seſſion of Parliament, for tho' the thing was generally believed, yet it not being publickly owned, no notice could be taken of bare Reports; and nothing was to be done, in purſuance of this Treaty, during the King of *Spain*'s Life.

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

In *Scotland*, all men were full of hopes, that their new Colony ſhould bring them home mountains of Gold; The Proclamations, ſent to *Jamaica* and to the other *Engliſh* Plantations, were much complained of, as Acts of Hoſtility and a Violation of the common Rights of humanity; Theſe had a great effect on them, tho' without theſe, that Colony was too weak and too ill ſupplied, as well as too much divided within itſelf, to have ſubſiſted long; Thoſe, who had firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of it, were forced to abandon it; Soon after they had gone from it, a ſecond Recruit of Men and Proviſions was ſent thither from *Scotland*; But one of their Ships unhappily took Fire, in which they had the greateſt ſtock of Proviſions; And ſo theſe likewiſe went off: And tho' the third Reinforcement, that ſoon followed this, was both ſtronger and better furniſhed, yet they fell into ſuch Factions among themſelves, that they were too weak to reſiſt the *Spaniards*, who feeble as they were, yet ſaw the neceſſity of attacking them: And they finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the Force, which was brought againſt them, capitulated; and with that the whole Deſign fell to the ground, partly for want of ſtock and skill in thoſe who managed it, and partly by the baſeneſs and treachery of thoſe whom they imployed.

Great diſcontent upon the loſs of *Darien*.

The conduct of the King's Miniſters in *Scotland* was much cenſured, in the whole progreſs of this affair; For they had connived at it, if not encouraged it, in hopes that the Deſign would fall of itſelf, but now it was not ſo eaſy, to cure the univerſal diſcontent, which the miſcarriage of this Deſign, to the impoveriſhing the whole Kingdom, had raiſed, and which now began to ſpread like a Contagion, among all ſorts of people. A Petition for a preſent Seſſion of Parliament was immediately ſent about the Kingdom, and was ſigned by many thouſands: This was ſent up, by ſome of the chief of their Nobility, whom the King received very coldly: Yet a Seſſion of Parliament was granted them, to which the Duke of *Queensbury* was ſent down Commiſſioner. Great pains were taken, by all ſorts of practices, to be ſure of a Majority; Great Offers were made them in order to lay the diſcontents, which ran then very high; A Law for a *Habeas Corpus*, with a great Freedom for Trade, and every thing, that they could demand, was offered, to perſuade them to deſiſt, from purſuing the deſign upon *Darien*. The Court had tried, to get the Parliament of *England* to interpoſe in that matter, and to declare themſelves againſt that Undertaking; The Houſe of Lords was prevailed on, to make an Addreſs to the King, repreſenting the ill effects that they apprehended from that Settlement; But this did not ſignify much, for as it was carried in that Houſe by a ſmall Majority of ſeven or eight, ſo it was laid aſide by the Houſe of Commons. Some were not ill pleaſed, to ſee the King's affairs run into an embroilment; And others did apprehend, that there was a Deſign to involve the two Kingdoms, in a National quarrel, that by ſuch an artifice, a greater Army might be raiſed, and kept up on both ſides; So they let that matter fall, nor would they give any entertainment to a Bill, that was ſent them by the Lords, in order to a Treaty for the Union of both Kingdoms. The Managers in the Houſe of Commons, who oppoſed the Court, reſolved to do nothing, that ſhould provoke *Scotland*, or that ſhould take any part of the blame and general diſcontent, that ſoured that Nation, off from the King: It was further given out, to raiſe the National diſguſt yet higher, that the oppoſition the King gave to the *Scotch* Colony, flowed neither, from a regard to the Intereſts of *England*, nor to the Treaties with *Spain*, but from a care of the *Dutch*, who from *Curaſoe* drove a coaſting Trade, among the *Spaniſh* Plantations, with great advantage; which, they ſaid, the *Scotch* Colony, if once well ſettled, would draw wholly from them. Theſe things were ſet about that Nation with great induſtry; The management was chiefly in the hands of Jacobites; Neither the King nor his Miniſters were treated with the decencies, that are ſometimes obſerved, even after Subjects have run to Arms; The keeneſt of their rage was plainly pointed at the King himſelf; next him the

Earl of *Portland*, who had ſtill the direction of their affairs, had a large ſhare of it. In the Seſſion of Parliament, it was carried by a Vote, to make the affair of *Darien* a national concern; Upon that, the Seſſion was for ſometime diſcontinued; When the news of the total abandoning of *Darien* was brought over, it cannot be well expreſſed, into how bad a temper this caſt the body of that people; they had now loſt almoſt two hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, upon this Project, beſides all the imaginary treaſure, they had promiſed themſelves from it: So the Nation was raiſed into a ſort of a fury upon it, and in the firſt heat of that, a remonſtrance was ſent about the Kingdom for hands, repreſenting to the King, the neceſſity of a preſent ſitting of the Parliament, which was drawn in ſo high a ſtrain, as if they had reſolved to purſue the effects of it, by an armed Force. It was ſigned by a great Majority of the Members of Parliament, and the ferment in mens ſpirits was raiſed ſo high, that few thought it could have been long curbed, without breaking forth into great extremities. 1699

The King ſtay'd beyond Sea till *November*; Many expected to ſee a new Parliament; For the King's Speech at the end of the former Seſſion looked like a Complaint, and an Appeal to the Nation againſt them; He ſeemed inclined to it, but his Miniſters would not venture on it; The diſſolving a Parliament in anger has always caſt ſuch a load on thoſe, who were thought to have adviſed it, that few have been able to bear it; beſides, the disbanding the Army had render'd the Members, who promoted it, very popular to the Nation; So that they would have ſent up the ſame men, and it was thought that there was little occaſion for heat in another Seſſion; But thoſe who oppoſed the King, reſolved to force a change of the Miniſtry upon him; They were ſeeking Colours for this, and thought they had found one, with which they had made much noiſe; It was this. A Seſſion of Parliament.

Some Pirates had got together in the *Indian* Seas, and robbed ſome of the *Mogul*'s Ships, in particular one, that he was ſending with Preſents to *Mecca*; moſt of them were *Engliſh*: The *Eaſt-India* Company, having repreſented the danger of the *Mogul*'s taking Repriſals of them, for theſe Loſſes, it appeared that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying thoſe Pirates, who were harbouring themſelves in ſome creeks in *Madagaſcar*. So a Man of war was to be ſet out to deſtroy them, and one *Kid* was pitched upon, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the ſervice; But there was not a Fund, to bear the charge of this; For the Parliament had ſo appropriated the money given for the Sea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King propoſed the managing it, by a private undertaking, and ſaid he would lay down three thouſand pounds himſelf, and recommended it to his Miniſters, to find out the reſt: In compliance with this, the Lord *Somers*, the Earls of *Orford*, *Rumney*, *Bellamount*, and ſome others contributed the whole Expence; For the King excuſed himſelf, by reaſon of other accidents, and did not advance the ſum, that he had promiſed: Lord *Somers* underſtood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, ſo that he never ſaw *Kid*, only he thought it became the Poſt he was in, to concur in ſuch a publick Service. A Grant was made to the Undertakers, of all that ſhould be taken from thoſe Pirates, by their Ship. Here was a handle for Complaint, for as it was againſt Law, to take a Grant of the Goods of any Offenders before Conviction, ſo a parity between that and this caſe was urged: but without any reaſon: The Proviſions of Law being very different, in the caſe of Pirates and that of other Criminals. The former cannot be attackt, but in the way of War; and therefore ſince thoſe, who undertook this, muſt run a great riſque in executing it, it was reaſonable, and according to the Law of War, that they ſhould have a right to all, that they found in the Enemies hands, whereas thoſe, who ſeize common Offenders, have ſuch a ſtrength by the Law, to aſſiſt them, and incur ſo little danger in doing it, that no juſt inference can be drawn from the one caſe to the other. When this *Kid* was thus ſet out, he turned Pirate himſelf; So a heavy load was caſt on the Miniſtry, chiefly on him, who was at the head of the Juſtice of the Nation; It was ſaid, he ought not to have engaged in ſuch a Project; And it was maliciouſly inſinuated, that the Privateer turned Pirate, in confidence of the protection of thoſe, who employed him, if he had not ſecret Orders from them for what he A Complaint made of ſome Pirates.

1699 did. Such black conſtructions are men, who are engaged in Parties, apt to make of the actions of thoſe, whom they intend to diſgrace, even againſt their own Conſciences: So that an Undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a deſign for Robbery and Piracy. This was urged in the Houſe of Commons as highly criminal, for which all, who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their Imployments; and a Queſtion was put upon it, but it was rejected by a great Majority. The next attempt was to turn me out from the Truſt of Educating the Duke of *Glocester*: Some objected my being a *Scotchman*, others remembred the Book that was ordered to be burnt; So they preſſed an Addreſs to the King, for removing me from that Poſt; but this was likewiſe loſt by the ſame Majority, that had carried the former Vote. The Pay for the ſmall Army, and the expence of the Fleet, were ſettled: And a Fund was given for it; Yet thoſe, who had reduced the Army, thought it needleſs to have ſo great a Force at Sea; They provided only for eight thouſand men; This was moved by the Tories, and the Whigs readily gave way to this reduction, becauſe the Fleet was now in another management; *Ruſſel* (now Earl of *Orford*) with his friends being laid aſide, and a ſet of Tories being brought into their places.

1700 The great buſineſs of this Seſſion was the Report brought from *Ireland*, by four of the ſeven Commiſſioners, that were ſent by Parliament, to examine into the Confiſcations, and the Grants made of them. Three of the ſeven refuſed to ſign it, becauſe they thought it falſe, and ill grounded in many particulars, of which they ſent over an account to both Houſes; But no regard was had to that, nor was any enquiry made into their objections to the Report. Theſe three were looked on, as men gained by the Court; And the reſt were magnified, as men that could not be wrought on, nor frighted from their duty. They had proceeded like Inquiſitors, and did readily believe every thing, that was offered to them, that tended to inflame the Report; as they ſuppreſſed all, that was laid before them, that contradicted their deſign, of repreſenting the value of the Grants as very high, and of ſhewing how undeſerving thoſe were, who had obtained them: There was ſo much truth, in the main of this, that no Complaints againſt their proceedings could be hearkned to; And indeed, all the methods that were taken, to diſgrace the Report, had the quite contrary effect: They repreſented the Confiſcated Eſtates to be ſuch, that out of the Sale of them, a Million and a half might be raiſed; So this ſpecious Propoſition, for diſcharging ſo great a part of the Publick Debt, took with the Houſe; The hatred, into which the Favourites were fallen, among whom and their Creatures the Grants were chiefly diſtributed, made the motion go the quicker; All the oppoſition that was made, in the whole progreſs of this matter, was looked on as a courting the men in favour; nor was any regard paid to the reſerve of a third part, to be diſpoſed of by the King, which had been in the Bill that was ſent up eight years before to the Lords. When this was mentioned, it was anſwered, that the Grantees had enjoyed thoſe eſtates ſo many years, that the mean profits did ariſe to more than a third part of their value: Little regard alſo was ſhewn to the Purchaſes made under thoſe Grants, and to the great improvements, made by the Purchaſers or Tenants, which were ſaid to have doubled the value of thoſe Eſtates. All that was ſaid, on that head, made no impreſſion, and was ſcarce heard with patience: Yet, that ſome juſtice might be done both to Purchaſers and Creditors, a number of Truſtees were named, in whom all the confiſcated Eſtates were veſted, and they had a very great and uncontroulable Authority lodged with them, of hearing and determining all juſt claims, relating to thoſe Eſtates, and of ſelling them to the beſt Purchaſers; And the money to be raiſed by this Sale, was appropriated to pay the Arrears of the Army. When all this was digeſted into a Bill, the Party apprehended, that many Petitions would be offered to the Houſe, which the Court would probably encourage, on deſign at leaſt to retard their proceedings: So, to prevent this, and that they might not loſe too much time, nor clog the Bill with too many Clauſes and Proviſo's, they paſſed a Vote of a very extraordinary nature; That they would receive no Petitions, relating to the matter of this Bill. The Caſe of the Earl of

Debates concerning Eſtates in *Ireland*.

An Act veſting them in Truſtees.

1700

Athlone's Grant was very ſingular ; The Houſe of Commons had been ſo ſenſible of his good ſervice, in reducing *Ireland*, that they had made an Addreſs to the King, to give him a recompence, ſuitable to his Services : And the Parliament of *Ireland* was ſo ſenſible of their obligations to him, that they, as was formerly told, confirmed his Grant, of between two and three thouſand pounds a year. He had ſold it to thoſe, who thought they purchaſed under an unqueſtionable Title, yet all that was now ſet aſide, no regard being had to it ; So that this Eſtate was thrown into the heap. Some Exceptions were made, in the Bill, in favour of ſome Grants, and Proviſion was made for rewarding others, whom the King, as they thought, had not enough conſidered. Great oppoſition was made to this by ſome, who thought that all Favours and Grants ought to be given by the King, and not originally by a Houſe of Parliament, and this was managed with great heat, even by ſome of thoſe, who concurred in carrying on the Bill : In concluſion it was, by a new term as well as a new invention, conſolidated with the Money-Bill, that was to go for the pay of the Fleet and Army, and ſo it came up to the Houſe of Lords ; which by conſequence they muſt either paſs or reject. The method, that the Court took in that Houſe to oppoſe it, was, to offer ſome Alterations, that were indeed very juſt and reaſonable ; but ſince the Houſe of Commons would not ſuffer the Lords to alter Money-Bills, this was in effect to loſe it. The Court, upon ſome previous Votes, found they had a Majority among the Lords ; So, for ſome days, it ſeemed to be deſigned to loſe the Bill, and to venture on a Prorogation or a Diſſolution, rather than paſs it. Upon the apprehenſions of this, the Commons were beginning to fly out into high Votes, both againſt the Miniſters and the Favourites ; The Lord *Somers* was attack'd a ſecond time, but was brought off by a greater Majority, than had appeared for him, at the beginning of the Seſſion. During the Debates about the Bill, he was ill ; And the worſt conſtruction poſſible was put on that ; it was ſaid, he adviſed all the oppoſition that was made to it, in the Houſe of Lords, but that, to keep himſelf out of it, he feigned that he was ill : Tho' his great attendance in the Court of Chaneery, the Houſe of Lords, and at the Council Table, had ſo impaired his health, that every year, about that time, he uſed to be brought very low, and diſabled from buſineſs. The King ſeemed reſolved, to venture on all the ill conſequences, that might follow the loſing this Bill ; tho' thoſe would probably have been fatal. As far as we could judge, either another Seſſion of that Parliament, or a new One, would have baniſhed the Favourites, and begun the Bill anew, with the addition of obliging the Grantees, to refund all the mean profits : Many in the Houſe of Lords, that in all other things were very firm to the King, were for paſſing this Bill, notwithſtanding the King's earneſtneſs againſt it, ſince they apprehended the ill conſequences, that were like to follow, if it was loſt. I was one of theſe, and the King was much diſpleaſed with me for it : I ſaid, I would venture his diſpleaſure, rather than pleaſe him in that, which I feared would be the ruine of his Government : I confeſs, I did not at that time apprehend, what injuſtice lay under many of the Clauſes in the Bill, which appeared afterwards ſo evidently, that the very ſame perſons, who drove on the Bill, were convinced of them, and redreſſed ſome of them in Acts, that paſſed in ſubſequent Seſſions : If I had underſtood that matter aright and in time, I had never given my Vote for ſo unjuſt a Bill. I only conſidered it as a hardſhip put on the King, many of his Grants being thus made void ; ſome of which had not been made on good and reaſonable conſiderations, ſo that they could hardly be excuſed, much leſs juſtified ; I thought the thing was a ſort of force, to which it ſeemed reaſonable to give way, at that time, ſince we were not furniſhed with an equal ſtrength, to withſtand it : But when I ſaw afterwards, what the conſequences of this Act proved to be ; I did firmly reſolve, never to conſent again to any tack to a Money-Bill, as long as I lived. The King became ſullen upon all this, and upon the many incidents, that are apt to fall in upon Debates of this nature : He either did not apprehend, in what ſuch things might end, or he was not much concerned at it : His reſentment, which was much provoked, broke out into ſome inſtances, which gave ſuch handles to his Enemies, as they wiſhed for ; and they improved thoſe advantages, which his ill conduct gave them, with much ſpite and induſtry, ſo as to alie-

1700 nate the Nation from him. It was once in agitation among the Party, to make an Addreſs to him, againſt going beyond Sea, but even that was diverted, with a malicious deſign. Hitherto the Body of the Nation retained a great meaſure of affection to him; This was beginning to diminiſh, by his going ſo conſtantly beyond Sea, as ſoon as the Seſſion of Parliament was ended; tho' the War was now over. Upon this, it grew to be publickly ſaid, that he loved no *Engliſhman*'s face, nor his company; So his Enemies reckoned it was fit for their ends, to let that prejudice go on, and encreaſe in the minds of the people; till they might find a proper occaſion, to graft ſome bad deſigns upon it. The Seſſion ended in *April*; Men of all ſides, being put into a very ill humour by the proceedings in it.

A change in the Miniſtry.

The Leaders of the Tories began to inſinuate to the Favourites, the neceſſity of the King's changing his Miniſtry, in particular of removing the Lord *Somers*, who, as he was now conſidered as the Head of the Whigs, ſo his wiſe Counſels, and his modeſt way of laying them before the King, had gained him a great ſhare of his eſteem and confidence; and it was reckoned, that the chief ſtrength of the Party lay in his credit with the King, and in the prudent methods he took, to govern the Party, and to moderate that heat and thoſe jealouſies, with which the King had been ſo long diſguſted, in the firſt years of his Reign. In the Houſe of Commons, he had been particularly charged, for turning many Gentlemen out of the Commiſſion of the Peace; This was much aggravated, and raiſed a very high complaint againſt him; but there was no juſt cauſe for it: When the deſign of the Aſſaſſination and Invaſion, in the years 1695 and 1696 was diſcovered, a voluntary Aſſociation was entred into, by both Houſes of Parliament, and that was ſet round the Nation: In ſuch a time of danger, it was thought, that thoſe, who did not enter voluntarily into it, were ſo ill affected, or at leaſt ſo little zealous for the King, that it was not fit, they ſhould continue Juſtices of Peace: So an Order paſſed in Council, that all thoſe, who had ſo refuſed, ſhould be turned out of the Commiſſion: He had obeyed this Order, upon the repreſentations made to him, by the Lords Lieutenants and the *Cuſtodes Rotulorum* of the ſeveral Counties, who were not all equally diſcreet: Yet he laid thoſe repreſentations before the Council, and had a ſpecial Order, for every perſon, that was ſo turned out. All this was now magnified, and it was charged on him, that he had adviſed and procured theſe Orders, yet this could not be made ſo much as a colour to proceed againſt him, a clamour and murmuring was all that could be raiſed from it. But now the Tories ſtudied to get it infuſed into the King, that all the hard things, that had been of late put on him by the Parliament, were occaſioned by the hatred that was born to his Miniſters; and that if he would change hands, and employ others, matters might be ſoftned and mended in another Parliament: With this the Earl of *Jerſey* ſtudied to poſſeſs the Earl of *Albemarle*; And the uneaſineſs the King was in, diſpoſed him to think, that if he ſhould bring in a ſett of Tories, into his buſineſs, they would ſerve him with the ſame zeal, and with better ſucceſs, than the Whigs had done; and he hoped to throw all upon the Miniſters, that were now to be diſmiſſed.

The Lord *Somers* is turned out.

The firſt time that the Lord *Somers* had recovered ſo much health, as to come to Court, the King told him, it ſeemed neceſſary for his ſervice, that he ſhould part with the Seals, and he wiſhed, that he would make the delivering them up his own Act: He excuſed himſelf in this; all his Friends had preſſed him, not to offer them, ſince that ſeemed to ſhew fear or guilt; So he begged the King's pardon, if in this he followed their advice; but he told the King that, whenſoever he ſhould ſend a Warrant under his hand, commanding him to deliver them up, he would immediately obey it; The Order was brought by Lord *Jerſey*, and upon it the Seals were ſent to the King. Thus the Lord *Somers* was diſcharged from this great Office, which he had held ſeven years, with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, and diligence: He was in all reſpects the greateſt Man I had ever known in that Poſt; His being thus removed, was much cenſured by all, but thoſe who had procured it; Our Princes uſed not to diſmiſs Miniſters, who ſerved them well, unleſs they were preſſed to it by a Houſe of Commons, that refuſed to give money, till they were laid aſide. But here a Miniſter (who was always vindicated by a great Majority in the Houſe of Commons, when he was charged there, and who had ſerved both with fidelity and ſuc-

ſucceſs, and was indeed cenſured for nothing ſo much, as for his being too compliant with the King's humour and notions, or at leaſt for being too ſoft or too feeble in repreſenting his errors to him) was removed without a ſhadow of complaint againſt him. This was done with ſo much haſte, that thoſe, who had prevailed with the King to do it, had not yet concerted, who ſhould ſucceed him; They thought, that all the great Men of the Law were aſpiring to that high Poſt, ſo that any one, to whom it ſhould be offered, would certainly accept of it; But they ſoon found they were miſtaken; for what, by reaſon of the inſtability of the Court, what by reaſon of the juſt apprehenſions men might have, of ſucceeding ſo great a man, both *Holt* and *Trevor*, to whom the Seals were offered, excuſed themſelves. It was Term-time, ſo a vacancy in that Poſt put things in ſome confuſion. A temporary Commiſſion was granted, to the three Chief Judges, to judge in the Court of Chancery; and after a few days, the Seals were given to Sir *Nathan Wright*, in whom there was nothing equal to the Poſt, much leſs to him, who had lately filled it. The King's inclinations ſeemed now turned to the Tories, and to a new Parliament: It was for ſome time in the dark, who had the Confidence, and gave directions to affairs; we, who looked on, were often diſpoſed to think, that there was no direction at all, but that every thing was left to take its courſe, and that all was given up to hazard. 1700

The King, that he might give ſome content to the Nation, ſtay'd at *Hampton-Court* till *July*, and then went to *Holland*; But before he went, the Miniſter of *Sweden* preſſed him to make good his engagements with that Crown; *Riga* was now beſieged by the King of *Poland*; The firſt attempt, of carrying the place by ſurprize, miſcarried; Thoſe of *Riga* were either over-awed by the *Swediſh* Garriſon, that commanded there, or they apprehended, that the change of Maſters would not change their condition, unleſs it were for the worſe; So they made a greater ſtand, than was expected; and in a Siege of above eight months, very little progreſs was made: The firmneſs of that place, made the reſt of *Livonia* continue fixt to the *Swedes*; The *Saxons* made great waſte in the Country, and ruined the Trade of *Riga*: The King of *Sweden*, being obliged to employ his main Force elſewhere, was not able to ſend them any conſiderable aſſiſtance: The Elector of *Brandenburgh* lay quiet, without making any attempt; So did the Princes of *Heſſe* and *Wolfembattle*; The two ſcenes of Action were in *Holſtein*, and before *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* found the taking the Forts, that had been raiſed by the Duke of *Holſtein*, an eaſy work; they were ſoon carried and demoliſhed; He beſieged *Toninghen* next, which held him longer. Upon the *Swedes* demand of the Auxiliary Fleets, that were ſtipulated, both by the King and the States, Orders were given for equipping them here, and likewiſe in *Holland*; The King was not willing to communicate this deſign to the two Houſes, and try if the Houſe of Commons would take upon themſelves the Expence of the Fleet; They were in ſo bad a humour, that the King apprehended, that ſome of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and oppoſe the ſending a Fleet into the Sound: Tho' others adviſed the venturing on this, for no Nation can ſubſiſt without Alliances ſacredly obſerved; And this was an ancient one, lately renewed by the King; ſo that an oppoſition in ſuch a point, muſt have turned to the prejudice of thoſe who ſhould move it. Soon after the Seſſion, a Fleet of thirty Ships *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, was ſent to the *Baltick*, commanded by *Rook*; The *Danes* had a good Fleet at Sea, much ſuperior to the *Swedes*, and almoſt equal to the Fleet ſent from hence; But it was their whole ſtrength, ſo they would not run the hazard of loſing it; They kept at Sea for ſome time, having got between the *Swedes* and the Fleet of their Allies, and ſtudied to hinder their conjunction; When they ſaw that could not be done, they retired, and ſecured themſelves within the Port of *Copenhagen*, which is a very ſtrong one: The *Swedes*, with their Allies, came before that Town and bombarded it for ſome days, but with little damage to the Place, and none to the Fleet. The Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, together with the Forces, that the *Swedes* had at *Bremen*, paſſed the *Elbe*, and marched to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Holſtein*: This obliged the *Danes*, to raiſe the Siege of *Toninghen*, and the two Armies lay in view of one another, for ſome weeks, without coming to any Action: Another deſign of the *Danes* did alſo miſcarry. A Body of *Saxons* broke

A Fleet ſent to the Sound.

1700 into the Territories of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, in hopes to force their Army to come back, to the defence of their own Country: But the Duke of *Zell* had left things in ſo good order, that the *Saxons* were beat back, and all the booty that they had taken was recovered.

Peace between *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

In the mean time, the King offered his Mediation, and a Treaty was ſet on foot: The two young Kings were ſo much ſharpned againſt one another, that it was not eaſy to bring them, to hearken to terms of Peace. The King of *Denmark* propoſed, that the King of *Poland* might be included in the Treaty, but the *Swedes* refuſed it: And the King was not Guarantee of the Treaties between *Sweden* and *Poland*, ſo he was not obliged to take care of the King of *Poland*: The Treaty went on but ſlowly, this made the King of *Sweden* apprehend, that he ſhould loſe the Seaſon, and be forced to abandon *Riga*, which began to be ſtraitned: So, to quicken the Treaty, he reſolved on a Deſcent in *Zealand*. This was executed, without any oppoſition, the King of *Sweden* conducting it in perſon, and being the firſt that landed: He ſhewed ſuch ſpirit and courage in his whole Conduct, as raiſed his Character very high: It ſtruck a terror thro' all *Denmark*: For now the *Swedes* reſolved to beſiege *Copenhagen*. This did ſo quicken the Treaty, that by the middle of *Auguſt* it was brought to a full end: old Treaties were renewed, and a liberty of fortifying was reſerved for *Holſtein*, under ſome limitations: and the King of *Denmark* pay'd the Duke of *Holſtein* two hundred and ſixty thouſand rix-dollars for the charge of the War. The Peace being thus made, the *Swedes* retired back to *Schonen*: and the Fleets of *England* and *Holland* returned home. The King's Conduct, in this whole matter, was highly applauded; he effectually protected the *Swedes*, and yet obliged them to accept of reaſonable terms of Peace: The King of *Denmark* ſuffered moſt in honour and intereſt: It was a great happineſs, that this War was ſo ſoon at an end; for if it had continued, all the North muſt have engaged in it, and there the chief ſtrength of the Proteſtant Religion lay: ſo that Intereſt muſt have ſuffered much, which ſide ſoever had come by the worſt, in the progreſs of the War; and it is already ſo weak, that it needed not a new diminution.

Cenſures paſt on the Partition Treaty.

The ſecret of the Partition Treaty was now publiſhed; and the Project was to be offered jointly, by the Miniſters of *France*, *England* and the *States*, to all the Princes of *Europe*, but particularly to thoſe, who were moſt concerned in it; and an Anſwer was to be demanded, by a day limited for it. The Emperor refuſed to declare himſelf, till he knew the King of *Spain*'s mind concerning it: The Duke of *Savoy*, and the Princes of *Italy*, were very apprehenſive of the neighbourhood of *France*: The Pope was extreme old, and declined very faſt. The Treaty was variouſly cenſured: Some thought it would deliver up the *Mediterranean* Sea, and all our Trade there, into the hands of *France*: Others thought, that the Treaties of Princes were (according to the pattern, that the Court of *France* had ſet now for almoſt half an age) only artifices to bring matters to a preſent quiet, and that they would be afterwards obſerved, as Princes found their account in them. The preſent good underſtanding, that was between our Court and the Court of *France*, made, that the Party of our Malecontents at home, having no ſupport from thence, ſunk much in their heat, and they had now no proſpect; for it ſeemed, as if the King of *France* had ſet his heart on the Partition Treaty, and it was neceſſary for him, in order to the obtaining his ends in it, to live in a good Correſpondence with *England* and the *States*: All our hopes were, that the King of *Spain* might yet live a few years longer, till the great Mortgages, that were on the Revenue, might be cleared, and then it would be more eaſy for us, to engage in a new War, and to be the Arbiters of *Europe*.

The Death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

But while we were under the apprehenſion of his death, we were ſurprized by an unlooked for and ſudden death of our young Prince at home, which brought a great change on the face of affairs. I had been truſted with his education now for two years; and he had made an amazing progreſs; I had read over the *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Goſpels* with him, and had explained things, that fell in my way, very copiouſly; and was often ſurprized, with the Queſtions that he put me, and the Reflections that he made; he came to underſtand things, relating

ing to Religion, beyond imagination; I went thro' Geography ſo often with him, that he knew all the Maps very particularly; I explained to him the forms of Government in every Country, with the Intereſts and Trade of that Country, and what was both good and bad in it: I acquainted him, with all the great Revolutions, that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, and of *Plutarch*'s Lives; The laſt thing I explained to him, was the *Gothick* Conſtitution, and the Beneficiary and Feudal Laws: I talked of theſe things at different times, near three hours a day: This was both eaſy and delighting to him. The King ordered five of his chief Miniſters, to come once a quarter, and examine the progreſs he made: They ſeemed amazed both at his knowledge, and the good underſtanding that appeared in him: He had a wonderful memory, and a very good judgment. He had gone thro' much weakneſs, and ſome years of ill health: The Princeſs was with Child of him, during all the Diſorder we were in at the Revolution, tho' ſhe did not know it herſelf at the time, when ſhe left the Court: This probably had given him ſo weak a Conſtitution, but we hoped the dangerous time was over: His Birth-day was the 24*th* of *July*, and he was then eleven years old: He complained a little the next day, but we imputed that to the fatigues of a Birth-day; So that he was too much neglected; The day after, he grew much worſe, and it proved to be a Malignant Fever; He died the fourth day of his illneſs, to the great grief of all who were concerned in him. He was the only remaining Child, of ſeventeen that the Princeſs had born, ſome to the full time and the reſt before it. She attended on him, during his ſickneſs, with great tenderneſs, but with a grave compoſedneſs, that amazed all who ſaw it: She bore his death with a Reſignation and Piety that were indeed very ſingular. His death gave a great alarm to the whole Nation: The Jacobites grew inſolent upon it and ſaid, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of *Wales*'s Succeſſion. Soon after this, the Houſe of *Brunſwick* returned the Viſit, that the King had made them laſt year, and the eyes of all the Proteſtants in the Nation turned towards the Electoreſs of *Brunſwick*, who was Daughter to the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the next Proteſtant Heir, all Papiſts being already excluded from the Succeſſion. Thus, of the four Lives that we had in view, as our chief Security, the two that we depended moſt on, the Queen and the Duke of *Gloceſter* were carried off on the ſudden, before we were aware of it, and of the two that remain'd (the King and the Princeſs) as there was no iſſue, and little hopes of any by either of them, ſo the King, who at beſt was a man of a feeble Conſtitution, was now falling under an ill habit of body: His Legs were much ſwelled, which ſome thought was the beginning of a Dropſy, while others thought it was only a ſcorbutick Diſtemper. 1700

The Temper of the Nation.

Thus God was giving us great alarms, as well as many mercies: He bears long with us, but we are become very corrupt in all reſpects; So that the ſtate of things among us gives a melancholy proſpect. The Nation was falling under a general diſcontent, and a diſlike of the King's perſon and government; And the King on his part, ſeemed to grow weary of us and of our affairs; and partly by the fret, from the oppoſition he had of late met with, partly from his ill health, he was falling as it were into a lethargy of mind; We were, upon the matter, become already more than half a Commonwealth; ſince the Government was plainly in the hands of the Houſe of Commons, who muſt ſit once a year, and as long as they thought fit, while the King had only the Civil Liſt for Life, ſo that the whole Adminiſtration of the Government was under their inſpection: The Act for Triennial Parliaments kept up a ſtanding faction in every County and Town of *England*: But tho' we were falling inſenſibly into a Democracy, we had not learned the virtues, that are neceſſary for that ſort of Government; Luxury, Vanity, and Ambition increaſed daily, and our animoſities were come to a great height, and gave us diſmal Apprehenſions. Few among us ſeemed to have a right notion of the love of their Country, and of a zeal for the good of the Publick: The Houſe of Commons, how much ſoever its power was advanced, yet was much ſunk in its credit; very little of gravity, order, or common decency appeared among them: The balance lay chiefly in the Houſe of Lords, who had no natural ſtrength to reſiſt the Commons: The Toleration,

1700 of all the ſects among us, had made us live more quietly together of late, than could be expected, when ſevere Laws were rigorouſly executed againſt Diſſenters. No tumults or diſorders had been heard of in any part of the Kingdom, theſe eleven years, ſince that Act paſſed: and yet the much greater part of the Clergy ſtudied to blow up this fire again, which ſeemed to be now, as it were covered over with aſhes.

Diviſions among the Diſſenters.

The Diſſenters behaved themſelves more quietly, with relation to the Church, they having quarrels and diſputes among themſelves: The Independents were raiſing the old *Antinomian* Tenets, as if men, by believing in Chriſt, were ſo united to him, that his righteouſneſs became theirs, without any other condition, beſides that of their Faith. So that, tho' they acknowledged the obedience of his Laws to be neceſſary, they did not call it a condition, but only a conſequence of juſtification. In this, they were oppoſed by moſt of the Presbyterians, who ſeemed to be ſenſible, that this ſtruck at the root of all Religion, as it weaken'd the obligation to a holy life: This year had produced a new extravagance in that matter. One *Aſgil*, a Member of Parliament, had publiſhed a Book, grounded on their notions, on which he had grafted a new and wild inference of his own, that ſince true Believers recover'd in Chriſt all that they loſt in *Adam*, and our natural death was the effect of *Adam*'s Sin, he inferr'd that Believers were render'd immortal by Chriſt, and not liable to death: And that thoſe who believed, with a true and firm Faith, could not die. This was a ſtrain beyond all that ever went before it, and ſince we ſee that all men die, the natural conſequence that reſulted from this was, that there neither are nor ever were any true Believers. The Presbyterians had been alſo engaged in diſputes with the Anabaptiſts. They complained, that they ſaw too great a giddineſs in their people, and ſeemed ſo ſenſible of this, and ſo deſirous to be brought into the Church, that a few inconſiderable Conceſſions would very probably have brought the bulk of them into our Communion: But the greater part of the Clergy were ſo far from any diſpoſition this way, that they ſeemed to be more prejudiced againſt them than ever.

And among the Quakers.

The Quakers have had a great breach made among them, by one *George Keith*, a *Scotchman*, with whom I had my firſt education at *Aberdeen*; he had been thirty ſix years among them; He was eſteemed the moſt learned man, that ever was in that ſect; He was well verſed both in the Oriental Tongues, in Philoſophy and Mathematicks; After he had been above thirty Years in high eſteem among them; He was ſent to *Penſilvania* (a Colony ſet up by *Penn*, where they are very numerous) to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. In thoſe parts, he ſaid, he firſt diſcovered that, which had been always either denied to him, or ſo diſguiſed that he did not ſuſpect it; But being far out of reach, and in a place where they were Maſters, they ſpoke out their mind plainer; and it appeared to him, that they were Deiſts, and that they turned the whole Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion into Allegories; chiefly thoſe, which relate to the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, and the reconciliation of Sinners to God, by virtue of his Croſs: He being a true Chriſtian, ſet himſelf with great zeal againſt this, upon which they grew weary of him, and ſent him back to *England*. At his return, he ſet himſelf to read many of their Books, and then he diſcovered the Myſtery, which was formerly ſo hid from him, that he had not obſerved it; Upon this, he opened a new meeting, and by a printed Summons he called the whole Party, to come and ſee the Proof, that he had to offer, to convince them of theſe errors: Few Quakers came to his Meetings, but great multitudes of other People flockt about him: He brought the Quakers Books with him, and read ſuch paſſages out of them, as convinced his hearers, that he had not charged them falſly: He continued theſe Meetings, being ſtill in outward appearance a Quaker, for ſome years; till having prevailed, as far as he ſaw any probability of ſucceſs, he laid aſide their exterior, and was reconciled to the Church, and is now in Holy Orders among us, and likely to do good ſervice, in undeceiving and reclaiming ſome of thoſe miſled Enthuſiaſts.

A diviſion in the Church.

The Clergy continued to be much divided: All moderate Divines were looked upon by ſome hot men, with an ill eye, as perſons who were cold and indifferent

erent in the matters of the Church: That which flowed from a gentleſs, both of temper and principle, was repreſented, as an inclination to favour Diſſenters, which paſſed among many, for a more heinous thing than leaning to Popery itſelf. Thoſe men, who began now to be called the *High Church* Party, had all along expreſſed a coldneſs, if not an oppoſition to the preſent Settlement; Soon after the Revolution, ſome great Preferments had been given among them, to try if it was poſſible to bring them, to be hearty for the Government; but it appearing, that they were ſoured with a leaven, that had gone too deep to be wrought out, a ſtop was put to the courting them any more; When they ſaw Preferments went in another Channel, they ſet up a complaint over *England* of the want of Convocations, they that were not allowed to ſit nor act with a free liberty, to conſider of the grievances of the Clergy, and of the danger the Church was in. This was a new pretenſion, never thought of ſince the Reformation; Some Books were writ to juſtify it, with great acrimony of ſtile, and a ſtrain of inſolence, that was peculiar to one *Atterbury*, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent Preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious and virulent out of meaſure; And had a ſingular talent in aſſerting Paradoxes with a great air of aſſurance, ſhewing no ſhame when he was detected in them, tho' this was done in many inſtances: But he let all theſe paſs, without either confeſſing his errors, or pretending to juſtify himſelf: He went on ſtill venting new falſhoods in ſo barefaced a manner, that he ſeemed to have outdone the Jeſuits themſelves. He thought the Government had ſo little ſtrength or credit, that any claim againſt it would be well received; he atackt the Supremacy of the Crown, with relation to Eccleſiaſtical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great zeal; But now the hot men of the Clergy did ſo readily entertain his Notions, that in them it appeared, that thoſe who are the moſt earneſt in the defence of certain points, when theſe ſeem to be for them, can very nimbly change their minds upon a change of circumſtances. 1700

Debates concerning the Biſhop of St. *David*'s

An eminent inſtance of this had appeared in the Houſe of Lords, in the former Seſſion; Where the deprived Biſhop of St. *David*'s complained of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Firſt, For breach of Privilege, ſince Sentence was paſt upon him, tho' he had in Court claimed Privilege of Parliament, to which no regard had been paid: But as he had waved his Privilege in the Houſe of Lords, it was carried, after a long Debate and by no great Majority, that in that caſe, he could not reſume his Privilege. He excepted next to the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction, and pretended that he could not judge a Biſhop, but in a Synod of the Biſhops of the Province, according to the Rules of the Primitive Times: In oppoſition to this it was ſhewn, that from the ninth and tenth Century downward, both Popes and Kings had concurred to bring this Power ſingly into the hands of the Metropolitans; That this was the conſtant practice in *England* before the Reformation; that by the proviſional Clauſe, in the Act paſt in the twenty fifth of *Henry* the Eighth, that empowered thirty two perſons to draw a new Body of Church Laws, all former Laws or Cuſtoms were to continue in force, till that new Body was prepared: So that the Power, the Metropolitan then was poſſeſſed of, ſtood confirmed by that Clauſe: It is true, during the High Commiſſion, all proceedings againſt Biſhops were brought before that Court, which proceeded in a ſummary way, and againſt whoſe Sentence no Appeal lay; But after that Court was taken away, a full Declaration was made, by an Act of Parliament, for continuing the Power that was lodged with the Metropolitan. It was alſo urged, that if the Biſhop had any exception to the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction, that ought to have been pleaded in the firſt inſtance, and not reſerved to the concluſion of all: Nor could the Archbiſhop erect a new Court, or proceed in the Trial of a Biſhop in any other way, than in that, which was warranted by Law or Precedent. To all this no anſwer was made, but the buſineſs was kept up, and put off by many delays; It was ſaid, the thing was new, and the Houſe was not yet well apprized of it; and the laſt time, in which the Debate was taken up in the Houſe, it ended in an intimation, that it was hoped the King would not fill that See, till the Houſe ſhould be better ſatisfied, in the point of the Archbiſhop's Authority; So the Biſhoprick was not diſpoſed

1700 of for ſome years: And this uncertainty put a great delay to the proceſs againſt the other *Welſh* Biſhop, accuſed of the ſame Crime.

The death of the King of *Spain*.

In *October* the Pope died; and at the ſame time, all *Europe* was alarmed with the deſperate ſtate of the King of *Spain's* health; when the news came to the Court of *France*, that he was in the laſt Agony, the Earl of *Manchester*, who was then our Ambaſſador in that Court, told me, that Mr. *Torcy*, the *French* Secretary of State, was ſent to him by the King of *France*, deſiring him to let the King his Maſter know the News, and to ſignify to him, that the *French* King hoped, that he would put things in a readineſs, to execute the Treaty, in caſe any oppoſition ſhould be made to it; And in his whole diſcourſe, he expreſſed a fixed reſolution in the *French* Councils to adhere to it: A few days after that the news came of his Death and of his Will, declaring the Duke of *Anjou* the Univerſal Heir of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy: It is not yet certainly known, by what means this was brought about, nor how the King of *Spain* was drawn to conſent to it, or whether it was a meer forgery, made by Cardinal *Portocarrero* and ſome of the Grandees, who partly by practice and corruption, and partly for ſafety and that their Monarchy might be kept entire (they imagining that the Power of *France* was far ſuperior to all, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would be able to engage in its intereſts) had been prevailed on to prepare and publiſh this Will; and, to make it more acceptable to the *Spaniards*, among other Forfeitures of the Crown, not only the Succeſſor's departing from, what they call the Catholick Faith, but even his not maintaining the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, was One.

Clement the Eleventh choſen Pope.

As ſoon as the news came to *Rome*, it quickned the Intrigues of the Conclave, ſo they ſet up *Albano*, a man of fifty two years of age, who beyond all mens expectation was choſen Pope, and took the name of *Clement* the Eleventh: He had little practice in affairs, but was very learned; And in ſo critical a time, it ſeems, a Pope of Courage and Spirit, not ſunk with age into covetouſneſs or peeviſhneſs, was thought the fitteſt Perſon for that See. *France* had ſent no excluſion to bar him, not imagining that he could be thought on: At firſt they did not ſeem pleaſed with the choice, but it was too late to oppoſe it: So they reſolved to gain him to their intereſts, in which they have ſucceeded beyond what they then hoped for. When the Court of *France* had notice ſent them of the late King of *Spain's* Will, real or pretended, they ſeemed to be at a ſtand for ſome days; and the Letters wrote from the Secretary's Office, gave it out for certain, that the King would ſtick to the Partition Treaty: Madam *de Maintenon* had an unſpeakable fondneſs for the Duke of *Anjou*; So ſhe prevailed with the *Dauphin* to accept of the Will, and ſet aſide the Treaty; She alſo engaged *Pontchartrain* to ſecond this.

The King of *Spain's* Will is accepted.

They being thus prepared; when the news of the King of *Spain's* Death came to *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was at that time; Mr. *Spanheim*, who was then there as Ambaſſador of *Pruſſia*, told me, that a Cabinet Council was called, within two hours after the news came; It met in Madam *de Maintenon's* Lodgings, and ſate about four hours: *Pontchartrain* was for accepting the Will, and the reſt of the Miniſtry were for adhering to the Treaty; But the *Dauphin* joined for accepting the Will, with an air of poſitiveneſs, that he had never aſſumed before; So it was believed to be done by concert with the King, who was reſerved and ſeemed more enclined to the Treaty: In concluſion, Madam *Maintenon* ſaid, what had the Duke of *Anjou* done, to provoke the King, to bar him of his Right to that Succeſſion? And upon this, all ſubmitted to the *Dauphin's* opinion, and the King ſeemed overcome with their reaſons.

The Duke of *Anjou* declared King of *Spain*.

This was on *Munday*; But tho' the matter was reſolved on, yet it was not publiſhed till *Thurſday*; For then, at the King's Levee, he declared, that he accepted of the Will, and the Duke of *Anjou* was now treated as King of *Spain*. Notice of this being ſent to *Spain*, an Ambaſſador came in form, to ſignify the Will, and to deſire that their King might go and live among them; Upon which he was ſent thither, accompanied by his two Brothers, who went with him to the Frontiers of *Spain*. When the Court of *France* publiſhed this Reſolution, and ſent it to all the Courts of *Europe*, they added a moſt infamous excuſe, for this notorious breach of Faith: They ſaid, The King of *France* conſidered

chiefly

chiefly what was the main deſign of the Treaty, which was to maintain the Peace of *Europe*; and therefore to purſue this, he departed from the words of the Treaty, but he adhered to the Spirit and the chief intent of it. This ſeemed to be an equivocation of ſo groſs a nature, that it looked like the invention of a Jeſuit Confeſſor, adding impudence to Perjury. The King and the *States* were ſtruck with this: The King was full of indignation, to find himſelf ſo much abuſed; So he came over to *England*, to ſee what was to be done upon ſo great an emergency. The *Spaniards*, ſeeing themſelves threaten'd with a War from the Emperor, and apprehending that the Empire, together with *England*, and the United Provinces, might be engaged to join in the War, and being unable to defend themſelves, delivered all into the hands of *France*; And upon that, both the *Spaniſh Netherlands* and the Dutchy of *Milan* received *French* Garriſons: The *French* Fleet came to *Cadiz*; A Squadron was alſo ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*; So that the whole *Spaniſh* Empire fell now, without a ſtroke of the Sword, into the *French* Power. All this was the more formidable, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had then no Children, and by this means, the King of *Spain* was in time likely to ſucceed to the Crown of *France*; And thus the World ſaw the appearance of a new univerſal Monarchy, like to ariſe out of this conjunction. 1700

A new Parliament ſummoned.

It might have been expected that, when ſuch a new unlooked for Scene was opened, the King ſhould have loſt no time in bringing his Parliament together, as ſoon as poſſible; It was prorogued to the 20*th* of *November*, and the King had ſent Orders from *Holland*, to ſignify his Reſolution for their Meeting on that day; But the Miniſters, whom he was then bringing into his buſineſs, had other views: They thought they were not ſure of a Majority in Parliament for their purpoſes, ſo they prevailed with the King to diſſolve the Parliament, and after a ſett of Sheriffs were pricked, fit for the turn, a new Parliament was ſummoned, to meet on the ſixth day of *February*, but it was not opened till the tenth.

The End of the Century.

And now I am come to the end of this Century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and diſmal ſcene; *France* was now in poſſeſſion of a great Empire, for a ſmall part of which they had been in Wars (broke off indeed in ſome intervals) for above two hundred years; while we in *England*, who were to protect and defend the reſt, were, by wretched factions and violent animoſities, running into a feeble and disjointed ſtate; The King's cold and reſerved manner, upon ſo high a provocation, made ſome conclude, that he was in ſecret engagements with *France*; that he was reſolved to own the new King of *Spain*, and not to engage in a new War: This ſeemed ſo different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his Life, that it made many conclude, that he found himſelf in an ill ſtate of health, the ſwelling of his Legs being much encreaſed, and that this might have ſuch effects on his mind, as to make him leſs warm and active, leſs diſpoſed to involve himſelf in new troubles; and that he might think it too inconſiderate a thing to enter on a new War, that was not like to end ſoon, when he felt himſelf in a declining ſtate of health: But the true ſecret, of this unaccountable behaviour in the King, was ſoon diſcovered.

A new Miniſtry.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* was now ſet at the head of his buſineſs, and was to bring the Tories into his Service: They had continued, from his firſt acceſſion to the Throne, in a conſtant oppoſition to his intereſts; Many of them were believed to be Jacobites in their hearts, and they were generally much againſt the Toleration, and violent enemies to the Diſſenters: They had been backward in every thing, that was neceſſary for carrying on the former War; they had oppoſed Taxes as much as they could, and were againſt all ſuch, as were eaſily levied and leſs ſenſibly felt by the people; and were always for thoſe, that were moſt grievous to the Nation, hoping that by thoſe heavy burthens, the people would grow weary of the War and of the Government; On the contrary the Whigs, by ſupporting both, were become leſs acceptable to the Nation: In Elections their Intereſt was much ſunk; every new Parliament was a new diſcovery, that they were become leſs popular, and the others, who were always oppoſing and complaining, were now cried up as the Patriots. In the three laſt Seſſions, the Whigs had ſhewed ſuch a readineſs to give the King more force, together with a management to preſerve the Grants of *Ireland*, that they were publickly charged as Betrayers of their Country, and as men that were for truſting the King with an Army; in a word, they were accuſed of too ready a

1700 compliance with the humours and intereſts of Courts and Favourites, ſo they were generally cenſured and decried: And now ſince they had not ſucceeded to the King's mind, ſome about him poſſeſſed him with this, that either they would not, or could not ſerve him. In ſome of them indeed, their Principles lay againſt thoſe things, whereas the Tory's Principles did naturally lead them to make the Crown great and powerful: It was alſo ſaid, that the great oppoſition made, to every thing the King deſired, and the difficulties that had been of late put upon him, flowed chiefly from the hatred born to thoſe, who were employed by him, and who had brought in their friends and creatures into the beſt Poſts; And they were now ſtudying, to recover their loſt popularity; which would make them cold, if not backward in complying with what the King might deſire for the future; The Whigs did alſo begin to complain of the King's Conduct, of his minding Affairs ſo little, of his being ſo much out of the Kingdom, and of his ill choice of Favourites; and they imputed the late miſcarriages to errors in conduct, which they could neither prevent nor redreſs: The Favourites, who thought of nothing but to continue in favour, and to be ſtill ſafe and ſecure in their credit, concurred to preſs the King to take other meaſures, and to turn to another ſett of men, who would be no longer his enemies, if they had ſome of the beſt Places ſhared among them: And tho' this method had been almoſt fatal, when the King had followed it, ſoon after his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, yet there ſeemed to be leſs danger in trying it now, than was formerly. We were in full Peace: And it was commonly ſaid, that no body thought any more of King *James*, and therefore it was fit, for the King's Service, to encourage all his people to come into his intereſts, by letting them ſee how ſoon he could forget all that was paſt. Theſe conſiderations had ſo far prevailed with him, that before he went out of *England*, he had engaged himſelf ſecretly to them: It is true, the Death, firſt of the Duke of *Glocester*, and now of the King of *Spain*, had very much changed the face of affairs, both at home and abroad; yet the King would not break off from his engagements.

Soon after his return to *England*, the Earl of *Rocheſter* was declared Lord Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and he had the chief direction of affairs; And, that the moſt eminent man of the Whigs might not oppoſe them in the new Parliament, they got Mr. *Montague* to be made a Baron, who took the Title of *Halifax*, which was ſunk by the death of that Marquiſs, without iſſue Male. The man, on whoſe management of the Houſe of Commons, this new Sett depended, was Mr. *Harley*, the Heir of a Family, which had been hitherto the moſt eminent of the Presbyterian Party; his Education was in that way: But he, not being conſidered at the Revolution, as he thought he deſerved, had ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Court in every thing, and to find fault with the whole Adminiſtration; he had the chief hand, both in the reduction of the Army, and in the matter of the *Iriſh* Grants; The High Party truſted him, tho' he ſtill kept up an intereſt among the Presbyterians; and he had ſo particular a dexterity, that he made both the High Church Party and the Diſſenters depend upon him; ſo it was agreed that he ſhould be Speaker. All this while, the new Miniſters talked of nothing but Negotiations, and gave it out, that the King of *France* was ready to give all the ſecurity that could be deſired, for maintaing the Peace of *Europe*. At this time, the Emperor ſent over to *England* a Miniſter, to ſet forth his Title to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſettled on his Houſe by ancient Entails, often repeated, and now devolving on him by an undoubted Right, ſince by the Renunciation made by the late Queen of *France*, (as was ſtipulated by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and then made by her in due form) this could not be called in queſtion. Our new Miniſters were ſcarce civil to the Emperor's Envoy; and would not enter into any conſultations with him: But the *Dutch*, who were about the King, and all the Foreign Miniſters ſpoke in another Stile; they ſaid, that nothing but a General Union of all the Powers in *Europe*, could hinder the conjunction of the two Monarchies: So, by what thoſe, who talked often with the King, gave out, it came to be ſoon known, that the King ſaw the neceſſity of a new War, but that he kept himſelf in a great reſerve, that he might manage his new Miniſters and their Party, and ſee if he could engage them to concur with him.

1700

The King of *Sweden*'s glorious Campaign.

But before I conclude the relation of this year, at which the Century ends, I must close it with an account of the King of *Sweden*'s glorious Campaign: He made all the haste he could to relieve *Livonia*, where not only *Riga* was for some months besieged by the King of *Poland*, but *Narva* was also attack'd by the *Czar*, who hoped by taking it, to get an entrance into the *Baltick*: The *Czar* came in Person against it, with an Army of one hundred thousand men: *Narva* was not provided for a Siege: It had a small Garrison, and had very poor Magazines, yet the *Muscovites* attack'd it so feebly, that it held out beyond all expectation, till the end of the year. Upon the King of *Sweden*'s landing at *Revel*, the *Saxons* drew off from *Riga*, after a long Siege at a vast charge: This being done, and *Riga* both opened and supplied, that King marched next to *Narva*; The *Czar*, upon his March towards him, left his Army in such a manner, as made all people conclude, he had no mind to hazard his Person; The King marched thro' ways, that were thought so impracticable, that little care had been taken to secure them; So he surprised the *Muscovites*, and broke into their Camp, before they apprehended he was near them; he totally routed their Army, took many Prisoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage, and so made a glorious entry into *Narva*. This is the noblest Campaign that we find in any History; in which a King about eighteen years of age, led an Army himself against three Kings, who had confederated against him, and was successful in every one of his Attempts, giving great marks, both of personal courage and good conduct in them all; and which is more extraordinary, an eminent measure both of Virtue and Piety appeared in his whole behaviour. In him, the World hoped to see another *Gustavus Adolphus*, who conquered, or rather possessed himself of *Livonia*, in the same year of his age, in which this King did now so gloriously recover it, when almost lost by the Invasion of two powerful Neighbours. There were great disorders at this time in *Lithuania*, occasioned by the Factions there, which were set on and fomented by the King, who seemed to aspire to be the Hereditary King of *Poland*. But as these things are at a great distance from us, so since we have no publick Minister in those parts, I cannot give an account of them, nor form a true judgment thereupon. The Eighteenth Century began with a great Scene, that opened with it.

1701

Great apprehensions of the danger *Europe* was now in

The new King of *Spain* wrote to all the Courts of *Europe*, giving notice of his Accession to that Crown, only he forgot *England*; And it was publickly given out, that he had promised the pretended Prince of *Wales*, that in due time he would take care of his interests: The King and the *States* were much alarmed, when they beheld the *French* possessed of the *Spanish Netherlands*; A great part of the *Dutch* Army lay scattered up and down in those Garrisons, more particularly in *Luxemburgh*, *Namur* and *Mons*, and these were now made Prisoners of War: Neither Officers nor Soldiers could own the King of *Spain*, for their Masters had not yet done it; At this time, the *French* pressed the *States* very hard to declare themselves: A great Party in the *States* were for owning him, at least in form, till they could get their Troops again into their own hands, according to Capitulation: Nor were they then, in a condition to resist the impression, that might have been made upon them, from the Garrisons in the *Spanish Guelder*, who could have attack'd them before they were able to make head; So the *States* consented to own the King of *Spain*. That being done, their Battalions were sent back, but they were ill used, contrary to Capitulation, and the Soldiers were tempted to desert their Service, yet very few could be prevailed on to do it.

A Party for *France* in the Parliament.

As soon as our Parliament was opened, it appeared that the *French* had a great Party in it; It is certain, great Sums came over this Winter from *France*, the Packet-boat came seldom without 10000 *Louis d'Or's*, it brought often more; The Nation was filled with them, and in six months time, a Million of Guineas were coined out of them; The Merchants indeed said, that the ballance of Trade was then so much turned to our side, that whereas we were wont to carry over a Million of our Money in Specie, we then sent no money to *France*; and had at least half that Sum sent over to ballance the Trade: yet this did not

1701 account for that vaſt flood of *French* Gold, that was viſible amongſt us: And, upon the *French* Ambaſſador's going away, a very ſenſible alteration was found in the Bills of Exchange; So it was concluded, that great remittances were made to him, and that theſe were diſtributed among thoſe, who reſolved to merit a ſhare in that Wealth, which came over now ſo copiouſly, beyond the example of former times. The King, in his Speech to the Parliament, in the moſt effectual manner poſſible, recommended the ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line; and with relation to Foreign Affairs, he laid them before the Two Houſes, that they might offer him ſuch Advices, as the State of the Nation and her Alliances required: but he did not ſo much as intimate to them his own Thoughts concerning them. A deſign was laid, in the Houſe of Commons, to open the Seſſion with an Addreſs to the King, that he would own the King of *Spain*; The matter was ſo far concerted, that they had agreed on the Words of the Vote, and ſeemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the Houſe; but Mr. *Monkton* oppoſed it with great heat, and among other things ſaid, if that Vote was carried, he ſhould expect that the next Vote to be put, would be for owning the pretended Prince of *Wales:* Upon this occaſion it appeared, how much popular Aſſemblies are apt to be turned, by a thing boldly ſaid, tho' the conſequence is ever ſo remote; ſince the connection of theſe two Points lay at ſome diſtance, yet the iſſue of the Debate was quite contrary to that which was deſigned: It ended in an Addreſs to the King, to enter into new Alliances with the *States*, for our mutual Defence, and for preſerving the Liberty and Peace of *Europe*; Theſe laſt Words were not carried, without much difficulty: They were conſidered, as they were indeed, an inſinuation towards a War.

Partiality in judging Elections.

Upon the view of the Houſe it appeared very evidently, that the Tories were a great Majority; yet they, to make the matter ſure, reſolved to clear the Houſe of a great many, that were engaged in another Intereſt: Reports were brought to them of Elections, that had been ſcandalouſly purchaſed, by ſome who were concerned in the new *Eaſt-India* Company; inſtead of Drinking and Entertainments, by which Elections were formerly managed, now a moſt ſcandalous practice was brought in of buying Votes, with ſo little decency, that the Electors engaged themſelves by Subſcription, to chuſe a blank perſon, before they were truſted with the name of their Candidate. The *Eaſt-India* Company had driven a courſe of Corruption within doors with ſo little ſhame, that the new Company intended to follow their Example, but with this difference, that, whereas the former had bought the Perſons who were elected, they reſolved to buy Elections. Sir *Edward Seimour*, who had dealt in this Corruption his whole life-time, and whom the old Company was ſaid to have bought before, at a very high price, brought before the Houſe of Commons the diſcovery of ſome of the practices of the new Company: The examining into theſe took up many days; In concluſion, the matter was ſo well proved, that ſeveral Elections were declared void: and ſome of the perſons ſo choſen, were for ſome time kept in priſon; after that they were expelled the Houſe. In theſe proceedings, great partiality appeared; for when in ſome caſes, Corruption was proved clearly, againſt ſome of the Tory Party, and but doubtfully againſt ſome of the contrary ſide, that, which was voted Corruption in the latter, was called the giving Alms in thoſe of the former ſort. Thus for ſome Weeks, the Houſe ſeemed to have forgot all the Concerns of *Europe*, and was wholly employed in the weakening of one ſide; and in fortifying the other; To make ſome ſhew of Zeal for the Publick ſafety, they voted thirty thouſand Men for the Fleet; But they would allow no Marines, tho' they were told, that a Fleet without theſe was only a good Security for our own Defence, but could have no Influence on the Affairs of *Europe*, either to frighten or to encourage thoſe abroad: Such a Fleet as it could not offend, ſo it was much too ſtrong, if it was intended only for a defence, and it looked like a needleſs waſting the Treaſure of the Nation, to imploy ſo much of it to ſo little purpoſe, and only to make a ſhew.

The Partition Treaty charged in the Houſe of Lords.

While the Houſe of Commons was going on, minding only Party matters, a deſign was laid in the Houſe of Lords, to attack the Partition Treaty and ſome of thoſe, who were concerned in it; They begun with an Addreſs to the King, that

that he would order all the Treaties made, ſince the Peace of *Ryſwick*, to be laid before them. This was complied with ſo ſlowly, that they were not brought to the Houſe till the 26th of *February*, and no notice was taken of them, till the 10th of *March*; It ſoon appeared that this was done by a *French* direction. The Court of *France* (perceiving that the *Dutch* were alarmed at their neighbourhood, and were encreaſing their force, both by Sea and Land, and were calling upon their Allies to furniſh their Quota's, which they were bound by Treaties to ſend to their defence) enter'd upon a Negotiation with them at the *Hague*, to try what would lay theſe fears. Upon this, in the beginning of *March*, the *States*, in conjunction with Mr. *Stanhope*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, gave in Memorials, in which they inſiſted on the violation of the Partition Treaty, and particularly on the *French* poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Spaniſh Netherlands:* They alſo deſired, that the Emperor might have juſt ſatisfaction in his Pretenſions, and that in the mean while, *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Mons*, and *Aeth*, might be put in their hands; and *Oſtend* and *Newport* into the hands of the *Engliſh*, and both they and the *Dutch* might have a free Trade, as before, to all the *Spaniſh* Dominions. The *French* ſeeing theſe Demands run ſo high, and being reſolved to offer no other Security for the Peace of *Europe*, but the renewing the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, ſet all their Engines at work in *England*, to involve us into ſuch contentions at home, as ſhould both diſable us, from taking any care of Foreign affairs, and make the reſt of *Europe* conclude, that nothing conſiderable was to be expected from *England*. Aſſoon as the news of thoſe Memorials could come to *England*, the Marquiſs of *Normanby* and the reſt of the Tories, took up the Debate concerning the Partition Treaty: This they managed with great dexterity, while the matter was as much neglected by the King, who went that day to *Hampton-Court*, where he ſtayed ſome time: by this means, no directions were given, and we were involved in great difficulties, before the Court was aware of it: The King either could not prevail with his new Miniſters to excuſe the Treaty, if they would not juſtify it; or he neglected them ſo far, as not to ſpeak to them at all about it. Thoſe, who attack'd it, ſaid, they meant nothing in that but to offer the King Advices for the future, to prevent ſuch errors as had been committed in that Treaty, both as to matter and form. They blamed the giving ſuch Territories to the Crown of *France*, and the forſaking the Emperor; They alſo complained of the ſecrecy, in which the Treaty was carried on, it not being communicated to the *Engliſh* Council or Miniſtry, but privately tranſacted by the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey:* They alſo blamed the putting the Great Seal, firſt to blank Powers, and then to the Treaty it ſelf, which the King's new Miniſters ſaid, was unjuſt in the contrivance, and ridiculous in the execution. To all this, it was anſwered, that there not being a force ready and ſufficient to hinder the *French* from poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which they were prepared for, the Emperor had deſired the King to enter into a Treaty of Partition, and had conſented to every Article of it, except that which related to the Dutchy of *Milan*; But the King, not thinking that worth the engaging in a new War, had obtain'd an exchange of it for the Dutchy of *Lorrain:* The Emperor did not agree to this, yet he preſſed the King not to break off the Treaty, but to get the beſt terms he could for him, and above all things he recommended ſecrecy, that ſo he might not loſe his Intereſt in *Spain*, by ſeeming to conſent to this Partition: It is certain, that by our Conſtitution, all Foreign Negotiations were truſted entirely to the Crown; that the King was under no obligation by Law, to communicate ſuch ſecrets to his Council, or to hear, much leſs was he obliged to follow their Advices: In particular it was ſaid, that the Keeper of the great Seal had no ſort of authority, to deny the putting it, either to Powers for a Treaty, or to any Treaty which the King ſhould agree to: The Law gives no direction in ſuch matters, and he could not refuſe to put the Great-Seal to any thing, for which he had an Order from the King, unleſs the matter was contrary to Law, which had made no Proviſion in this caſe: They inſiſted moſt on the other ſide, upon the concluding a Treaty of this importance, without communicating it firſt to the Privy Council; ſo the firſt Day of the Debate ended with this. 1700

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The Lords adviſed with in it oppoſed it.

The Earl of *Portland* apprehending that this might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter next day to the Houſe; So he told them, that he had not concluded the Treaty alone, but had, by the King's Order, acquainted ſix of his chief Miniſters with it, who were the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Marlborough*, the Viſcount *Lonſdale*, the Lords *Somers* and *Halifax*, and Secretary *Vernon*; Upon which thoſe Lords, being likewiſe freed by the King from the Oath of Secrecy, told the Houſe, that the Earl of *Jerſey*, having in the King's Name called them together, the Treaty was read to them, and that they excepted to ſeveral things in it, but they were told, that the King had carried the matter as far as was poſſible, and that he could obtain no better terms: So when they were told, that no alterations could be made, but that every thing was ſettled, they gave over inſiſting on particulars; they only adviſed, that the King might not engage himſelf in any thing, that would bring on a new War, ſince the Nation had been ſo uneaſy under the laſt. This was carried to the King, and a few Days after that, he told ſome of them, that he was made acquainted with their exceptions, but how reaſonable ſoever they were, he had driven the matter as far as he could; The Earl of *Pembroke* ſaid to the Houſe of Lords, he had offered the King thoſe Advices, that he thought were moſt for his ſervice, and for the good of the Nation; but that he did not think himſelf bound to give an account of that, to any other perſons; He was not the man ſtruck at, ſo there was nothing ſaid, either againſt him, or the Earls of *Marlborough* or *Jerſey*: Upon this, the Debate went on; ſome ſaid, this was a mockery, to ask advice, when there was no room for it: It was anſwered, the King had asked the advice of his Privy Council, and they had given it; but that, ſuch was the Regal Prerogative, that it was ſtill free to him to follow it or not, as he ſaw cauſe.

An Addreſs to the King about it.

In concluſion, the Houſe of Lords reſolved to ſet out this whole matter, in an Addreſs to the King, complaining both of the Partition Treaty, and of the method in which it had been carried on; The Lord *Wharton* moved an addition to the Addreſs, that, whereas the *French* King had broke that Treaty, they ſhould adviſe the King to treat no more with him, or rely on his word without further ſecurity: This was much oppoſed, by all thoſe who were againſt the engaging in a new War; They ſaid, all Motions of that kind ought to come from the Houſe of Commons, who only cou'd ſupport ſuch an Advice, that did upon the matter engage us into a new War; nor would they lay any blame on the breaking a Treaty, which they were reſolved to condemn: They alſo excepted to the words *further ſecurity* as ambiguous; yet the Majority of the Houſe agreed to it; for there was ſuch treachery in the *French* Negotiations, that they could not be relied on, without a good Guarantee, and the Pledge of ſome ſtrong Places. It now plainly appeared, that the deſign was, to ſet on the Houſe of Commons, to impeach ſome of the Lords, who had been concerned in the Partition Treaty, for it was moved to ſend the Addreſs to the Houſe of Commons, for their concurrence, but that was not carried. The King ſeemed to bear all this with his uſual coldneſs: and the new Miniſters continued ſtill in his confidence, but he laid the matter much to heart; Now he ſaw the Error he had fallen into, by the change he had made in the Miniſtry: It was plain they reſolved to govern him in every thing, and not to be governed by him in any one thing.

Memorials ſent from the States.

As ſoon as this was over, the Earl of *Jerſey* did, by the King's Order, bring to the Houſe of Lords the Memorials that had been given in at the *Hague*, and then, by comparing Dates, it was eaſy to conjecture, why the Partition Treaty had been let lie ſo long on the Table, and it ſeemed as if it was taken up at laſt, only to blaſt this Negotiation; A *French* management appearing very plainly in the whole ſteps, that had been made. The Houſe of Commons began, at the ſame time, not only to complain of the Partition Treaty, but likewiſe of the demand of *Oſtend* and *Newport*, nor would they ſhew any concern for the Emperor's pretenſions: The *Dutch* demanded the execution of the Treaty, that King *Charles* had made with them, in the year 1677, by which *England* was bound to aſſiſt them with ten thouſand Men and twenty Ships of War, if they were attack'd; Some endeavoured, all that was poſſible, to put this off for the preſent, pretending that they were not yet attack'd: Others moved, that the

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pay of ten thouſand men might be given to them, with the twenty Ships, as a full equivalent to the Treaty; yet they not liking this, it was in concluſion agreed to ſend the ten thouſand Men: five thouſand of theſe were to be drawn out of the Army in *Ireland*, and five thouſand of them were to be new levied; but they took care, that *Ireland* ſhould not be provided with any new Forces in their ſtead, ſo jealous were they of truſting the King with an Army. The repreſentation ſent over by the *States*, ſetting forth the danger they were in, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of *England*, was penned with great ſpirit, and in a very moving ſtrain; The Houſe of Lords did, upon a Debate on that ſubject, make an Addreſs to the King, to enter into Leagues offenſive and defenſive, with the Emperor and other Princes and *States*, who were intereſted againſt the conjunction of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Monarchies: But the Houſe of Commons could not, upon this occaſion, be carried further, than to adviſe the King to enter into ſuch Alliances, as ſhould be neceſſary, for our common ſecurity, and for the Peace of *Europe*. This coldneſs and uncertainty in our Councils, gave the *French* great advantages in their Negotiations, both in *Germany* and in *Portugal*; They tried the Courts of *Italy*, but without ſucceſs; only the Duke of *Mantua* conſented, that they ſhould make a ſhew, as if they had ſurprized him, and ſo force him to put *Mantua* in their hands: The Pope and the *Venetians* would not declare themſelves; the Pope favoured the *French*, as the *Venetians* did the Emperor; who began the War with a pretenſion on the Dutchy of *Milan*, as a Fief of the Empire that devolved on him; and he was making Magazines, both in *Tirol* and at *Trent*: The *French* ſeemed to deſpiſe all he could do, and did not apprehend, that it was poſſible for him to march an Army into *Italy*; Both the King and the *States* preſſed him to make that attempt; The Elector of *Bavaria*, and ſome of the Circles, had agreed to a Neutrality this year; So there was no hope of doing much upon the *Rhine*, and the *French* were making the *Italians* feel, what inſolent Maſters they were like to prove; So a general uneaſineſs among them, determined the Emperor, to ſend an Army into *Italy*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*: *England* was all this while very unwilling to engage, yet for fear we ſhould at laſt have ſeen our intereſt ſo clearly, that we muſt have fallen into it, thoſe who were practiſed on to embroil us, ſo that we might not be in a condition to mind Foreign Affairs, ſet on foot a deſign to impeach the former Miniſtry. 1701

A deſign to impeach the former Miniſtry.

The handle that brought this about, was given by the Earl of *Portland*; when he was excuſing his own part in the Partition Treaty, he ſaid, that having withdrawn himſelf from buſineſs, and being at his Country Houſe in *Holland*, the King ſent to him, deſiring him to enter upon that Negotiation; upon that, he wrote to Secretary *Vernon*, to ask his advice and the advice of his other Friends, whether it was fit for him to meddle in that matter, ſince his being by Birth a Foreigner, ſeemed a juſt excuſe for not engaging in a thing of ſuch conſequence; To this Secretary *Vernon* anſwered, that all his friends thought he was a very proper perſon, to be employed in that Treaty, ſince he had known the progreſs of all thoſe Treaties, and the perſons, who were employed on that occaſion; and he named the Lord *Somers* among thoſe, who had adviſed this. The Earl of *Portland* had miſtaken this circumſtance, which did not belong to the laſt Partition Treaty, but to that of the year before, in favour of the Prince Electoral of *Bavaria*. The Houſe of Commons, hearing of this, required Secretary *Vernon* to lay before them that Letter, with his anſwer to it; for the Earl of *Portland* ſaid, that he had left all Papers, relating to that matter, in *Holland*. *Vernon* ſaid, he had received no ſuch Letter in the year 1699; So that led them to enquire farther, and they required him, to lay before them all the Letters he had, relating to both Treaties: He ſaid, thoſe were the King's Secrets, writ in confidence, by the perſons he imployed; But in ſuch a caſe, a Houſe of Commons will not be put off: a denial rather raiſes in them more earneſtneſs, in following their point; It was ſaid, the King had diſpenſed with the Oath of Secrecy, when he ordered all matters to be laid before them, and they would admit of no excuſe. *Vernon* upon this went to the King, and told him, ſince theſe were his Secrets, he was ready to expoſe himſelf to the indignation of the Houſe, and to refuſe to ſhew his Letters: But the King ſaid, his refuſ-

1701 ing to do it would not only raiſe a ſtorm againſt himſelf, from which the King could not protect him, but it would occaſion an Addreſs to the King, to order him to lay every thing before the Houſe, which, in the ſtate that things were in then, he could not deny: *Vernon*, upon theſe Orders given him, at two different times, carried all the Letters, and laid them before the Houſe of Commons; It appeared by theſe, that he had communicated the Treaty to the King's Miniſters, who were in Town, about the end of *Auguſt* 1698; That Lord *Somers* being then at *Tunbridge*, he went to him; and that he had communicated the Project, both to the Earl of *Orford* and the Lord *Halifax*; Several objections were made by them to many parts of the Treaty, which were mentioned in *Vernon*'s Letters; but, if better terms could not be had, they thought it was better to conclude the Treaty, than to leave the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, to be overrun by *France*, or to involve *Europe* in a new War; Lord *Somers* had alſo put the Seals to Blank Powers, for concluding this Treaty. When all this was read, thoſe, who were ſet on to blow up the flame, moved the Houſe to impeach ſome of the Miniſters, who had been concerned in this tranſaction; yet in this they proceeded, with ſo viſible a partiality, that tho' the Earl of *Jerſey* had ſigned the Treaty, had been Plenipotentiary at *Ryſwick*, Ambaſſador in *France*, and Secretary of State, while the Partition Treaty was negotiating; yet he, having joined himſelf to the new Miniſtry, was not queſtioned about it: The Party ſaid he had been too eaſily drawn into it, but that he was not in the Secret, and had no ſhare in the Councils, that projected it.

They are impeached.

On the firſt of *April*, the Houſe of Commons brought up a general Impeachment of the Earl of *Portland*, for high Crimes and Miſdemeanors; but the chief deſign was againſt the Earl of *Orford*, and the Lords *Somers* and *Halifax*. Their Enemies tried again what uſe could be made of *Kid*'s buſineſs, for he was taken in our Northern *Plantations* in *America*, and brought over: He was examined by the Houſe, but either he could not lay a probable ſtory together, or ſome remnants of honeſty, raiſed in him by the near proſpect of death, reſtrained him; he accuſed no perſon of having adviſed or encouraged his turning Pirate; He had never talked alone with any of the Lords, and never at all with Lord *Somers*: He ſaid, he had no Orders from them, but to purſue his Voyage againſt the Pirates in *Madagaſcar*; All endeavours were uſed to perſuade him to accuſe the Lords; he was aſſured that if he did it, he ſhould be preſerved; and if he did it not, he ſhould certainly die for his Piracy; yet this could not prevail on him to charge them: So he, with ſome of his Crew, were hanged, there appearing not ſo much as a colour to faſten any imputation on thoſe Lords; yet their Enemies tried, what uſe could be made of the Grant of all that *Kid* might recover from the Pirates, which ſome bold and ignorant Lawyers affirmed to be againſt Law. So this matter was for the fourth time debated in the Houſe of Commons, and the behaviour of thoſe Peers in it appeared to be ſo innocent, ſo legal and in truth ſo meritorious, that it was again let fall. The inſiſting ſo much on it, ſerved to convince all people, that the Enemies of theſe Lords wanted not inclinations, but only matter to charge them, ſince they made ſo much uſe of this; But ſo partial was a great part of the Houſe, that the dropping this was carried only by a ſmall Majority: When one deſign failed, another was ſet up.

Lord *Somers* heard by the Houſe of Commons.

It was pretended, that by Secretary *Vernon*'s Letters it was clearly proved, that the Lord *Somers* had conſented to the Partition Treaty; So a Debate coming on concerning that, Lord *Somers* deſired that he might be admitted, to give an account of his ſhare in it, to the Houſe of Commons; Some oppoſition was made to this, but it had been always granted, ſo it could not be denied him; He had obtained the King's leave, to tell every thing; So that when he appeared before the Houſe, he told them, the King had writ to him, that the ſtate of the King of *Spain*'s health was deſperate, and that he ſaw no way to prevent a new War, but to accept of the propoſition, the *French* made for a Partition: The King ſent him the Scheme of this, and ordered him to communicate it to ſome others, and to give him both his own opinion and theirs concerning it, and to ſend him over Powers for a Treaty, but in the ſecreteſt manner that was poſſible: Yet the King added, that, if he and his other Miniſters thought that a

Treaty

Treaty ought not to be made upon ſuch a Project, then the whole matter muſt be let fall, for he could not bring the *French* to better Terms. Lord *Somers* upon this ſaid, that he thought it was the taking too much upon himſelf, if he ſhould have put a ſtop to a Treaty of ſuch conſequence; If the King of *Spain* had died, before it was finiſhed, and the blame had been caſt on him, for not ſending the neceſſary Powers, becauſe he was not ordered to do it, by a Warrant in full form, he could not have juſtified that, ſince the King's Letter was really a Warrant, and therefore he thought he was bound to ſend the Powers that were called for, which he had done. But at the ſame time, he wrote his own opinion very fully to the King, objecting to many particulars, if there was room for it, and propoſing ſeveral things, which, as he thought, were for the good and Intereſt of *England*. Soon after the Powers were ſent over by him, the Treaty was concluded, to which he put the Great Seal, as he thought he was bound to do: In this, as he was a Privy Councellor, he had offered the King his beſt advice, and as he was Chancellor, he had executed his Office according to his Duty. As for putting the Seal to the Powers, he had done it upon the King's Letter, which was a real Warrant, tho' not a formal one: he had indeed deſired, that a Warrant in due form might be ſent him for his own ſecurity; but he did not think it became him, to endanger the Publick, only for want of a point of form, in ſo critical a time, where great diſpatch was requiſite. He ſpoke ſo fully and ſo clearly, that, upon his withdrawing, it was believed, if the Queſtion had been quickly put, the whole matter had been ſoon at an end, and that the proſecution would have been let fall: But his enemies drew out the Debate to ſuch a length, that the impreſſion, which his Speech had made, was much worn out; and the Houſe ſitting till it was paſt midnight, they at laſt carried it by a Majority of ſeven or eight to impeach him and the Earl of *Orford* and the Lord *Haliſax*, of high Crimes and Miſdemeanours: The general Impeachment was brought up the next day to the Lords Bar. 1701

Contrary Addreſſes of the two Houſes.

The Commons were very ſenſible, that thoſe Impeachments muſt come to nothing, and that they had not a Majority in the Houſe of Lords, to judge in them, as they ſhould direct; So they reſolved on a ſhorter way, to fix a ſevere cenſure on the Lords, whom they had thus impeached; They voted an Addreſs to the King, for excluding them from his Preſence and Councils for ever; This had never gone along with an Impeachment before; The Houſe of Commons had indeed begun ſuch a practice in King *Charles* the Second's time: When they diſliked a Miniſter, but had not matter to ground an Impeachment on, they had taken this method, of making an Addreſs againſt him, but it was a new attempt, to come with an Addreſs after an Impeachment: This was puniſhing before Trial, contrary to an indiſpenſible Rule of Juſtice, of not judging before the Parties were heard: The Lords ſaw, that this made their Judicature ridiculous, when, in the firſt inſtance of an Accuſation, application was made to the King for a Cenſure, and a very ſevere one; ſince few Miſdemeanours could deſerve a harder Sentence. Upon theſe grounds, the Lords prevented the Commons, and ſent ſome of their Body to the King, with an Addreſs, praying him, that he would not proceed to any Cenſure of theſe Lords, till they had undergone their Trial. The King received theſe Addreſſes, ſo contrary to one another, from both Houſes, but made no anſwer to either of them; unleſs the letting the Names of theſe Lords continue ſtill in the Council Books, might be taken, as a refuſing to grant what the Commons had deſired. They renewed their Addreſs, but had no direct anſwer from the King; This, tho' a piece of common juſtice, was complained of, and it was ſaid, that theſe Lords had ſtill great credit with the King; The Commons had, for forms ſake, ordered a Committee to prepare Articles of Impeachment, but they intended to let the matter ſleep; thinking that, what they had already done had ſo marked thoſe Lords, that the King could not imploy them any more; for that was the main thing they drove at.

The King owned the King of *Spain*.

While this was in agitation, a Letter came to the King from the King of *Spain*, giving notice of his Acceſſion to that Crown; it was dated, the Day after he entered into *Spain*, but the Date and the Letter were viſibly writ at different times; The King ordered the Letter to be read in the Cabinet Council;

1701 there was ſome ſhort debate concerning it, but it was never brought into any further deliberation there. The Earl of *Rochester* ſaw the King ſeemed diſtruſtful of him, and reſerved to him in that matter, and was highly offended at it: He and the reſt of the new Miniſtry preſſed the King, to own the King of *Spain*, and to anſwer his Letter; and ſince the *Dutch* had done it, it ſeemed reaſonable that the King ſhould likewiſe do it; They prevailed at laſt, but with much difficulty; The thing was kept ſecret, and was not communicated to the Privy Council, or to the two Houſes, nor did the King ſpeak of it to any of the Foreign Miniſters; The *Paris Gazette* gave the World the firſt notice of it. This being carried in ſuch a manner, ſeemed the more ſtrange, becauſe this Miniſtry had ſo lately condemned a former One, for not communicating the Partition Treaty to the Council, before it was concluded; and yet had, in a matter of great conſequence, ſo ſoon forgot the Cenſures, they had thrown out ſo liberally, upon the ſecrecy with which that matter had been tranſacted. While things were moving in ſuch a ſlow and uncertain pace in *England*, the *Dutch* had daily new Alarms brought them of the Forces, that the *French* were pouring into their Neighbourhood; into the *Spaniſh Guelder* on the one hand, and into *Antwerp* on the other; So that they were apprehenſive of a deſign, both upon *Nimeguen* and *Bergen-op-zoom*: They took the beſt care they could to ſecure their Frontier: The Negotiations went on ſlowly at the *Hague*; The *French* rejected all their demands, and offered nothing but to renew the Peace of *Ryſwick*; This the *Dutch* laid again before the King, in a very awakening ſtrain; and he ſent all to the Houſe of Commons, but they could not be brought to declare, that the Offers made by the *French* were not ſufficient. *D'Avaux*, ſeeing this coldneſs in our Councils, refuſed to treat any more with the *Dutch*, in conjunction with the Envoy of *England*, and ſaid, his Powers directed him only to them; This put a full ſtop to all further Treaty; for the *States* ſaid, they were engaged in ſuch a cloſe conjunction with *England*, that they could not enter on a ſeparate Treaty. In the mean while they armed powerfully; and our Fleet, in conjunction with theirs, were Maſters of the Sea; but for want of Marines, they were in no condition to make any impreſſion on the Enemy. The Emperor went on, with his preparation for a Campaign in *Italy*; The *French* ſent an Army into the *Milaneſe*, that they reckoned would be much ſuperior to any Force the Emperor could ſend thither; The Duke of *Savoy* was engaged in the intereſt of *France*, by King *Philip*'s marrying his Second Daughter: The Pope ſtill refuſed to give the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, or to accept the annual preſent; for he would not quite break with the Emperor.

Negotiations in ſeveral places.

The *French* practices were every where the more prevalent, becauſe they gave out that *England* would not engage in a War, and the face of our Affairs looked but dark at home; The Emperor's Miniſters had an uneaſy time among us; the King encouraged them, but the new Miniſters were ſcarce civil to them, and ſtudied to put them quite out of hope; The King of *Denmark* entered into a Treaty with the Emperor and the *States*; Great pains were taken to mediate a Peace between *Sweden* and *Poland*; The Court of *France*, as well as that of *Vienna*, tried it; both ſides hoping that *Sweden*, if not *Poland*, might enter into their intereſts: The *French* reckoned that *Denmark* and *Sweden* could never be on the ſame ſide; So, when they found they could not gain *Denmark*, they tried a Mediation, hoping to get *Sweden* into an Alliance with them, but all attempts for a Mediation proved unſucceſsful. The Diet of *Poland* was put off, and their King being delivered from them, reſolved to carry on the War; The *Spaniards*, and the Subjects of their other Dominions, began to feel the Inſolence of the *French* very ſenſibly; but nothing was more uneaſy to them, than the new Regulations they were endeavouring to bring in, to leſſen the expence of the Court of *Spain*: So they ſeemed well diſpoſed to entertain a new Pretender.

An Act declaring a Proteſtant Succeſſion.

While all theſe things were in a ferment all *Europe* over; The declaring a Proteſtant Succeſſor, after the Princeſs and ſuch Iſſue as ſhe might have, ſeemed to be forgot by our Parliament, tho' the King had begun his Speech with it. The new Miniſters ſpoke of it with much zeal; from this their friends made inferences in their favour, that certainly men, in the intereſts of *France*, would not promote a deſign ſo deſtructive of all they drove at: This was ſo little of a piece

a piece, with the reſt of their conduct, that thoſe, who were ſtill jealous of their ſincerity, looked on it as a blind, to cover their ill deſigns, and to gain them ſome credit; for they could not but ſee, that, if *France* was once poſſeſſed of the Power and Wealth of *Spain*, our Laws, and every thing that we could do to ſupport them, would prove but feeble defences. The manner, in which this motion of the Succeſſion was managed, did not carry in it great marks of ſincerity; It was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the moſt trifling matters; at laſt, when a day was ſolemnly ſet for it, and all people expected, that it ſhould paſs without any difficulty, *Harley* moved, that ſome things previous to that might be firſt conſidered. He obſerved, that the haſte the Nation was in, when the preſent Government was ſettled, had made us go too faſt, and overlook many ſecurities, which might have prevented much miſchief, and therefore he hoped they would not now fall into the ſame error: nothing preſſed them at preſent, ſo he moved they would ſettle ſome Conditions of Government, as Preliminaries, before they ſhould proceed to the Nomination of the Perſon; that ſo we might fix every thing that was wanting, to make our ſecurity compleat. This was popular, and took with many, and it had ſo fair an appearance, that indeed none could oppoſe it; Some weeks were ſpent upon it; Suſpicious people thought, this was done on deſign to blaſt the Motion, and to offer ſuch extravagant Limitations, as ſhould quite change the Form of our Government, and render the Crown titular and precarious: The King was alarmed at it, for almoſt every particular, that was propoſed, implied a reflection on him and his Adminiſtration, chiefly that of not imploying Strangers, and not going too often out of the Kingdom; It was propoſed, that every thing ſhould be done with the advice of the Privy Council, and every Privy Counſellor was to ſign his advice; All men, who had Places or Penſions, were made incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons; As all this was unacceptable to the King, ſo many, who had an ill opinion of the deſign of thoſe, who were now at the Helm, began to conclude, that the delays were affected, and that theſe Limitations were deſigned, to raiſe diſputes between the Two Houſes, by which the Bill might be loſt. When ſome time had been ſpent in thoſe Preliminaries, it came to the nomination of the Perſon; Sir *John Bowles*, who was then diſordered in his Senſes, and ſoon after quite loſt them, was ſet on by the Party, to be the firſt that ſhould name the Electoreſs Dowager of *Brunſwick*, which ſeemed done to make it leſs ſerious, when moved by ſuch a perſon: He was, by the Forms of the Houſe, put in the Chair of the Committee, to whom the Bill was committed: The thing was ſtill put off for many weeks; At every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldneſs, which ſerved to heighten the jealouſy; The Committee once or twice ſate upon it, but all the Members ran out of the Houſe, with ſo much indecency, that the Contrivers ſeemed aſhamed of this management: There were ſeldom fifty or ſixty at the Committee; yet in concluſion, it paſt and was ſent up to the Lords; where we expected great oppoſition would be made to it: Some imagined, the Act was only an artifice, deſigned to gain credit to thoſe, who at this time were ſo ill thought of over the Nation, that they wanted ſome colourable thing, to excuſe their other proceedings: Many of the Lords abſented themſelves on deſign; Some little oppoſition was made by the Marquiſs of *Normanby*; And four Lords, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Plymouth* and the Lords *Guilford* and *Jefferies*, proteſted againſt it. Thoſe, who wiſh'd well to the Act, were glad to have it paſſed any way, and ſo would not examine the Limitations that were in it; they thought it of great importance to carry the Act, and that, at another time, thoſe Limitations might be better conſidered: So the Act paſſed, and the King ſent it over by the Earl of *Macclesfield* to the Electoreſs, together with the Garter to the Elector. We reckoned it a great point carried, that we had now a Law on our ſide, for a Proteſtant Succeſſor; for we plainly ſaw, a great Party formed againſt it, in favour of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. He was now paſt thirteen, bred up with a hatred both of our Religion and our Conſtitution, in an admiration of the *French* Government; and yet many who called themſelves Proteſtants, ſeemed fond of ſuch a Succeſſor; a degree of infatuation that might juſtly amaze all who obſerved it, and ſaw the fury with which it was promoted. 1701

1701

An Act explaining Privilege.

Another very good Act paſt this Seſſion, concerning the Privilege of Parliament; Peers had, by Law or Cuſtom, a Privilege for themſelves and their Servants, during the Seſſion, and at leaſt twenty days before and after; of late they have reckoned forty days before and after, in which neither they nor their Servants could be ſued in any Court, unleſs for Treaſon, Felony, or breach of the Peace: The Houſe of Commons had alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſame Privilege; but with this difference, that the Lords pretended theirs was a right, not ſubject to the Order of the Houſe of Lords; whereas the Commons held, that their Privilege was ſubject to the Authority of their Houſe: Of late years Seſſions were long and continued by intermediate Prorogations, ſo that the whole year round was a time of Privilege; This made a great obſtruction in the courſe of juſtice, and none, who were ſo protected, could be ſued for Debt; The abuſe was carried further, by the Protections which ſome Lords gave, or rather ſold to perſons, who were no way concerned in their affairs; but when they needed this ſhelter, they had a pretended office given them, that was a bar to all Arreſts: After many fruitleſs attempts to regulate theſe abuſes, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, that took away all Privilege againſt legal Proſecutions, in intermediate Prorogations, and did ſo regulate it, during the ſitting of Parliament, that an effectual remedy was provided for a grievance, that had been long and much complained of: Theſe were the only popular things, that were done by this Parliament, the reſt of their proceedings ſhewed both the madneſs and fury of Parties.

Proceedings upon the Impeachments.

The Impeachments lay long neglected in the Houſe of Commons, and probably they would have been let ſleep, if the Lords concerned had not moved for a Trial; On their motion, Meſſages were ſent to the Commons to quicken their Proceedings; At laſt, Articles were framed and brought up, firſt againſt the Earl of *Orford*: He was charged for taking great Grants from the King; *Kid*'s buſineſs was objected to him; he was alſo charged for abuſes in managing the Fleet, and victualling it, when it lay on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and for ſome Orders he had given, during his Command; and in concluſion, for his adviſing the Partition Treaty. And in ſetting this out, the Commons urged, that the King, by the Alliance made with the Emperor in the year 1689, was bound to maintain his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, which they ſaid was ſtill in force; So the Partition Treaty was a Breach of Faith, contrary to that Alliance, and this paſt current in the Houſe of Commons, without any Debate or Enquiry into it; for every thing was acceptable there, that loaded that Treaty, and theſe Lords: But they did not conſider, that by this they declared, they thought the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right to that Succeſſion: yet this was not intended by thoſe, who managed the Party, who had not hitherto given any countenance to the Emperor's pretenſions: So apt are Parties to make uſe of any thing, that may ſerve a turn, without conſidering the conſequences of it.

And firſt, The Articles againſt the Earl of *Orford*.

The Earl of *Orford*'s Anſwer.

The Earl of *Orford* put in his Anſwer in four days; He ſaid he had no Grant of the King, but a Reverſion at a great diſtance, and a Gift of ten thouſand Pounds, after he had defeated the *French* at *La Hogue*, which he thought he might lawfully accept of, as all others before him had done: He opened *Kid*'s matter, in which he had acted legally, with good intentions to the publick, and to his own loſs: His Accounts, while he commanded the Fleet, had been all examined and were paſt; but he was ready to wave that, and to juſtify himſelf in every particular, and he denied his having given any Advice about the Partition Treaty; This was immediately ſent down to the Commons; But they let it lie before them, without coming to a replication; which is only a piece of Form, by which they undertake to make good their charge.

Articles of Impeachment againſt Lord *Somers*.

Articles were next ſent up againſt the Lord *Somers*; In theſe the two Partition Treaties were copiouſly ſet forth, and it was laid down for a foundation, that the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*; Lord *Somers* was charged, for ſetting the Seals, firſt to the Powers and then to the Treaties themſelves; He was alſo charged, for accepting ſome Grants, and the manner of taking them was repreſented as fraudulent, he ſeeming to buy them of the King, and then getting himſelf diſcharged of the

Price

Price contracted for; *Kid*'s buſineſs was alſo mentioned, and dilatory and partial proceedings in Chancery were objected to him. He put in his Anſwer in a very few days: In the Partition Treaty, he ſaid, he had offered the King very faithful advice as a Counſellor, and had acted according to the duty of his Poſt, as Chancellor; So he had nothing more to anſwer for: As for his Grants, the King deſigned him a Grant to ſuch a value; The King was not deceived in the value; The manner of paſſing it, was according to the uſual methods of the Treaſury, in order to make a Grant ſure, and out of the danger of being avoided. *Kid*'s buſineſs was opened, as was formerly ſet forth; and as to the Court of Chancery, he had applied himſelf wholly to the diſpatch of buſineſs in it, with little regard to his own health or quiet, and had acted according to the beſt of his judgment, without fear or favour. This was preſently ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, and upon that they were at a full ſtand: They framed no Articles againſt the Earl of *Portland*, which was repreſented to the King, as an expreſſion of their reſpect to him.

1701
Lord *Somers*'s Anſwer.

Some time after this, near the end of the Seſſion, they ſent up Articles againſt the Lord *Halifax*, which I mention here, that I may end this matter all at once; They charged him for a Grant that he had in *Ireland*, and that he had not paid in the produce of it, as the Act concerning thoſe Grants had enacted: They charged him for another Grant, out of the Foreſt of *Dean*, to the waſte of the Timber, and prejudice of the Navy of *England*: They charged him, for holding Places that were incompatible, being at the ſame time both a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Auditor of the Exchequer; and in concluſion, he was charged for adviſing the two Partition Treaties. He was as quick with his Anſwer as the other Lords had been; He ſaid, his Grant in *Ireland* was of ſome Debts and Sums of Money, and ſo was not thought to be within the Act, concerning confiſcated Eſtates; All he had ever received of it, was four hundred pounds; If he was bound to repay it, he was liable to an Action for it; but every man was not to be impeached, who did not pay his Debts, at the day of payment. His Grant in the Foreſt of *Dean* was only of the Weedings; ſo it could be no waſte of Timber, nor a prejudice to the Navy; The Auditor's place was held by another, till he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treaſury; As for the firſt Partition Treaty, he never once ſaw it, nor was he ever adviſed with in it; As for the ſecond, he gave his Advice very freely about it, at the ſingle time, in which he had ever heard any thing concerning it; This was ſent down to the Commons, but was never ſo much as once read by them. When, by theſe Articles and the Anſwers to them, it appeared, that after all the noiſe and clamour that had been raiſed againſt the former Miniſtry (more particularly againſt the Lord *Halifax*) for the great waſte of Treaſure, during their Adminiſtration, that now, upon the ſtricteſt ſearch, all ended in ſuch poor accuſations; it turned the minds of many, that had been formerly prejudiced againſt them. It appeared, that it was the animoſity of a Party at beſt, if it was not a *French* practice, to ruin men, who had ſerved the King faithfully, and to diſcourage others, from engaging themſelves ſo far in his Intereſts, as theſe Lords had done. They ſaw the effect that muſt follow on this: and that the King could not enter upon a new War, if they could diſcourage from his Service all the men of lively and active tempers, that would raiſe a ſpirit in the Nation, for ſupporting ſuch an important and dangerous War, as this now in proſpect was like to prove.

Articles of Impeachment againſt Lord *Halifax*.

Lord *Halifax*'s Anſwer.

This gave a general diſguſt to all *England*, more particularly to the City of *London*, where Foreign affairs and the intereſt of Trade were generally better underſtood; The old *Eaſt-India* company, tho' they hated the Miniſtry that ſet up the new, and ſtudied to ſupport this Houſe of Commons, from whom they expected much favour; yet they, as well as the reſt of the City, ſaw viſibly that firſt the ruin of Trade, and then, as a conſequence of that, the ruin of the Nation muſt certainly enſue, if *France* and *Spain* were once firmly united: So they began openly to condemn the proceedings of the Commons, and to own a jealouſy, that the *Lewis d' Or's* ſent hither of late, had not come over to *England* for nothing. This diſpoſition to blame the ſlowneſs, in which the Houſe of Commons proceeded, with relation to Foreign Affairs, and the heat with which

The Proceedings of Parliament much cenſured.

1701

The *Kentiſh* Petition.

private quarrels were purſued, began to ſpread it ſelf thro' the whole Nation. Thoſe of the County of *Kent* ſent up a Petition to the Houſe, deſiring them to mind the Publick more, and their private heats leſs, and to turn their Addreſſes to the King, to Bills of Supplies, to enable him both to protect the Nation, and to defend our Allies. This was brought up by ſome Perſons of Quality, and was preſented by them to the Houſe: But it was looked on as a Libel on their Proceedings; and the Gentlemen, who brought it up, were ſent to Priſon; where they lay till the Prorogation, but they were much viſited and treated as Confeſſors. This was highly cenſured; it was ſaid, the Commons were the Creatures of the People, and upon all other occaſions, they uſed to favour and encourage Petitions: This ſeverity was condemned therefore as unnatural, and without a precedent: It was much queſtioned, whether they had really an Authority to Impriſon any except their own Members, or ſuch as had violated the Privilege of their Houſe: But the Party thought it was convenient, by ſuch an unuſual ſeverity, to diſcourage others from following the example ſet them by thoſe of *Kent*: for a deſign was laid to get Addreſſes of the ſame nature, from all parts of the Kingdom, chiefly from the City of *London*. The Miniſters repreſented to the King, what an indignity this would be to the Houſe of Commons; and that, if he did not diſcourage it, he might look for unacceptable things from them. It might rather diſcourage, than give heart to our Allies, if they ſhould ſee ſuch a disjointing, and both City and Country in an oppoſition to the Houſe of Commons; Some went in his Name, to the eminent Men of the City, to divert it, yet with all this it came ſo near, for ſuch an Addreſs, in a Common Council, that the Lord Mayor's Vote turned it for the Negative, ſo that fell. But a diſpoſition to a War, and to a more hearty concurrence with the King, appeared to be the general ſenſe of the Nation, and this had a great effect on the Houſe of Commons: They began to talk of a War as unavoidable; and when the Seſſion drew near an end, they, by an Addreſs deſired the King to enter into ſuch Alliances with the Emperor, and other States and Princes, as were neceſſary for the ſupport of us and our Allies, and to bring down the exorbitant Power of *France*. This was oppoſed with great zeal by thoſe, who were looked on as the chief Conductors of the Jacobite Party, tho' many, who had in other things gone along with them, thought this was the only mean that was left, to recover their Credit with the people: for the current ran ſo ſtrong for a War, that thoſe, who ſtruggled againſt it, were looked on as little better than publick Enemies. They had found good Funds for a Million and a half; It is true, one of theſe was very unacceptable to the King: It was obſerved, that the allotment for the Civil Liſt did far exceed the Sum that was deſigned, which was only ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and that, as King *James*'s Queen would not take her Jointure, ſo by the Duke of *Glocester*'s death, the charge on it was now leſs than when it was granted; ſo they took almoſt four thouſand pounds a Week out of the Exciſe, and, upon an Aſſignation made of that for ſome years, a great ſum was raiſed; This was very ſenſible to the Court, and the new Miniſters found it no eaſy thing to maintain, at the ſame time, their Intereſt both with the King and their Party: This matter was at laſt yielded to by the King. All the remainder of this Seſſion relates to the Impeachments.

Meſſages paſt between the two Houſes.

The Lords had reſolved to begin with the Trial of the Earl of *Orford*; becauſe the Articles againſt him were the firſt that were brought up; and ſince the Commons made no Replication, the Lords, according to clear Precedents, named a day for his Trial, and gave notice of it to the Houſe of Commons: Upon this, the Commons moved the Lords, to agree to name a Committee of both Houſes for ſettling the Preliminaries of the Trial, and they named two Preliminaries; One was, that the Lord who was to be tried, ſhould not ſit as a Peer; the other was, that thoſe Lords, who were impeached for the ſame matter, might not vote in the Trial of one another: They alſo acquainted the Lords, that the courſe of their Evidence led them to begin with the Lord *Somers*. The Lords judged their laſt demand reaſonable, and agreed to it; but diſagreed to the others. They conſidered themſelves as a Court of Juſtice, and how great ſoever the regard due to the Houſe of Commons might be, in all other reſpects, yet in matters of Juſtice, where they were the Accuſers, they could only be conſidered

dered as Parties. The King, when he had a Suit with a Subject, ſubmitted to the equality of Juſtice; So the Commons ought to pretend to no advantage over a ſingle perſon, in a Trial; A Court of Juſtice ought to hear the demands of both Parties pleaded fairly, and then to judge impartially; A Committee named by one of the Parties, to ſit in an equality with the Judges, and to ſettle matters relating to the Trial, was a thing practiſed in no Court or Nation, and ſeemed contrary to the principles of Law or rules of Juſtice: By theſe means, they could at leaſt delay Trials, as long as they pleaſed, and all delays of juſtice are real and great injuſtices. This had never been demanded but once, in the caſe of the Popiſh Plot; then it was often refuſed; it is true, it was at laſt yielded to by the Lords, tho' with great oppoſition; That was a caſe of Treaſon, in which the King's Life and the Safety of the Nation was concerned; There was then a great jealouſy of the Court, and of the Lords that belonged to it; and the Nation was in ſo great a ferment, that the Lords might at that time yield to ſuch a motion, tho' it derogated from their Judicature: That ought not to be ſet up for a precedent for a quiet time, and in a caſe pretended to be no more than a Miſdemeanor; So the Lords reſolved not to admit of this, but to hear whatſoever ſhould be propoſed by the Commons, and to give them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction in it. The chief point in queſtion, in the year 1679, was, how far the Biſhops might ſit and vote in Trials of Treaſon; but without all diſpute, they were to vote in Trials for Miſdemeanors; it was alſo ſettled in the caſe of the Lord *Mordaunt*, that a Lord tried for a Miſdemeanor was to ſit within the Bar; In all other Courts, men tried for ſuch Offences came within the Bar; This was ſtronger in the caſe of a Peer, who by his Patent had a Seat in that Houſe, from which nothing but a judgment of the Houſe, for ſome offence, could remove him: They indeed found that, in King *James* the Firſt's time, the Earl of *Middleſex*, being accuſed of Miſdemeanors, was brought to the Bar; But as that proſecution was violent, ſo there had been no later precedent of that kind, to govern proceedings by it: There had been many ſince that time, and it had been ſettled, as a rule for future times, that Peers tried for ſuch Offences were to ſit within the Bar. The other Preliminary was, that Peers accuſed for the ſame Offence, might not vote in the Trials of the others: The Lords found, that a right of voting was ſo inherent in every Peer in all cauſes, except where himſelf was a Party, that it could not be taken from him, but by a ſentence of the Houſe; a Vote of the Houſe could not deprive him of it; Otherwiſe, a Majority might upon any pretence deny ſome Peers their right of voting, and the Commons, by impeaching many Peers at once, for the ſame offence might exclude as many Lords as they pleaſed from judging: It was alſo obſerved, that a man might be a judge in any cauſe, in which he might be a Witneſs; And it was a common practice to bring perſons, charged with the ſame offence, if they were not in the ſame Indictment, to witneſs the facts, with which they themſelves were charged, in another Indictment: and a parity of reaſon appeared in the caſe of Lords, who were charged in different Impeachments, for the ſame facts, that they might be judges in one another's Trials. Upon theſe points, many Meſſages paſſed between the two Houſes, with ſo much precipitation, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, between the Anſwers and the Replies: The Commons ſtill kept off the Trial, by affected delays; It was viſible, that when a Trial ſhould come on, they had nothing to charge theſe Lords with: So the Leaders of the Party ſhewed their skill, in finding out excuſes, to keep up the clamour, and to hinder the matters from being brought to an iſſue: The main point, that was ſtill inſiſted on, was a Committee of both Houſes, ſo according to the forms of the Houſe, it was brought to a free Conference. 1701

In it, the Lord *Haverſham*, ſpeaking to the point of Lords being partial in their own caſes and therefore not proper judges, ſaid that the Houſe of Commons had plainly ſhewed their partiality, in impeaching ſome Lords for facts, in which others were equally concerned with them, who yet were not impeached by them, tho' they were ſtill in credit and about the King; which ſhewed, that they thought neither the one nor the other were guilty. The Commons thought, they had now found an occaſion of quarrelling with the Lords, which they were looking for; So they immediately withdrew from the Conference,

1701 tho' they were told that the Lord *Haverſham* ſpoke only his own private ſenſe, and not by any direction from the Houſe. The Houſe of Commons ſent up a Complaint to the Lords, of this Reflection on their Proceedings, as an indignity done them, for which they expected Reparation; Upon this, the Lord *Haverſham* offered himſelf to a Trial, and ſubmitted to any Cenſure, that the Lords ſhould think he had deſerved; but inſiſted that the words muſt firſt be proved, and he muſt be allowed to put his own ſenſe on them; The Lords ſent this to the Commons, but they ſeemed to think that the Lords ought to have proceeded to cenſure him in a ſummary way, which the Lords thought, being a Court of Judicature, they could not do, till the words were proved, and the importance of them diſcuſſed.

The Lords tried and acquitted.

The Houſe of Commons had now got a pretence to juſtify their not going further in theſe Trials; and they reſolved to inſiſt upon it: They ſaid, they could expect no juſtice, and therefore they could not go on with the proſecutions of their Impeachments; And a day being ſet for the Lord *Somers*'s Trial, they excepting ſtill, it was put off for ſome time, at laſt a peremptory day was fixed for it; But the Commons refuſed to appear, and ſaid they were the only Judges, when they were ready with their Evidence, and that it was a mockery, to go to a Trial, when they were not ready to appear at it. There were great and long Debates upon this in the Houſe of Lords; The new Miniſtry, and all the Jacobites joined to ſupport the pretenſions of the Commons: every ſtep was to be made by a Vote, againſt which many Lords proteſted, and the reaſons given, in ſome of their proteſtations, were thought to be ſo injurious to the Houſe, that they were by a Vote ordered to be expunged, a thing that ſeldom happens. When the day ſet for the Trial came, the other Lords, who were alſo impeached, asked the leave of the Houſe to withdraw, and not to ſit and vote in it; This was granted them, tho' it was much oppoſed and proteſted againſt by the Tory Party, becauſe the giving ſuch leave, ſuppoſed that they had a right to vote: The Lords went down in Form to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the Articles againſt the Lord *Somers* were firſt read; Lord *Somers*'s Anſwers were next read; and none appearing to make good the charge, the Lords came back to their Houſe, where they had a long and warm Debate of many hours, concerning the Queſtion that was to be put; The Judges told them, that, according to the Forms of Law, it ought to be *Guilty*, or *not Guilty*: But thoſe of the Party ſaid, as it was certain, that none could vote him Guilty, ſo ſince the Houſe of Commons had not come to make good the charge, they could not vote him not Guilty; ſo to give them ſome content, the Queſtion, agreed on to be put, was, whether he ought to be acquitted of the Impeachment or not? That being ſettled, the Lords went again to the Hall, and the queſtion being put, fifty ſix voted in the Affirmative, and thirty one in the Negative. Upon this, the Houſe of Commons paſſed ſome high Votes againſt the Lords, as having denied them juſtice, and having obſtructed the publick proceedings; and called the Trial a pretended Trial. The Lords went as high in their Votes againſt the Commons; and each Houſe ordered a Narrative of the proceedings to be publiſhed, for ſatisfying the Nation; A few days after this, the Earl of *Orford*'s Trial came on, but all the Lords of the other ſide withdrawing, there was no diſpute; So he was acquitted by an unanimous Vote. The Lords did alſo acquit both the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Halifax*; and becauſe the Commons had never inſiſted on their proſecution of the Duke of *Leeds*, which they had begun ſome years before, they likewiſe acquitted him, and ſo this contentious Seſſion came to an end. The two Houſes had gone ſo far in their Votes againſt one another, that it was believed they would never meet again; The proceedings of the Lords had the general approbation of the Nation on their ſide; Moſt of the Biſhops adhered to the impeached Lords, and their behaviour on this occaſion was much commended; I bore ſome ſhare in thoſe Debates, perhaps more than became me, conſidering my ſtation and other circumſtances; But as I was convinced of the innocence of the Lords, ſo I thought the Government itſelf was ſtruck at, and therefore when I apprehended all was in danger, I was willing to venture every thing in ſuch a quarrel; The violence, as well as the folly of the Party, loſt

them

them much ground, with all indifferent men; but with none more, than with the King himſelf; who found his error, in changing his Miniſtry at ſo critical a time; and he now ſaw, that the Tories were at heart irreconcileable to him: In particular, he was extream uneaſy with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, of whoſe imperious and intractable temper he complained much, and ſeemed reſolved to diſengage himſelf quickly from him, and never to return to him any more. He thought the Party was neither ſolid nor ſincere, and that they were actuated by paſſion and revenge, without any views with relation to our quiet at home, or to our affairs abroad. 1701

A Convocation of the Clergy met.

But having now given an account of the Seſſion of Parliament, I turn to another ſcene: When the new Miniſtry undertook to ſerve the King, one of their Demands was, that a Convocation ſhould have leave to ſit, which was promiſed, and it ſate this Winter; Dr. *Atterbury*'s Book, concerning the Rights of a Convocation, was reprinted with great Corrections and Additions; The firſt Edition was drawn out of ſome imperfect and diſorderly Collections, and he himſelf ſoon ſaw that, notwithſtanding the aſſurance and the virulence with which it was writ, he had made many great miſtakes in it; So, to prevent a diſcovery from other hands, he corrected his Book, in many important matters; Yet he left a great deal to thoſe who anſwered him, and did it with ſuch a ſuperiority of Argument and of Knowledge in theſe matters, that his inſolence in deſpiſing theſe Anſwers, was as extraordinary, as the Parties adhering to him after ſuch manifeſt diſcoveries. Dr. *Kennet* laid him ſo open, not only in many particulars, but in a thread of ignorance that ran thro' his whole Book, that if he had not had a meaſure of confidence peculiar to himſelf, he muſt have been much humbled under it. The Clergy hoped to recover many loſt Privileges, by the help of his performances; They fancied they had a right to be a part of the Parliament, ſo they looked on him as their Champion, and on moſt of the Biſhops, as the Betrayers of the Rights of the Church: This was encouraged by the new Miniſtry; They were diſpleaſed with the Biſhops, for adhering to the old Miniſtry; and they hoped, by the Terror of a Convocation, to have forced them to apply to them for ſhelter. The Jacobites intended to put us all in ſuch a flame, as they hoped would diſorder the Government. The things the Convocation pretended to, were firſt, that they had a right to ſit whenſoever the Parliament ſate: So that they could not be prorogued, but when the two Houſes were prorogued: Next they advanced, that they had no need of a Licence to enter upon Debates, and to prepare matters, tho' it was confeſſed, that the practice for an hundred years was againſt them; But they thought the Convocation lay under no farther reſtraint, than that the Parliament was under; and as they could paſs no Act without the Royal Aſſent; ſo they confeſſed that they could not enact or publiſh a Canon without the King's Licenſe. Antiently the Clergy granted their own Subſidies apart, but ever ſince the Reformation, the Grant of the Convocation was not thought good, till it was ratified in Parliament; But the Rule of Subſidies being ſo high on the Clergy, they had ſubmitted to be taxed by the Houſe of Commons, ever ſince the year 1665, tho' no Memorials were left to inform us, how that matter was conſented to ſo generally, that no oppoſition of any ſort was made to it; The giving of Money being yielded up, which was the chief buſineſs of Convocations, they had after that nothing to do; ſo they ſate only for Form's ſake, and were adjourned of courſe; nor did they ever pretend, notwithſtanding all the danger that Religion was in during the former Reigns, to ſit and act as a Synod; but now this was demanded as a Right, and they complained of their being ſo often prorogued, as a violation of their Conſtitution, for which all the Biſhops, but more particularly the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was cried out on; They ſaid, that he and the Biſhops looked ſo much to their own Intereſts, that they forgot the Intereſts of the Church, or rather betrayed them: The greater part of the Clergy were in no good temper: they hated the Toleration, and were heavily charged with the Taxes, which made them very uneaſy; and this diſpoſed them to be ſoon inflamed by thoſe, who were ſeeking out all poſſible methods to diſorder our affairs: They hoped to have engaged them againſt the Supremacy, and reckoned, that in the feeble ſtate to which the Government was now brought,

1701 they might hope either to wreſt it quite from the Crown, and then it would fall into the Management of the Houſe of Commons; Or if the King ſhould proceed againſt them according to the Statute, and ſue them in a Premunire, this might unite the Clergy into ſuch an oppoſition to the Government, as would probably throw us into great Convulſions: But many aſpiring men among them, had no other deſign, but to force themſelves into Preferment, by the oppoſition they made. In the Writ that the Biſhops had, ſummoning them to Parliament, the Clauſe, known by the firſt word of it *Premunientes*, was ſtill continued: at firſt, by virtue of it, the inferior Clergy were required to come to Parliament, and to conſent to the Aids there given; But after the Archbiſhops had the provincial Writ, for a Convocation of the Province, the other was no more executed, tho' it was ſtill kept in the Writ, and there did not appear the leaſt ſhadow of any uſe that had been made of it, for ſome hundreds of years; yet now ſome Biſhops were prevailed on, to execute this Clauſe, and to Summon the Clergy by virtue of it: The Convocation was opened with Speeches, full of ſharp Reflections on the Biſhops, which they paſt over, being unwilling to begin a Diſpute.

Dr. *Hooper*, Dean of *Canterbury*, was choſen Prolocutor, a man of Learning and good conduct hitherto; he was reſerved, crafty and ambitious; his Deanery had not ſoften'd him, for he thought he deſerved to be raiſed higher. The conſtant method of Adjournments had been this; the Archbiſhop ſigned a Schedule for that purpoſe, by which the Upper Houſe was immediately adjourned, and that being ſent down to the Prolocutor, did alſo adjourn the Lower Houſe: The Clergy perceiving that, by this means, the Archbiſhop could adjourn them at pleaſure, and either hinder or break off all Debates, reſolved to begin at diſputing this point; and they brought a Paper to the Upper Houſe, in which they aſſerted their right of Adjourning themſelves, and cited ſome Precedents for it; To this, the Biſhops drew a very copious anſwer, in which all their Precedents were examined and anſwered, and the matter was ſo clearly ſtated, and ſo fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the Diſpute: The Lower Houſe ſate for ſome time about the Reply to this; but inſtead of going on with that, they deſired a free Conference: and began to affect, in all their Proceedings, to follow the methods of the Houſe of Commons: The Biſhops reſolved not to comply with this, which was wholly new: They had, upon ſome occaſions, called up the Lower Houſe to a Conference, in order to the explaining ſome things to them: But the Clergy had never taken upon them, to deſire a Conference with the Biſhops before; So they reſolved not to admit of it, and told them, they expected an Anſwer to the Paper they had ſent them: The Lower Houſe reſolved not to comply with this, but on the contrary to take no more notice of the Archbiſhop's Adjournments: They did indeed obſerve the rule of adjourning themſelves to the day, which the Archbiſhop had appointed in his Schedule, but they did it as their own Act, and they adjourned themſelves to intermediate days.

They diſpute the Archbiſhop's Power of adjourning them.

They Cenſure Books.

That they might expreſs a zeal in the matters of Religion, they reſolved to proceed againſt ſome bad Books; They began with one, entitled *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, wrote by one *Toland*, a man of a bold and petulant wit, who paſſed for a *Socinian*, but was believed to be a man of no Religion: They drew ſome propoſitions out of this Book, but did it with ſo little judgment, that they paſſed over the worſt, that were in it, and ſingled out ſome, that how ill ſoever they were meant, yet were capable of a good ſenſe: They brought up the Cenſure, that they had paſt on this Book, to the Biſhops, and deſired them to agree to their Reſolutions: This ſtruck ſo directly at the Epiſcopal Authority that it ſeemed ſtrange to ſee men, who had ſo long aſſerted the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, and that Presbyters were only their Aſſiſtants and Council (according to the Language of all Antiquity) now aſſume to themſelves the moſt important Act of Church Goverment, the judging in points of Doctrine: In this it appeared, how ſoon mens Intereſts and Paſſions can run them from one extreme to another: The Biſhops ſaw, that their deſign in this was only to gain ſome credit to themſelves, by this ſhew of zeal for the great Articles of Religion; So they took advice of men learned in the Law, how far the Act of Submiſſion in the twenty fifth of *Henry* the Eighth did reſtrain them in this caſe. There had

been the like complaint made in the Convocation 1698, of many ill Books then published; and the Biſhops had then adviſed both with Civilians and Common Lawyers in this matter: They were anſwered, that every Biſhop might proceed in his own Court, againſt the Authors or Spreaders of ill Books, within his Dioceſe: But they did not know of any Power the Convocation had to do it: it did not ſo much as appear, that they could ſummon any to come before them: And when a Book was publiſhed, with the Author's Name to it, the condemning it, without hearing the Author upon it, ſeemed contrary to the common rules of Juſtice. It did not ſeem to be a Court at all, and ſince no Appeal lay from it, it certainly could not be a Court, in the firſt inſtance. When this Queſtion was now again put to Lawyers, ſome were afraid, and others were unwilling to anſwer it: But Sir *Edward Northey*, afterwards made Attorney General, thought the condemning Books was a thing of great conſequence; ſince the Doctrine of the Church might be altered, by condemning Explanations of one ſort, and allowing thoſe of another; and ſince the Convocation had no Licence from the King, he thought that, by meddling in that matter, they ſhould incur the Pains in the Statute: ſo all further Debate of this matter was let fall by the Biſhops. The Lower Houſe going on, to ſit in intermediate days, many of the moſt eminent and learned among them, not only refuſed to ſit with them on thoſe days, but thought it was incumbent on them, to proteſt againſt their Proceedings; but the Lower Houſe refuſing to ſuffer this to be enter'd in their Books, they ſignified it in a Petition to the Archbiſhop. The Party ſitting alone, in thoſe intermediate days; they enter'd into ſuch a ſecreſy, that it could not be known what they ſate ſo cloſe upon: So the Archbiſhop appointed five Biſhops, together with ten they ſhould name, as a Committee to examine their Books; But tho' this had been often done, yet, upon this occaſion, the Lower Houſe refuſed to comply with it, or to name a Committee; This was ſuch an unprecedented invaſion of the Epiſcopal Authority, that the Upper Houſe reſolved to receive nothing from them, till that irregularity was ſet right. 1701

Hereupon they, being highly incenſed againſt me, cenſured my Expoſition of the Articles, which, in imitation of the General Impeachments by the Houſe of Commons, they put in three General Propoſitions: *Firſt*, That it allowed a diverſity of Opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid. *Secondly*, That it contained many Paſſages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church. *Thirdly*, That ſome things in it were of dangerous conſequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour of the Reformation. What the particulars, to which theſe general Heads referred, were, could never be learned; this was a Secret lodged in confiding hands: I begg'd, that the Archbiſhop would diſpenſe with the Order made, againſt further communication with the Lower Houſe, as to this matter: But they would enter into no particulars, unleſs they might at the ſame time offer ſome other matters, which the Biſhops would not admit of. And complain of my Expoſition.

In theſe Proceedings the Biſhops were unanimous, except the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Exeter*: The Biſhop of *London* had been twice diſappointed of his hopes, of being advanced to the See of *Canterbury*; ſo for ſeveral years he was engaged with the Tory Party, and oppoſed the Court in every thing, but with little force or authority: The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had been deeply engaged in the former Reigns, and he ſtuck firm to the Party, to which, by reaſon of the liberties of his Life, he brought no ſort of honour. Theſe Biſhops gave no great reputation to the proceedings of the Lower Houſe, to which they adhered; They likewiſe enter'd their Diſſent to the Reſolutions taken in the Upper Houſe. From the fire raiſed thus in Convocation, a great heat was ſpread thro' the whole Clergy of the Kingdom: it alienated them from their Biſhops, and raiſed Factions among them every where.

Thus ended the Seſſion of Parliament and Convocation, which had the worſt aſpect of any, that had ſate during this Reign. The new Miniſters preſſed the King often to diſſolve the Commiſſion, that recommended to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and to turn out ſome of the Whigs, who were in Employments, the Lord *Haverſham* in particular, who was in the Admiralty: But the King could not be prevailed on to do any thing, yet he kept himſelf ſo much on the reſerve, The King was ſtill reſerved.

1701 that when he went out of *England*, it was not certainly known, whether he intended to diſſolve the Parliament or not. When the King came to the *Hague*, he found the Negotiation with *France* quite at an end: the King of *France* had recalled his Miniſter; The *States* had encreaſed their Force, and the *French* were very ſtrong in their Neighbourhood: So that though no War was actually declared, yet it was very near breaking out.

Prince *Eugene* marched into *Italy*.

The Emperor's Army was now got into *Italy*: The entrance towards *Verona* was ſtopt by the *French*; but Prince *Eugene* came in by *Vincenza*; and when the Reinforcements and Artillery came up to him, he made a feint of paſſing the *Po* near *Ferrara*; and having thus amuſed the *French*, he paſſed the *Adige* near *Carpi*, where a Body of five thouſand *French* lay: theſe he routed, ſo the *French* retired to the *Mincio*: He followed them, and paſſed that River in their ſight, without any oppoſition: The *French* Army was commanded by the Duke of *Savoy*, with him were the Mareſchal *Catinat*, and the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governor of *Milan*: Theſe differed in opinion, the Duke of *Savoy* was for fighting; *Catinat* and Prince *Vaudemont* were againſt it: So the Mareſchal *Villeroy* was ſent thither, with Orders to fight. *Catinat*, who was the beſt General the *French* had left, looking on this as a Diſgrace, retired and languiſhed for ſome time; yet he recovered. There were many ſmall engagements of Parties ſent out on both ſides, in which the *Germans* had always the better: yet this did not diſcourage *Villeroy*, from venturing to attack them in their Camp at *Chiari*: but they were ſo well entrenched, and defended themſelves with ſo much reſolution, that the *French* were forced to draw off with great loſs: about five thouſand of them were killed, whereas the loſs of the *Germans* was inconſiderable. Sickneſs likewiſe broke in upon the *French*, ſo that their Army was much diminiſhed; and after this, they were not in a condition to undertake any thing. Prince *Eugene* lay for ſome time in his Camp at *Chiari*, ſending out Parties as far as the *Adda*, who meeting oft with Parties of the *French*, had always the advantage, killing ſome, and taking many Priſoners: For ſeveral Months, Prince *Eugene* had no place of defence to retire to; his Camp was all; ſo that a blow given him there, muſt have ruined his whole Army: towards the end of the Campaign, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the *Mantuan* Territory, except *Mantua* and *Goits*: he block'd them both up; and when the Seaſon obliged the *French* to go into Quarters, he took all the Places on the *Oglio*, and continued in motion the whole following Winter. The *French* had no other Enemy to deal with, ſo they poured in their whole force upon him: He was then but a young man, and had little aſſiſtance from thoſe about him, and none at all during the Summer from the Princes and States of *Italy*: For the Pope and the *Venetians* pretended to maintain a Neutrality, tho' upon many occaſions the Pope ſhewed great partiality to the *French*: The People indeed favoured him, ſo that he had good and ſeaſonable Intelligence brought him of all the motions of the *French*: and in his whole Conduct, he ſhewed both a depth of contrivance, and an exactneſs in execution, with all the courage, but without any of the raſhneſs of youth.

His attempt upon *Cremona*.

But to carry on the ſeries of his motions as far as this period of my Hiſtory goes, his attempt in *January* following upon *Cremona*, had almoſt proved a deciſive one. Mareſchal *Villeroy* lay there with ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, and commanded a Bridge on the *Po*; Prince *Eugene* had paſt that River, with a part of his Army, the Princeſs of *Mirandola* drove out the *French*, and received a Garriſon from him: The Duke of *Modena* put his Country in his hand, and gave him *Berſello*, the ſtrongeſt place of his Dominions: The Duke of *Parma* pretended he was the Pope's Vaſſal, and ſo put himſelf under the Protection of that See: Prince *Eugene* would not provoke the Pope too much, ſo he only marched thro' the *Parmezan*; here he laid the deſign of ſurpriſing *Cremona*, with ſo much ſecrecy, that the *French* had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. Prince *Eugene* went to poſt himſelf at the Head of a Body that he brought from the *Oglio*, and ordered another to come from the *Parmezan* at the ſame time, to force the Bridge. He marched with all ſecrecy to *Cremona*; at the ſame time, thro' the ruins of an old Aqueduct, he ſent in ſome Men, who got thro' and forced one of the Gates, ſo that he was within the Town, before Mareſchal *Villeroy* had any apprehenſion of an Enemy being near him: He wakened on the ſudden with the noiſe, got on

to the Street, and there he was taken Priſoner. But the other Body did not come up critically, at the time appointed: So an *Iriſh* Regiment ſecured the Bridge: And thus the Deſign, that was ſo well contrived, and ſo happily executed in one part, did fail. Prince *Eugene* had but four thouſand Men with him, ſo that ſince the other Body could not join him, he was forced to march back, which he did without any conſiderable loſs, carrying Mareſchal *Villeroy* and ſome other Priſoners with him. In this attempt, tho' he had not an entire Succeſs, yet he gained all the Glory, to which the ambition of a Military Man could aſpire, ſo that he was looked on as the greateſt and happieſt General of the Age: He went on enlarging his Quarters, ſecuring all his Poſts, and ſtraitning the Blockade of *Mantua*, and was in perpetual motion during the whole Winter: The *French* were ſtruck with this ill ſucceſs; More Troops were ſent into *Italy*, and the Duke of *Vendome* went to command the Armies there. 1701

The Duke of *Savoy* was preſſed to ſend his Forces thither: But he grew cold and backward: He had now gained all that he could promiſe himſelf from *France*. His Second Daughter was married to King *Philip*, and was ſent to him to *Barcelona*, and he came and met her there: *Philip* fell into an ill habit of Body, and had ſome returns of a Feveriſh Diſtemper: He had alſo great diſputes with the States of *Catalonia*, who, before they would grant him the Tax that was asked of them, propoſed that all their Privileges ſhould be confirmed to them. This took up ſome time, and occaſioned many diſputes: all was ſettled at laſt: But their Grant was ſhort of what was expected, and did not defray the Charges of the King's ſtay in the place. A great diſpoſition to revolt appeared in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and it broke out in ſome feeble attempts, that were ſoon maſtered, the Leaders of theſe were taken and executed: They juſtified themſelves by this Apology, that till the Pope granted the Inveſtiture, they could not be bound to obey the new King: The Duke of *Medina* was a ſevere Governor, both on his Maſter's account and on his own: Some of the *Auſtrian* Party made their eſcape to *Rome* and to *Vienna*: They repreſented to the Emperor, that the diſpoſition of the Country was ſuch, in his favour, that a ſmall Force of ten thouſand Men, would certainly put that Kingdom wholly into his hands. Orders were upon that ſent to Prince *Eugene*, to ſend a Detachment into the Kingdom of *Naples*: But tho' he believed, a ſmall Force would ſoon reduce that Kingdom, yet he judged that ſuch a diminution of his own ſtrength, when the *French* were ſending ſo many Troops into the *Milaneze*, would ſo expoſe him, that it would not be poſſible to maintain a defenſive, with ſuch an unequal Force: Yet repeated Orders came to him to the ſame effect; but in oppoſition to thoſe, he made ſuch repreſentations, that at laſt it was left to himſelf, to do what he found ſafeſt and moſt for the Emperor's Service; with that the matter was let fall, and it ſoon appeared, that he had judged better than the Court of *Vienna*: but this was, by his Enemies, imputed to humour and obſtinacy: So that for ſome time after that, he was neither conſidered nor ſupported, as his great Services had deſerved. This might flow from envy and malice, which are the ordinary growth of all Courts, chiefly of feeble ones: Or it might be a practice of the *French*, who had corrupted moſt Courts, and that of *Vienna* in particular; ſince nothing could more advance their ends, than to alienate the Emperor from Prince *Eugene*; which might ſo far diſguſt him, as to make him more remiſs in his Service.

King *Philip* at *Barcelona*.

Our Fleets lay all this Summer idle in our Seas, on a bare defenſive; while the *French* had many Squadrons in the *Spaniſh* Ports, and in the *Weſt-Indies*. In the North, the War went on ſtill; The King of *Sweden* paſſed the *Duna*, and fell on an Army of the *Saxons*, that lay on the other ſide, over againſt *Riga*, and routed them ſo entirely, that he was Maſter of their Camp and Artillery. From thence he marched into *Courland*, where no Reſiſtance was made: *Mittaw*, the chief Town, ſubmitted to him: The King of *Poland* drew his Army into *Lithuania*, which was much divided between the *Saphias* and *Oginskis*: So that all thoſe parts were breaking into much confuſion: The Court of *Vienna* pretended, they had made a great diſcovery of a Conſpiracy in *Hungary*: It is certain, the *Germans* play'd the Maſters very ſeverely in that Kingdom, ſo that all places were full of complaints, and the Emperor was ſo beſieged, by the Authors of thoſe Oppreſſions, and the Proceedings were ſo ſummary upon very ſlight

The War in *Poland*.

1701

grounds, that it was not to be wondered, if the *Hungarians* were diſpoſed to ſhake off the Yoke, when a proper opportunity ſhould offer itſelf: and it is not to be doubted, but the *French* had Agents among them, by the way of *Poland* as well as of *Turky*, that ſo the Emperor might have work enough at home.

Several Negotiations.

This was the ſtate of the Affairs of *Europe* this Summer. Several Negotiations were ſecretly carried on; The Elector of *Cologn* was entirely gained to the *French* Intereſt, but was reſolved not to declare himſelf, till his Brother thought fit likewiſe to do it: All the progreſs that the *French* made with the two Brothers this Summer, was, that they declared for a Neutrality, and againſt a War with *France:* The Dukes of *Wolfembuttle* and *Saxe Gotha*, were alſo engaged in the ſame deſign; They made great Levies of Troops, beyond what they themſelves could pay, for which it was viſible that they were ſupplied from *France*: Here was a formidable appearance of great Diſtractions in the Empire. An Alliance was alſo projected with the King of *Portugal:* His Miniſters were in the *French* Intereſts, but he himſelf inclined to the *Auſtrian* Family: He for ſome time affected Retirement, and avoided the giving Audience to Foreign Miniſters: He ſaw no good proſpect from *England*; So being preſſed to an Alliance with *France*, his Miniſters got leave from him to propoſe one, on terms of ſuch advantage to him, that as it was not expected they could be granted; ſo it was hoped this would run into a long Negotiation: But the *French* were as liberal in making large promiſes, as they were perfidious in not obſerving them: So the King of *France* agreed to all that was propoſed, and ſigned a Treaty purſuant to it, and publiſhed it to the World; Yet the King of *Portugal* denied that he had conſented to any ſuch Project: and he was ſo hardly brought to ſign the Treaty, that when it was brought to him, he threw it down, and kickt it about the Room, as our Envoy wrote over: In concluſion however, he was prevailed on to ſign it: But it was generally thought, that when he ſhould ſee a good Fleet come from the Allies, he would obſerve this Treaty with the *French*, as they have done their Treaties with all the reſt of the World. *Spain* grew uneaſy and diſcontented under a *French* Management: The Grandees were little conſidered, and they ſaw great deſigns, for the better conduct of the Revenues of the Crown, likely to take place every where, which were very unacceptable to them, who minded nothing ſo much as to keep up a vaſt Magnificence, at the King's Coſt. They ſaw themſelves much deſpiſed by their new Maſters, as there was indeed great cauſe for it; They had too much pride to bear this well, and too little courage to think how they ſhould ſhake it off.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

But now to return to our Affairs at home, the Duke of *Queensbury* was ſent down to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*; where people were in ſo bad a humour, that much practice was neceſſary to bring them into any temper. They paſſed many angry Votes upon the buſineſs of *Darien*, but in concluſion the Seſſion ended well. The Army was reduced one half, and the Troops that were ordered to be broke, were ſent to the *States*, who were now encreaſing their Force: This Seſſion was chiefly managed by the Duke of *Queensbury* and the Earl of *Argyle*, and in reward for it, the one had the Garter, and the other was made a Duke.

Affairs in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland*, the Truſtees went on to hear the Claims of the *Iriſh*, and in many caſes, they gave judgment in their favour: But now it began to appear, that whereas it had been given out, that the Sale of the confiſcated Eſtates would amount to a Million and a half, it was not like to riſe to the third part of that Sum: In the mean while, the Truſtees lived in great State there, and were Maſters of all the Affairs of that Kingdom: But no propoſitions were yet made for the purchaſing of thoſe Eſtates: During the King's abſence, the Nation was in a great ferment, which was encreaſed by many Books that were wrote, to expoſe the late Management in the Houſe of Commons, and the new Miniſtry, the Earl of *Rocheſter* in particular, who was thought the driver of all violent Motions: The few Books that were publiſhed, on the other ſide, were ſo poorly writ, that it tempted one to think, they were writ by men who perſonated the being of their ſide, on deſign to expoſe them. The Earl of *Rocheſter* delayed his going to *Ireland* very long: He perceived that the King's heart was not with him, and was very uneaſy at that: As on the other hand, the King complained much of his intractable temper and imperious manner, and by his intercourſe with him

the King came to see that he was not the man he had taken him for; that he had no great nor clear notions of Affairs abroad, and that, instead of moderating the violence of his Party, he inflamed them; so that he often said, that the year, in which he directed the Councils, was one of the uneasiest of his whole Life. The Earl of *Rochester* finding the King's Coldness towards him, expostulated with him upon it, and said, he could serve him no longer, since he saw he did not trust him. The King heard this with his usual flegm, and concluded upon it, that he should see him no more: But *Harley* made him a little more submissive and towardly. After the King was gone beyond Sea, he also went into *Ireland*, there he used much art in obliging people of all sorts, Dissenters as well as Papists: yet such confidence was put in him by the High Church Party, that they bore every thing at his hands: It was not easy to behave himself towards the Trustees, so as not to give a general distaste to the Nation, for they were much hated, and openly charged with partiality, injustice, and corruption: That which gave the greatest disgust in his Administration there, was, his usage of the reduced Officers, who were upon half Pay, a Fund being settled for that by Act of Parliament: They were ordered to live in *Ireland*, and to be ready for Service there: The Earl of *Rochester* called them before him, and required them to express under their hands their readiness to go and serve in the *West-Indies*; They did not comply with this: So he set them a day for their final Answer, and threaten'd, that they should have no more appointments, if they stood out beyond that time. This was represented to the King, as a great hardship put on them, and as done on design to leave *Ireland* destitute of the service, that might be done by so many gallant Officers, who were all known to be well affected to the present Government; So the King ordered a stop to be put to it. 1701

I am now come to the last period of the Life of the unfortunate King *James*: He had led for above ten years a very unactive Life in *France*: After he had, in so poor a manner as was told, abandoned first *England* and then *Ireland*, he had entered into two Designs, for recovering the Crowns, which he may be said more truly to have thrown away than lost: The one was broke by the defeat of the *French* Fleet at Sea before *Cherburg*, in the year 1692: The other seemed to be laid with more depth, as well as with more infamy, when an Army was brought to *Dunkirk*, and the design of the Assassination was thought sure, upon which it was reasonably hoped, that we must have fallen into such Convulsions, that we should have been an easy Prey to an Army ready to invade us. The reproach, that so black a contrivance cast upon him, brought him under so much contempt, that even the absolute Authority of the *French* Court could hardly prevail so far, as to have common respect paid him after that. He himself seemed to be the least concerned in all his misfortunes; and tho' his Queen could never give over meddling, yet he was the most easy, when he was least troubled with those airy Schemes, upon which she was still employing her Thoughts. He went sometimes to the Monastery of *La Trappe*, where the poor Monks were much edified with his humble and pious deportment: Hunting was his chief diversion, and for the most part he led a harmless, innocent Life; being still very zealous about his Religion. In the opening of this year, he had been so near Death, that it was generally thought the decline of it would carry him off: He went to *Bourbon*, but had no benefit by the Waters there: In the beginning of *September*, he fell into such fits, that it was concluded he could not live many days: The King of *France* came to see him, and seemed to be much touched with the sight: He, with some difficulty, recommended his Queen and Son to his care and protection; The *French* King answered, he would reckon their Concerns as his own; and when he left him, he promised those of his Court, that he would, upon King *James*'s Death, own the Prince of *Wales* as King of *England*, and that he would take care of them all. King *James* died on the *6th* day of *September*. He was a Prince that seemed made for greater things, than will be found in the course of his Life, more particularly of his Reign: He was esteemed in the former parts of his Life, a man of great Courage, as he was quite thro' it a man of great application to business: He had no vivacity of thought, invention or expression: But he had a good judgment, where his Religion or his Education gave him not a biass, which it did very often: He was was bred with strange Notions of the Obedience due

King *James*'s Death

His Character.

1701 due to Princes, and came to take up as ſtrange ones, of the Submiſſion due to Prieſts: He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and juſtice: But his Religion was ſo infuſed in him, and he was ſo managed in it by his Prieſts, that the Principles which Nature had laid in him, had little power over him, when the concerns of his Church ſtood in the way: He was a gentle Maſter, and was very eaſy to all who came near him: yet he was not ſo apt to pardon, as one ought to be, that is the Vicegerent of that God, who is ſlow to anger, and ready to forgive: He had no perſonal Vices but of one ſort: He was ſtill wandring from one Amour to another, yet he had a real ſenſe of Sin, and was aſhamed of it: But Prieſts know how to engage Princes more entirely into their intereſts, by making them compound for their Sins, by a great zeal for Holy Church, as they call it. In a word, if it had not been for his Popery, he would have been, if not a great yet a good Prince. By what I once knew of him, and by what I ſaw him afterwards carried to; I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion, which I was always apt to have, of the Intrigues of the Popiſh Clergy, and of the Confeſſors of Kings: He was undone by them, and was their Martyr, ſo that they ought to bear the chief load of all the errors of his inglorious Reign, and of its fatal Cataſtrophe. He had the Funeral which he himſelf had deſired, private, and without any ſort of Ceremony: As he was dying, he ſaid nothing concerning the Legitimacy of his Son, on which ſome made ſevere remarks: Others thought that, having ſpoken ſo oft of it before, he might not reflect on the fitneſs of ſaying any thing concerning it, in his laſt extremity. He recommended to him Firmneſs in his Religion, and Juſtice in his Government, if ever he ſhould come to reign. He ſaid, that by his practice, he recommended Chriſtian Forgiveneſs to him, for he heartily forgave both the Prince of *Orange* and the Emperor: It was believed, that the naming the Emperor was ſuggested to him by the *French*, to render the Emperor odious to all thoſe of that Religion.

The pretended Prince of *Wales* owned King by the *French* Court.

Upon his Death, it was debated in the *French* Council what was fit to be done, with relation to his pretended Son: The Miniſtry adviſed the King to be paſſive, to let him aſſume what Title he pleaſed, but that, for ſome time at leaſt, the King ſhould not declare himſelf: This might be ſome reſtraint on the King of *England*, whereas a preſent Declaration muſt precipitate a Rupture: But the *Dauphin* interpoſed with ſome Heat, for the preſent owning him King: He thought the King was bound in Honour to do it: He was of his Blood, and was driven away on the account of his Religion; So Orders were given to proclaim him at St. *Germains*. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, then the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, told me, that his own Court was going about it; But a difficulty, propoſed by the Earl of *Middletoun*, put a ſtop to it: He apprehended, that it would look very ſtrange, and might provoke the Court of *France*, if among his Titles he ſhould be called King of *France*; and it might diſguſt their Party in *England*, if it was omitted: So that piece of Ceremony was not performed: Soon after this, the King of *Spain* owned him, ſo did the Pope and the Duke of *Savoy*: And the King of *France* preſſed all other Princes to do it, in whoſe Courts he had Miniſters, and prevailed on the Pope, to preſs the Emperor and other Popiſh Princes to own him, tho' without effect. The King looked upon this, as an open violation of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, and he ordered the Earl of *Mancheſter* to leave that Court, without asking an Audience. The *French* pretended, that the bare owning of his Title, ſince they gave him no aſſiſtance to make good his Claim, was not a breach of the Treaty: But this could not paſs on the World, ſince the owning his Right was a plain Declaration, that they would aſſiſt him in claiming it, whenſoever the ſtate of their affairs ſhould allow of it.

With which the *Engliſh* Nation was inflamed.

This gave a univerſal diſtaſte to the whole *Engliſh* Nation: all people ſeemed poſſeſſed with a high indignation upon it, to ſee a Foreign Power, that was at Peace with us, pretend to declare who ought to be our King: Even thoſe, who were perhaps ſecretly well pleaſed with it, were yet, as it were forced, for their own ſafety, to comply with the general ſenſe of the reſt in this matter: The City of *London* began, and all the Nation followed, in a ſet of Addreſſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of what the *French* King had done, in taking upon him to declare who ſhould be their King, and renewing a Vow of Fidelity to the King, and to his Succeſſors, according to the Act of Settlement. A great diverſity

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diverſity of Stile appeared in theſe Addreſſes, ſome avoided to name the *French* King, the Prince of *Wales*, or the Act of Settlement, and only reflected on the Tranſaction in *France*, in general and ſoft words: But others carried the matter farther, encouraging the King, to go on in his Alliances, promiſing him all faithful aſſiſtance in ſupporting them, and aſſuring him that, when he ſhould think fit to call a new Parliament, they would chooſe ſuch Members as ſhould concur in enabling him to maintain his Alliances: This raiſed the Diviſions of the Nation higher. All this Summer the King continued at *Loo*, in a very ill ſtate of health: New Methods gave ſome relief: But when he came to the *Hague*, on his way to *England*, he was for ſome days in ſo bad a condition, that they were in great fear of his Life: He recovered, and came over in the beginning of *November*.

A new Parliament called.

The firſt thing that fell under Debate, upon his return, was, whether the Parliament ſhould be continued, or diſſolved and a new one called; Some of the leading Men of the former Parliament had been ſecretly askt, how they thought they would proceed, if they ſhould meet again: Of theſe, while ſome anſwered doubtfully, others ſaid poſitively, they would begin where they had left off, and would inſiſt on their Impeachments. The new Miniſtry ſtruggled hard againſt a Diſſolution, and when they ſaw the King reſolved on it, ſome of them left his Service. This convinced the Nation, that the King was not in a double game, which had been confidently given out before, and was too eaſily believed by many: The heats in Elections encreaſed with every new Summons. This was thought ſo critical a conjuncture, that both ſides exerted their full ſtrength. Moſt of the great Counties, and the chief Cities, choſe Men that were zealous for the King and Government, but the rotten part of our Conſtitution, the ſmall Burroughs, were in many places wrought on to chooſe bad men; upon the whole however, it appeared, that a clear Majority was in the King's Intereſts, yet the activity of the angry ſide was ſuch, that they had a Majority in chooſing the Speaker, and in determining controverted Elections; but in matters of publick concern, things went on as the King deſired, and as the Intereſt of the Nation required.

The King's Speech.

The King opened the Parliament with the beſt Speech that he, or perhaps any other Prince ever made to his People: He laid the ſtate of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, before them in a moſt pathetical manner; He laid it upon them to conſider the dangers they were in, and not to encreaſe theſe, by new diviſions among themſelves; He expreſſed a readineſs to forgive all Offences againſt himſelf, and wiſhed they would as readily forgive one another; ſo that no other diviſion might remain, but that of *Engliſh* and *French*, Proteſtant and Papiſt; He had entered into ſome Alliances, purſuant to the Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament, and was negotiating ſome others, all which ſhould be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both Houſes began with Addreſſes, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of *Wales*; The Houſe of Lords ordered that all ſuch as were willing to do it, ſhould ſign the Addreſs, that was entered into their Books. This was without a Precedent, and yet it was promoted by thoſe, who, as was thought, hoped by ſo unuſual a Practice, to prevent any further proceedings on that head. No exception was made to any Article of the Alliances: One addition was only propoſed, that no Peace ſhould be made, till a full reparation was offered to the King, for the Indignity done him, by the *French* King's declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England*; which was ſoon after propoſed to the Allies, and was agreed to by them all. By the Alliances, the King was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand Men to ſerve in the Armies, beſides what he was to do by Sea: All was conſented to in every particular; angry men ſhewed much rancour againſt the King, and tried to croſs every thing that was propoſed, both as to the Quota's of the Troops we were to furniſh, and as to the ſtrength of our Fleet. But the Publick Intereſt was now ſo viſible, and the concurrent ſenſe of the Nation ran ſo vehemently for a War, that even thoſe who were moſt averſe to it, found it convenient to put on the appearance of zeal for it. The City of *London* was now more united, than it had been at any time during this Reign, for the two Companies that traded to the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſaw that their common Intereſt required they ſhould come to an Agreement; and tho' men of ill deſigns did all they could to obſtruct it, yet in concluſion it was

All were to a War.

1701 happily effected. This made the body of the City, which was formerly much divided between the two Companies, fall now into the ſame meaſures. But thoſe, who intended to defeat all this good beginning of the Seſſion, and to raiſe a new Flame, ſet on Debates that muſt have embroil'd all again, if they had ſucceeded in their deſigns: They began with Complaints of ſome Petitions and Addreſſes, that had reflected on the Proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons; but it was carried againſt them, that it was the Right of the Subjects to petition as they thought themſelves aggrieved: yet they were not diſcouraged by this, but went on to complain, that the Lords had denied Juſtice in the matter of the Impeachments. This bore a long and hot Debate in a very full Houſe: But it was carried, tho' by a ſmall Majority, that Juſtice had not been denied them: After this, the Party gave over any farther ſtruggling, and things were carried on with more unanimity.

The pretended Prince of *Wales* attainted.

The Houſe of Commons began a Bill of Attainder of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, this could not be oppoſed, much leſs ſtopt; yet many ſhewed a coldneſs in it, and were abſent on the days in which it was ordered to be read: It was ſent up to the Lords, and it paſt in that Houſe, with an addition of an Attainder of the Queen, who acted as Queen Regent for him. This was much oppoſed; for no Evidence could be brought to prove that Allegation, yet the thing was ſo notorious, that it paſt, and was ſent down again to the Commons. It was excepted to there as not regular, ſince but one Precedent in King *Henry* the Eighth's time was brought for it, and in that the Commons had added ſome names, by a clauſe in a Bill of Attainder, ſent down to them by the Lords; yet as this was a ſingle Precedent, ſo it ſeemed to be a hard one: Attainders by Bill were the greateſt rigours of the Law, ſo ſtretches in them ought to be avoided: It was therefore thought more proper to attaint her by a Bill apart, than by a Clauſe in another Bill: To this the Lords agreed, ſo the Bill againſt the pretended Prince of *Wales* paſt. The Lords alſo paſt a new Bill, attainting the Queen, but that was let ſleep in the Houſe of Commons.

An Act for abjuring him.

The matter, that occaſioned the longeſt and warmeſt Debates in both Houſes, was an Act for abjuring the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and for ſwearing to the King, by the Title of *Rightful* and *Lawful* King, and to his Heirs, according to the Act of Settlement: This was begun in the Houſe of Lords, and the firſt deſign was, that it ſhould be voluntary, it being only to be tendered to all Perſons, and their ſubſcription or refuſal to be recorded, without any other penalty. It was vehemently oppoſed by all the Tory Party, at the head of whom the Earl of *Nottingham* ſet himſelf. They who argued againſt it, ſaid, that this Government was firſt ſettled with another Oath, which was like an original Contract, and it was unjuſt and unreaſonable to offer a new one: There was no need of new Oaths, as there was no new ſtrength got by them: Oaths, relating to mens opinions, had been always looked on as ſevere Impoſitions: A voluntary Oath ſeemed to be by its nature unlawful; for we cannot ſwear lawfully, unleſs we are required to do it. To all this it was anſwered, that in ancient time, the Oath of Allegiance was ſhort and ſimple, becauſe then it was not thought that Princes had any right, other than what was conveyed to them by Law: But of late, and indeed very lately, new Opinions had been ſtarted of a Divine Right, with which former times were not acquainted: So it was neceſſary to know, who among us adhered to theſe Opinions: The preſent Government was begun upon a comprehenſive foot, it being hoped, that all Parties might have been brought to concur in ſupporting it: But the effects had not anſwered expectation: Diſtinctions had been made between a King *de jure* and a King *de facto*; by theſe men plainly declared, with whom they believed the Right was lodged: This opinion muſt, whenſoever that Right comes to be claimed, oblige thoſe who hold it, to adhere to ſuch Claimers: It ſeemed therefore in ſome ſort neceſſary, that the Government ſhould know, on whom it might depend: The diſcrimination made, by ſuch a Teſt, was to be without compulſion or penalty: no hardſhip was put on any perſon by it: Thoſe who refuſed to give this ſecurity, would ſee what juſt cauſe of jealouſy they gave: and would thereby be obliged, to behave themſelves decently and with due caution: When a Government tender'd an Oath, tho' under no penalty, that was a ſufficient authority for

for all to take it, who were ſatisfied with the ſubſtance of it: While therefore, there was ſo great a power beyond Sea, that did ſo openly eſpouſe this young man's pretenſions, and while there was juſt grounds to ſuſpect, that many at home favoured him, it ſeemed very reaſonable to offer a method, by which it ſhould appear, who obeyed the preſent Government from a Principle, believing it *Lawful*, and who ſubmitted only to it, as to a proſperous Uſurpation. About twenty Lords perſiſted in their oppoſition to this Bill, thoſe who were for it being thrice that number: But, in the Houſe of Commons, when it appeared how the Lords were inclined, they reſolved to bring in a Bill, that ſhould oblige all perſons to take this Abjuration. It was drawn by Sir *Charles Hedges*; All Imployments in Church or State were to be ſubject to it; Some things were added to the Abjuration, ſuch as an obligation to maintain the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the Church of *England*, together with the Toleration for Diſſenters: *Finch* offered an alteration to the Clauſe, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*, ſo that it imported only an obligation not to aſſiſt him; but tho' he preſſed this with unuſual vehemence, in a Debate that he reſumed ſeventeen times in one Seſſion, againſt all Rules, he had few to ſecond him in it: The Debate, whether the Oath ſhould be impoſed or left free, held longer: it was carried, but by one Vote, to impoſe it: The Party choſe that, rather than to have it left free: for they reckoned the taking an Oath that was impoſed, was a part of their ſubmiſſion to the Uſurpation; but the taking any Oath, that ſtrengthened the Government, of their own accord, did not ſuit with their other Principles: But to help the matter with a ſhew of zeal, they made the Clauſe that impoſed it very extenſive, ſo that it comprehended all Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Schoolmaſters, and private Tutors: The Clauſe of maintaining the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, was rejected with great Indignation; ſince the Government was only in the King: The Lords and Commons being indeed a part of the Conſtitution, and of the Legiſlative Body, but not of the Government. This was a bare-faced Republican Notion, and was wont to be condemned as ſuch, by the ſame perſons who now preſſed it. It was farther ſaid, that if it appeared that our Conſtitution was in danger, it might be reaſonable to ſecure it by an Act and an Oath apart: but ſince the ſingle point, that required this Abjuration, was the *French* King's declaring, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was our King, it was not fit to join matters foreign to that in this Oath: Upon the ſame reaſon, the Clauſe in favour of the Church, and of the Toleration were alſo laid aſide. The deſign of this Act was to diſcover to all, both at home and abroad, how unanimouſly the Nation concurred in abjuring the pretended Prince of *Wales*: But here was a clauſe, to one Part of which (the maintaining the Church) the Diſſenters could not ſwear; and even the more moderate men of the Church, who did well approve of the Toleration, yet might think it too much to ſwear to maintain it; ſince it was reaſonable, to oblige the Diſſenters to uſe their Liberty modeſtly, by keeping them under the apprehenſion of having it taken away, if it was abuſed by them. One addition was offered, and received without any Debate about it, or the ſhadow of any oppoſition: It was declared to be High Treaſon, to endeavour to prevent or defeat the Princeſs's Right of Succeſſion: The Tories pretended great zeal for her, and gave it out that there was a deſign to ſet her aſide, and to have the Houſe of *Hannover* to ſucceed the King immediately; tho' it could never be made appear, that any motion of this kind had ever been, either made or debated, even in private diſcourſe, by any of the whole Whig Party. Great endeavours were uſed, and not altogether without effect, to infuſe this Jealouſy into the Princeſs, and into all about her, not without inſinuations, that the King himſelf was inclined to it. When this Clauſe was offered, its being without a Precedent, gave handle enough to oppoſe it, yet there was not one Word ſaid in oppoſition to it, in either Houſe, all agreeing heartily in it. This ought to have put an end to the ſuſpicion, but ſurmiſes of that Kind, when raiſed on deſign, are not ſoon parted with.

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Soon after the Seſſion was opened, the Earl of *Rocheſter* wrote to the King, and asked leave to come over: it was ſoon granted, but when he ſignified this to the Council of *Ireland*, the whole Board joined in a requeſt to him, that he would lay

Affairs in *Ireland*.

1701 lay before the King the great Grievances, under which the whole Kingdom lay, by the proceedings of the Truſtees, who ſtretched the Authority, that the Law gave them, in many inſtances, to the oppreſſing of the Nation: He ſeemed uneaſy at the motion, but promiſed to lay it before the King, which he did at his coming over. Soon after that, Petitions were ſent round all the Counties of *Ireland*, and ſigned by many, repreſenting both the hardſhips of the Act, and the ſevere methods the Truſtees took in executing it: All this was believed, to be ſet on ſecretly by the Court, in hope that ſome temper might be found in the matter, ſo that the King's Grants might again take place in whole or in part. The Houſe of Commons was moved, to proceed ſeverely againſt the Promoters of theſe Petitions; yet the complaining of Grievances, had been ſo often aſſerted to be a Right of the Subject, that this was let fall: But ſince no Perſon appeared, to juſtify the Facts ſet forth and ſuggeſted in thoſe Petitions, they were voted falſe and ſcandalous, and this ſtopt a further progreſs in that method. The heat with which that Act had been carried was now much qualified, and the Truſtees having judged for ſo many Claims in favour of *Iriſh* Papiſts, ſhewing too manifeſt a partiality for them, and having now ſate two years, in which they had conſumed all the Rents that aroſe out of the confiſcated Eſtates, the Houſe was applied to for their interpoſition, by many Petitions relating to that matter. This was the more neceſſary, becauſe, as was formerly told, when that Act was paſſing, they had paſt a Vote againſt receiving any Petition, relating to it: The Thing had now loſt much of the credit and value that was ſet upon it at firſt: tho' the ſame Party ſtill oppoſed the receiving any Petitions, yet the current was now ſo ſtrong the other way, that they were all received, and in a great many caſes juſtice was done: yet with a manifeſt partiality, in favour of Papiſts; it being a maxim, among all who favoured King *James*'s Intereſts, to ſerve Papiſts; eſpecially thoſe whoſe Eſtates were confiſcated for adhering to him. One motion was carried, not without difficulty, in favour of thoſe, who had purchaſed under the Grantees, and had made great Improvements, that they ſhould be admitted to purchaſe, with an abatement of two years value of the Eſtates; The Earl of *Athlone*, whoſe caſe was ſingular, as was formerly ſet out, having ſold his Grant to men, who had reaſon to think they had purchaſed under a ſecure Title, a ſpecial Clauſe was offered in their favour; but the Party had ſtudied ſo far to inflame the Nation againſt the *Dutch*, that in this the Votes were equal, and the Speaker's Vote being to turn the matter, he gave it againſt the Purchaſers. Many Bills were brought in relating to *Iriſh* Forfeitures, which took up the greateſt part of the Seſſion.

The Commons, after a long delay, ſent up the Bill, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*. In the Houſe of Lords, the Tories oppoſed it all they poſſibly could: It was a new Bill, ſo the Debate was entirely open: They firſt moved for a Clauſe, excuſing the Peers from it: If this had been received, the Bill would have been certainly loſt, for the Commons would never have yielded to it: When this was rejected, they tried to have brought it back to be voluntary: It was a ſtrange piece of inconſiſtence in Men, to move this, who had argued even againſt the lawfulneſs of a voluntary Oath; but it was viſible they intended by it only to loſe or at leaſt to delay the Bill: When this was over-ruled by the Houſe, not without a mixture of Indignation in ſome againſt the movers; They next offered all thoſe Clauſes, that had been rejected in the Houſe of Commons, with ſome other very ſtrange additions, by which they diſcovered both great weakneſs, and an inveterate rancour againſt the Government; but all the oppoſition ended in a Proteſtation of nineteen or twenty Peers againſt the Bill.

1702 The King's illneſs and fall from his Horſe.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this Reign. The King ſeemed all this Winter in a very fair way of recovery; He had made the Royal Apartments in *Hampton-Court* very noble, and he was ſo much pleaſed with the Place, that he went thither once a Week, and rode often about the Park: In the end of *February*, the Horſe he rode on ſtumbled, and he, being then very feeble, fell off and broke his Collar-Bone: He ſeemed to have no other hurt by it, and his ſtrength was then ſo much impaired, that it was not thought neceſſary to let him Blood, no Symptom appearing that required it: The bone was well ſet, and

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it was thought there was no danger: ſo he was brought to *Kenſington* that night: He himſelf had apprehended all this Winter, that he was ſinking; he ſaid to the Earl of *Portland*, both before and after this accident, that he was a dead man: It was not in his Legs, nor now in his Collar-Bone, that he felt himſelf ill, but all was decayed within, ſo that he believed he ſhould not be able to go thro' the fatigue of another Campaign. During his illneſs, he ſent a Meſſage to the Two Houſes, recommending the Union of both Kingdoms to them. The occaſion of this was, a motion that the Earl of *Nottingham* had made, in the Houſe of Lords, when the Act of Abjuration was agreed to: He ſaid, tho' he had differed from the Majority of the Houſe in many particulars relating to it, yet he was ſuch a friend to the deſign of the Act, that in order to the ſecuring a Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he thought an Union of the whole Iſland was very neceſſary; and that therefore they ſhould conſider how both Kingdoms might be united; but in order to this, and previous to it, he moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King, that he would be pleaſed to diſſolve the Parliament now ſitting in *Scotland*, and to call a new one; Since the preſent Parliament was at firſt a Convention, and then turned to a Parliament, and was continued ever ſince, ſo that the Legality of it might be called in queſtion; and it was neceſſary, that ſo important a thing, as the Union of both Kingdoms, ſhould be treated in a Parliament, againſt the Conſtitution of which no exception could lie. The Motion was warmly oppoſed; for that Nation was then in ſuch a ferment, that the calling a new Parliament would have been probably attended with bad conſequences: So that Project was let fall, and no progreſs was made upon the King's Meſſage. On the third of *March*, the King had a ſhort fit of an Ague, which he regarded ſo little, that he ſaid nothing of it: It returned on him next day: I happened to be then near him, and obſerved ſuch a viſible alteration, as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition: After that, he kept his Chamber till *Friday*; every day it was given out that his Fits abated: On *Friday*, things had ſo melancholy a face, that his being dangerouſly ill was no longer concealed: There was now ſuch a difficulty of breathing, and his pulſe was ſo ſunk, that the alarm was given out every where: He had ſent the Earl of *Albemarle* over to *Holland*, to put things in a readineſs for an early Campaign. He came back on the *7th* of *March* in the morning, with ſo good an account of every thing, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the King, it muſt have revived him: but the coldneſs with which he received it, ſhewed how little hopes were left: Soon after, he ſaid *Je tire vers ma fin*, (*I draw towards my end.*) The Act of Abjuration, and the Money Bill, were now prepared for the Royal Aſſent: The Council ordered all things to be in a readineſs, for the paſſing of thoſe Bills, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, which according to Form muſt be ſigned by the King, in the preſence of the Lord Keeper and the Clerks of the Parliament: They came to the King, when his Fit began, and ſtayed ſome hours before they were admitted: Some in the Houſe of Commons moved for an Adjournment, tho' the Lords had ſent to them not to adjourn for ſome time: By this means, they hoped the Bill of Abjuration ſhould be loſt; But it was contrary to all Rules to adjourn, when ſuch a Meſſage was ſent them by the Lords, ſo they waited till the King had ſigned the Commiſſion and the Bills, and thus thoſe Acts paſſed in the laſt day of the King's Life.

The King's ſtrength and pulſe was ſtill ſinking, as the difficulty of breathing increaſed, ſo that no hope was left. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and I went to him on *Saturday* morning, and did not ſtir from him till he died. The Archbiſhop prayed on *Saturday* ſome time with him, but he was then ſo weak, that he could ſcarce ſpeak, but gave him his hand, as a ſign that he firmly believed the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſaid, he intended to receive the Sacrament: His reaſon and all his ſenſes were entire to the laſt minute: About five in the morning he deſired the Sacrament, and went thro' the Office with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, but could not expreſs himſelf: When this was done, he called for the Earl of *Albemarle*, and gave him a charge to take care of his Papers. He thanked Mr. *Auverquerque* for his long and faithful Services. He took leave of the Duke of *Ormond*, and called for the Earl of *Portland*, but before he came, his Voice quite failed, ſo he took him by the hand, and carri-

And Death.

1702 ed it to his heart with great tenderneſs. He was often looking up to Heaven, in many ſhort Ejaculations: between ſeven and eight a Clock the rattle began, the Commendatory Prayer was ſaid for him, and as it ended, he died, in the fifty ſecond year of his Age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days. When his Body was opened, it appeared that, notwitſtanding the ſwelling of his Legs, he had no Dropſy: His Head and Heart was ſound: There was ſcarce any Blood in his Body: His Lungs ſtuck to his Side, and by the fall from his Horſe, a part of them was torn from it, which occaſioned an Inflamation, that was believed to be the immediate cauſe of his Death, which probably might have been prevented for ſome time, if he had been then let Blood. His Death would have been a great ſtroke at any time, but in our circumſtances, as they ſtood at that time, it was a dreadful one. The Earl of *Portland* told me, that when he was once encouraging him, from the good ſtate his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart; The King anſwered him, that he knew Death was that, which he had looked at on all occaſions without any terror, ſometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confeſſed now he ſaw another Scene, and could wiſh to live a little longer. He died with a clear and full preſence of mind, and in a wonderful tranquillity: Thoſe who knew it was his rule all his Life long, to hide the impreſſions that Religion made on him, as much as poſſible, did not wonder at his ſilence in his laſt minutes, but they lamented it much: They knew what a handle it would give to cenſure and obloquy.

His Character. Thus lived and died *William* the Third, King of *Great Britain*, and Prince of *Orange*; He had a thin and weak Body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate Conſtitution: He had a *Roman* Eagle Noſe, bright and ſparkling Eyes, a large front, and a Countenance compoſed to gravity and authority: All his Senſes were critical and exquiſite. He was always aſthmatical, and the dregs of the Small Pox falling on his Lungs, he had a conſtant deep Cough. His Behaviour was ſolemn and ſerious, ſeldom cheerful, and but with a few: He ſpoke little and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his Character at all times, except in a day of Battle: for then he was all fire, tho' without paſſion: He was then every where, and looked to every thing. He had no great advantage from his Education; *De Wit*'s Diſcourſes were of great uſe to him, and he, being apprehenſive of the obſervation of thoſe, who were looking narrowly into every thing he ſaid or did, had brought himſelf under an habitual caution, that he could never ſhake off, tho' in another ſcene it proved as hurtful, as it was then neceſſary to his affairs: He ſpoke *Dutch*, *French*, *Engliſh* and *German* equally well; and he underſtood the *Latin*, *Spaniſh* and *Italian*, ſo that he was well fitted to command Armies compoſed of ſeveral Nations. He had a Memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him: He was an exact obſerver of men and things: His ſtrength lay rather in a true diſcerning and a ſound judgment, than in imagination or invention: His Deſigns were always great and good: But it was thought he truſted too much to that, and that he did not deſcend enough to the humours of his people, to make himſelf and his notions more acceptable to them: This, in a Government that has ſo much of freedom in it as ours, was more neceſſary than he was inclined to believe: His reſervedneſs grew on him, ſo that it diſguſted moſt of thoſe who ſerved him: but he had obſerved the errors of too much talking, more than thoſe of too cold a ſilence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions cenſured: but he loved to imploy and favour thoſe, who had the arts of complacence, yet he did not love Flatterers: his Genius lay chiefly to War, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct: Great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage ſet things right, as it inflamed thoſe who were about him: He was too laviſh of money on ſome occaſions, both in his Buildings and to his Favourites, but too ſparing in rewarding Services, or in encouraging thoſe who brought Intelligence: He was apt to take ill impreſſions of people, and theſe ſtuck long with him; but he never carried them to indecent revenges: He gave too much way to his own humour, almoſt in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health; He knew all Foreign Affairs well, and under-

derſtood the State of every Court in *Europe* very particularly: He inſtructed his 1702
wn Miniſters himſelf, but he did not apply enough to Affairs at home: He tried
ow he could govern us, by ballancing the two Parties one againſt another, but he
me at laſt to be perſuaded, that the Tories were irreconcilable to him, and he
as reſolved to try and truſt them no more. He believed the Truth of the Chriſtian
eligion very firmly, and he expreſſed a horror at Atheiſm and Blaſphemy:
d tho' there was much of both in his Court, yet it was always denied to him,
d kept out of ſight. He was moſt exemplarily decent and devout, in the
ublick exerciſes of the Worſhip of God, only on week days he came too ſel-
om to them: He was an attentive hearer of Sermons, and was conſtant in his
rivate Prayers, and in reading the Scriptures: And when he ſpoke of religious
atters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity: He was much
oſſeſſed with the belief of abſolute Decrees: He ſaid to me, he adhered to
heſe, becauſe he did not ſee how the Belief of Providence could be maintain-
d upon any other Suppoſition: His indifference as to the Forms of Church Go-
ernment, and his being zealous for Toleration, together with his cold Beha-
iour towards the Clergy, gave them generally very ill impreſſions of him: In
is deportment towards all about him, He ſeemed to make little diſtinction be-
ween the good and the bad, and thoſe who ſerved well, or thoſe who ſerved
im ill: He loved the *Dutch*, and was much beloved among them: but the ill
eturns he met from the *Engliſh* Nation, their jealouſies of him, and their per-
erſeneſs towards him, had too much ſoured his Mind, and had in a great mea-
ure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, tho'
e ſaw the ill effects this had upon his buſineſs. He grew, in his laſt years, too
emiſs and careleſs as to all Affairs; till the Treacheries of *France* awakened
im, and the dreadful Conjunction of the Monarchies gave ſo loud an Alarm to
ll *Europe*. For a watching over that Court, and a beſtirring himſelf againſt
heir practices, was the prevailing paſſion of his whole Life: Few men had the
rt of concealing and governing Paſſion more than he had; yet few men had
tronger Paſſions, which were ſeldom felt but by inferior Servants, to whom he
ſually made ſuch recompences, for any ſudden or indecent vents he might give
is anger, that they were glad at every time, that it broke upon them: He was
oo eaſy to the faults of thoſe about him, when they did not lie in his own way,
r croſs any of his deſigns: and he was ſo apt to think, that his Miniſters might
row inſolent, if they ſhould find that they had much credit with him, that he
eemed to have made it a Maxim, to let them often feel, how little power they
ad, even in ſmall matters: His Favourites had a more intire power, but he
ccuſtomed them only to inform him of things, but to be ſparing in offering Ad-
ice, except when it was asked: It was not eaſy to account for the reaſons of
he favour that he ſhewed, in the higheſt inſtances, to two perſons beyond all
thers, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*; They being in all reſpects men,
ot only of different, but of oppoſite Characters; Secrecy and Fidelity were the
nly qualities, in which it could be ſaid, that they did in any ſort agree. I have
ow run thro' the chief branches of his Character; I had occaſion to know him
ell, having obſerved him very carefully in a courſe of Sixteen years: I had a
arge meaſure of his favour, and a free acceſs to him all the while, tho' not at
ll times to the ſame degree: The freedom, that I uſed with him, was not al-
ays acceptable: but he ſaw that I ſerved him faithfully, ſo, after ſome inter-
als of coldneſs, he always returned to a good meaſure of confidence in me: I
as, in many great inſtances, much obliged by him; but that was not my chief
iaſs to him: I conſidered him, as a Perſon raiſed up by God to reſiſt the Power
f *France*, and the progreſs of Tyranny and Perſecution: The Series of the five
rinces of *Orange*, that was now ended in him, was the nobleſt Succeſſion of He-
oes that we find in any Hiſtory: And the thirty years, from the year 1672 to
is Death, in which he acted ſo great a part, carry in them ſo many amazing
eps of a glorious and diſtinguiſhing Providence, that in the words of *David*,
e may be called, *The man of God's right hand, whom he made ſtrong for himſelf:*
After all the abatements, that may be allowed for his Errors and Faults, he
ught ſtill to be reckoned among the greateſt Princes that our Hiſtory, or indeed

1702 that any other, can afford. He died in a critical time for his own Glory; ſince he had formed a great Alliance, and had projected the whole Scheme of the War; ſo that if it ſucceeds, a great part of the Honour of it will be aſcribed to him: and if otherwiſe, it will be ſaid He was the Soul of the Alliance, that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that Body to die and fall aſunder, when he who gave it life, was withdrawn. Upon his Death, ſome moved for a magnificent Funeral; but it ſeemed not decent to run into unneceſſary Expence, when we were entring on a War, that muſt be maintained at a vaſt charge: ſo a private Funeral was reſolved on. But for the Honour of his Memory, a noble Monument and an Equeſtrian Statue were ordered. Some years muſt ſhew whether theſe things were really intended, or if they were only ſpoke of to excuſe the Privacy of his Funeral, which was ſcarce decent, ſo far was it from being Magnificent.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK VII.

Of the Life and Reign of Queen ANNE.

1702 Queen *Anne* ſucceeds.

BY the Death of King *William*, purſuant to the Act that had ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown, it devolved on *Anne*, the youngeſt Daughter of King *James*, by his firſt Marriage; She was then entred on the Thirty eighth year of her Age. Upon the King's Death, the Privy Council came in a body, to wait on the new Queen: She received them with a well conſidered Speech: She expreſſed great reſpect to the Memory of the late King, in whoſe ſteps ſhe intended to go, for preſerving both Church and State, in oppoſition to the growing Power of *France*, and for maintaining the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line: She pronounced this, as ſhe did all her other Speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a ſoftneſs of Voice and ſweetneſs in the pronunciation, that added much life to all ſhe ſpoke. Theſe her firſt Expreſſions were heard with great and juſt acknowledgments: Both Houſes of Parliament met that day, and made Addreſſes to her, full of reſpect and duty: She anſwered both very favour-

Her Firſt Speech.

1702

ably, and ſhe received all that came to her in ſo gracious a manner, that they went from her highly ſatisfied with her goodneſs, and her obliging deportment; for ſhe hearkened with attention to every thing that was ſaid to her. Two days after, ſhe went to the Parliament, which, to the great happineſs of the Nation, and to the advantage of her Government, was now continued to ſit, notwithſtanding the King's Demiſe, by the Act, that was made five years before, upon the diſcovery of the Aſſaſſination Plot. In her Speech ſhe repeated, but more copiouſly, what ſhe had ſaid to the Council, upon her firſt Acceſſion to the Throne: There were two paſſages in this Speech, that were thought not ſo well conſidered: She aſſured them, her Heart was *entirely Engliſh*: This was looked on, as a reflection on the late King: ſhe alſo added, that they might *depend on her word*: Both theſe Expreſſions had been in her Father's firſt Speech, how little ſoever they were afterwards minded by him. The City of *London*, and all the Counties, Cities, and even the ſubaltern Bodies of Cities, came up with Addreſſes: In theſe, a very great diverſity of Stile was obſerved, ſome mentioned the late King in terms full of reſpect and gratitude; others named him very coldly: ſome took no notice of him, nor of his death; and ſimply congratulated her coming to the Crown: and ſome inſinuated reflections on his Memory, as if the Queen had been ill uſed by him. The Queen received all civilly, to moſt ſhe ſaid nothing, to others ſhe expreſſed herſelf in general words, and ſome things were given out in her Name, which ſhe diſowned.

She purſues the Alliance and the War.

Within a week after her coming to the Crown, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, to give the *States* full aſſurances of her maintaining the Alliances, that had been concluded by the late King, and of doing every thing that the common concerns of *Europe* required: She gave notice alſo of her coming to the Crown to all the Princes and States of *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*. The Earl of *Marlborough* ſtay'd ſome days in *Holland*, to very good purpoſe: The King's Death had ſtruck them all with ſuch a damp, that they needed the encouragement of ſuch a Meſſage, as he brought them: When they had the firſt news of the King's Death, they aſſembled together immediately, they looked on one another as men amazed: They embraced one another, and promiſed they would ſtick together, and adhere to the intereſts of their Countrey: They ſate up moſt of the night, and ſent out all the Orders that were neceſſary, upon ſo extraordinary an emergency. They were now much revived by the Earl of *Marlborough*'s preſence, and by the temper that both Houſes of Parliament were in, with relation to the Alliances, and the War with *France*: and they entered into ſuch Confidence with the Earl of *Marlborough*, that he came back as well ſatisfied with them, as they were with him. The Queen in her firſt Speech, had asked of the Commons the continuance of that Revenue, which ſupported the Civil Liſt, and it was granted to her for Life, very unanimouſly, tho' many ſeemed to apprehend, that ſo great a Revenue might be applied to uſes, not ſo profitable to the Publick, in a Reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be ſubject to great accidents. When the Queen came to paſs the Act, and to thank the Parliament for it; ſhe ſaid, ſhe intended to apply one hundred thouſand pounds of it, to the publick occaſions of the preſent year: This was received with great applauſe, and particular notice was taken of it, in all the Addreſſes that came up afterwards.

A Bill for the Publick Accounts.

At the ſame time, the Queen paſſed a Bill for receiving and examining the Publick Accounts; and in her Speech, ſhe expreſſed a particular approbation of that Bill: a Commiſſion to the ſame effect had been kept up, for ſix or ſeven years, during the former Reign, but it had been let fall for ſome years; ſince the Commiſſioners had never been able to make any diſcovery whatſoever, and ſo had put the Publick to a conſiderable charge, without reaping any ſort of fruit from it. Whether this flowed from the weakneſs or Corruption of the Commiſſioners, or from the integrity or cunning of thoſe, who dealt in the Publick Money, cannot be determined. The Party that had oppoſed the late King, had made this the chief ſubject of their Complaints all the Nation over, that the Publick was robbed, and that private men lived high, and yet raiſed large Eſtates out of the Publick Treaſure: This had a great effect over *England*; for all people naturally hearken to Complaints of this kind, and very eaſily believe them:

hem: It was alſo ſaid, to excuſe the fruitleſneſs of the former Commiſſions, that o diſcoveries could be made, under a Miniſtry, that would ſurely favour their nder-workmen, tho' they were known to be Guilty. One viſible cauſe of mens aiſing great Eſtates, who were concerned in the Adminiſtration, was this, that or ſome years the Parliament laid the Taxes upon very remote Funds, ſo that, eſides the diſtance of the term of Payment, for which Intereſt was allowed, the anger the Government itſelf ſeemed to be often in (upon the continuance of hich the continuance and aſſignment of theſe Funds was grounded) made that ome Tallies were ſold at a great diſcount, even of the one half, to thoſe who ould employ their Money that way, by which great advantages were made. The gain that was made, by robbing the Coin, in which many Goldſmiths were elieved to be deeply concerned, contributed not a little to the raiſing thoſe vaſt Eſtates, to which ſome had grown, as ſuddenly as unaccountably. All theſe omplaints were eaſily raiſed, and long kept up, on deſign to caſt the heavier oad on the former Miniſtry: This made that Miniſtry, who were ſenſible of he miſchief this clamour did them, and of their own innocence, promote the Bill with much zeal, and put the ſtrongeſt Clauſes in it, that could be contrived to make it effectual. The Commiſſioners named in the Bill, were the hotteſt men in he Houſe, who had raiſed as well as kept up the clamour, with the greateſt earneſtneſs. One Clauſe put in the Act, was not very acceptable to the Commiſſioners; for they were rendered incapable of all Imployments, during the Commiſſion: The Act carried a Retroſpect quite back to the Revolution: It was given out, that great diſcoveries would be made by them, and the art and induſtry with which this was ſpread over *England*, had a great effect in the Elections to the ſucceeding Parliament. The Coronation was on the 23*d* of *April*, on St. *George*'s day; it was performed with the uſual Magnificence; The Archbiſhop of *York* preached a good and wiſe Sermon on the occaſion: The Queen, immediately after that, gave Orders for naming the Electoreſs of *Brunſwick* in he Collect for the Royal Family, as the next Heir of the Crown; and ſhe formed a Miniſtry. 1702

The coldneſs had continued between the King and her, to ſuch a degree, that tho' there was a reconciliation after the Queen's Death, yet it went not much farther, than what civility and decency required: She was not made acquainted with publick affairs; She was not encouraged to recommend any to Poſts of truſt and advantage: Nor had the Miniſtry Orders to inform her how matters went, nor to oblige thoſe about her: Only pains had been taken to pleaſe the Earl of *Marlborough*, with which he was fully ſatisfied: nothing had contented him better, than the Command he had the former year of the Troops, which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *States*. The Whigs had lived at a great diſtance with the Queen, all the former Reign: The Tories had made much noiſe with their zeal for her, chiefly after the death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, tho' they came ſeldom to her: Her Court was then very thin, ſhe lived in a due abſtraction from buſineſs; ſo that ſhe neither gave jealouſy, nor encouraged faction: Yet theſe things had made thoſe impreſſions on her, that had at firſt ill effects, which were ſoon obſerved and remedied. The late King had ſent a Meſſage to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, ſome weeks before he died, letting him know, that he had put an end to his Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but that was not executed in form; ſo the Commiſſion did ſtill ſubſiſt in his perſon: He was upon that now declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Lord *Godolphin* was made Lord Treaſurer: This was very uneaſy to himſelf, for he reſiſted the motion long; but the Earl of *Marlborough* preſſed it in ſo poſitive a manner, that he ſaid he could not go beyond Sea to command our Armies, unleſs the Treaſury was put in his hands; for then he was ſure that remittances would be punctually made to him: He was declared Captain General, and the Prince had the Title of Generaliſſimo of all the Queen's Forces by Sea or Land. It was for ſome time given out, that the Prince intended to go beyond Sea, to command the Armies of the Alliance, but this report ſoon fell; and it was ſaid, the *Dutch* were not willing to truſt their Armies to the command of a Prince, who might think it below him to be limited by their Inſtructions, or to be bound to obey their Orders. The late late King had diſſolved the Commiſſion, for executing

A Miniſtry formed.

1702 the Office of the Lord Admiral, and had committed that great Truſt to the Earl of *Pembroke:* The Secrets of that Board were ſo ill kept, and there was ſuch a Faction in it, that the King reſolved to put it in a ſingle perſon: The Earl of *Pembroke* was not eaſily brought to ſubmit to it: He ſaw it would draw a heavy load on him, and he was ſenſible that by his ignorance of Sea Affairs, he might commit errors: yet he took good Officers to his aſſiſtance: He reſolved to command the Fleet in Perſon, and he took great pains to put things in ſuch Order, that it might be ſoon ready. A Land Army was deſigned to go with the Fleet, to the Command of which the Duke of *Ormond* had been named: But upon new meaſures, the Earl of *Pembroke* was firſt ſent to, not to go to Sea in perſon, and ſoon after he was diſmiſſed from his Poſt, with the offer of a great Penſion, which he very generouſly refuſed, tho' the ſtate of his Affairs and Family ſeemed to require it. The Prince was made Lord High Admiral, which he was to govern by a Council; The Legality of this was much queſtioned, for it was a new Court, which could not be authorized to act, but by an Act of Parliament, yet the reſpect paid the Queen made that no publick queſtion was made of this, ſo that objections to it never went beyond a ſecret murmur. The Earl of *Nottingham* and Sir *Charles Hedges* were made Secretaries of State: The Tories would truſt none but the Earl of *Nottingham*, and he would ſerve with none but *Hedges*; The Maxim laid down at Court, was, to put the direction of Affairs in the hands of the Tories. The Earl of *Marlborough* aſſured me this was done, upon the promiſes they made to carry on the War, and to maintain the Alliances: if they kept theſe, then Affairs would go on ſmoothly in the Houſe of Commons, but if they failed in this, the Queen would put her Buſineſs in other hands, which at that time few could believe. The Marquiſs of *Normanby* was, to the admiration of all men, made Lord Privy Seal, and ſoon after Duke of *Buckingham:* The Earl of *Abington*, Viſcount *Weymouth*, Lord *Dartmouth*, *Seimour*, *Muſgrave*, *Greenvil*, *How*, *Lucan Gowar*, *Harcourt*, with ſeveral others, who had, during the laſt Reign, expreſſed the moſt violent and unrelenting averſion to the whole Adminiſtration, were now brought to the Council Board, and put in good Poſts.

Few refuſed the Abjuraon.

Before the King's death, it was generally thought, that ſome in both Houſes, and many more over the Nation, would refuſe the Abjuration: They had oppoſed it ſo vehemently, that no leſs could be expected from them. Some went out of Town when the day came, in which the Houſes reſolved to try all their Members; but they ſoon came to other Reſolutions, and with them almoſt the whole Party came and took the Oath, and profeſſed great zeal for the Queen, and an entire ſatisfaction in her Title. Some ſuſpected this was Treachery, on deſign to get the Government once into their hands, that ſo they might deliver it up, or at leaſt that they might carry a Parliament ſo to their mind, that the Act might be repealed; and they might think, that then the Oath would fall with it. Diſtinctions were ſet about among them, which heightened theſe ſuſpicions; for tho' in the Oath, they declared, that the pretended Prince of *Wales* had not any right whatſoever to the Crown, yet in a paper (which I ſaw) that went about among them, it was ſaid that *Right* was a Term of Law, which had only relation to *Legal Rights*, but not to a *Divine Right*, or to *Birth Right:* So ſince that Right was condemned by Law, they, by abjuring it, did not renounce the *Divine Right*, that he had by his Birth. They alſo ſuppoſed, that this Abjuration could only bind, during the preſent ſtate of things, but not in caſe of another Revolution, or of a Conqueſt: This was too dark a thing, to be enquired after, or ſeen into, in the ſtate matters were then in. The Queen continued moſt of the great Officers of the Houſhold, all the Judges except two, and moſt of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; nor did ſhe make any change in the Foreign Miniſtry. It was generally believed, that the Earl of *Rocheſter* and his Party were for ſevere methods, and for a more entire change, to be carried quite thro' all ſubaltern Imployments; But that the Lord *Godolphin* and the Earl of *Marlborough* were for more moderate proceedings: So that tho' no Whigs were put into Imployments, yet many were kept in the Poſts they had been put into during the former Reign. Repeated aſſurances were ſent to all the Allies, that the Queen would adhere firmly to them.

The Union of both Kingdoms propoſed.

The Queen in her firſt Speech to her Parliament, had renewed the Motion, made by the late King, for the Union of both Kingdoms: Many of thoſe, who ſeemed now to have the greateſt ſhare of her favour and confidence, oppoſed it with

with much heat, and not without indecent Reflections on the *Scotch* Nation; yet it was carried by a great Majority, that the Queen ſhould be empowered to name Commiſſioners, for treating of an Union: It was ſo viſibly the Intereſt of *England*, and of the preſent Government, to ſhut that back door againſt the practices of *France*, and the attempts of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, that the oppoſition made to this firſt ſtep towards an Union, and the indecent ſcorn with which *Seimour* and others treated the *Scots*, were clear indications that the Poſts they were brought into, had not changed their tempers: but that inſtead of healing Matters, they intended to irritate them farther, by their reproachful Speeches. The Bill went thro' both Houſes, notwithſtanding the rough Treatment it met with at firſt. 1702

Upon the Earl of *Marlborough*'s return from *Holland*, and in purſuance of the concert at the *Hague*, the Queen communicated to both Houſes her deſign to proclaim War with *France*; They approving of it, War was proclaimed on the fourth day of *May*: The Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to thank the Queen, for ordering the Princeſs *Sophia* to be prayed for: And as the Right, that recommended her, was in her own Blood; She was deſigned by her Chriſtian Name, and not by her Title: It came to be known that this was oppoſed in Council by the Marquiſs of *Normanby*, but that it was promoted by the Lord Treaſurer. The War with *France* proclaimed.

A Report was ſpread about the Town, and over the Nation, with ſuch a ſeeming aſſurance, that many were inclined to believe it, that a Scheme had been found among the King's Papers, for ſetting aſide the Queen; Some added for impriſoning her, and for bringing the Houſe of *Hannover* immediately into the Succeſſion; and that, to ſupport this, a great change was to be made in all the Imployments and Offices over the whole Kingdom: This, many of thoſe who were now in Poſts, had talked in ſo publick a manner, that it appeared they intended to poſſeſs the whole Nation with a belief of it; hoping thereby to alienate the people from thoſe, who had been in the late King's confidence, and diſgrace all that ſide, in order to the carrying all Elections of Parliament for men of their Party. Five Lords had been ordered by the Queen to viſit the late King's Papers, and bring her ſuch of them, as related to the Alliances or other Affairs of the Crown: Theſe were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, and the Earls of *Marlborough*, *Jerſey*, and *Albemarle*: The Whigs ſaw the deſign which was driven at, by thoſe falſe Reports; ſo a Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, by the Earl of *Carliſle*, and ſeconded by the Lords *Wharton*, *Halliſax*, and others, that an enquiry ſhould be made, into the Truth of that Report, and of all other ſtories of that kind, that ſo, if there was any truth in them, ſuch as had been concerned in thoſe wicked deſigns might be puniſhed; and if they were found to be falſe, that thoſe who ſpread them about, might be chaſtiſed. Upon this, the Houſe deſired that thoſe Lords, who had viſited the late King's Papers, would let them know, if they had met with any among them, relating to the Queen's Succeſſion, or to the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*. Four of them were then in the Houſe, only the Earl of *Marlborough* was ill that day, ſo the four who were preſent ſaid, they had found nothing, that did in any ſort relate to that matter, and this was confirmed by the Earl of *Marlborough* to ſome Peers, who were ſent by the Houſe, to ask him the ſame queſtion. Upon which a Vote paſt, that theſe Reports were falſe and ſcandalous; and an order was made for proſecuting the ſpreaders of them. Some Books had been publiſhed, charging the late Miniſtry, and the whole Whig Party with the like deſigns: Theſe Books were cenſured, and the Authors of them were ordered to be proſecuted; tho' both the Marquiſs of *Normanby* and the Earl of *Nottingham*, did all they could to excuſe thoſe Writers. When the falſhood of thoſe Calumnies was apparent, then it was given out, with an unuſual confidence, that no ſuch Reports had been ever ſet about; tho' the contrary was evident, and the thing was boldly aſſerted in thoſe Books: ſo that a peculiar meaſure of Aſſurance was neceſſary, to face down a thing, which they had taken ſuch pains to infuſe into the minds of the credulous Vulgar, all *England* over. The Earl of *Nottingham*, to divert this Enquiry, moved, that another might be made into thoſe Books, in which the Murder of King *Charles* the Firſt was juſtified; tho' the provocation given to ſome of theſe, was, by a Sermon preached by Dr. *Binks* before the Convocation, on the A falſe report of deſigns againſt the Queen.

1702

30*th* of *January*, in which he drew a Parallel between King *Charles*'s Sufferings and thoſe of our Saviour: and, in ſome very indecent Expreſſions, gave the preference to the former. When the buſineſs of the Seſſion of Parliament was all done, the Queen diſmiſſed them, with thanks for the money they had given, recommending earneſtly to them a good agreement among themſelves, aſſuring them, that as on the one hand ſhe would maintain the Toleration, ſo on the other hand, her own Principles would oblige her, to have a particular regard to thoſe, who expreſſed the trueſt zeal for the Church of *England*: Thus the Seſſion ended, and the Proclamation diſſolving the Parliament, with the Writs for a new one, came out not long after.

The Parliament is diſſolved.

A Convocation ſate.

During ſome part of this Parliament, a Convocation ſate: The Faction raiſed, in the Lower Houſe, had ſtill the Majority; Several Books were writ to ſhew, that by our Conſtitution, the power of Adjourning was wholly in the Archbiſhop: The Original Book of the Convocation, that ſate in the year 1661, being happily found, it ſhewed the practice of that Convocation agreed with the Biſhops in every particular: But tho' it was communicated to the Lower Houſe, that had no effect on them; for when Parties are once formed, and a reſolution is taken up on other conſiderations, no Evidence can convince thoſe, who have before hand reſolved to ſtick to their point. But the Prolocutor dying, and the King's Death following, the Convocation was by that diſſolved: ſince in the Act, that empowered the Parliament to ſit after the King's Death, no proviſion was made to continue the Convocation. The Earl of *Rocheſter* moved in the Houſe of Lords, that it might be conſidered, whether the Convocation was not a part of the Parliament, and whether it was not continued, in conſequence of the Act, that continued the Parliament: But that was ſoon let fall, for the Judges were all of Opinion, that it was diſſolved by the King's Death.

Upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown, all theſe angry men, that had raiſed this flame in the Church, as they treated the Memory of the late King with much indecent contempt, ſo they ſeemed very confident, that for the future, all Preferments ſhould be diſtributed among them (the Queen having ſuperſeded the Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Preferments) and they thought they were full of merit, and were as full of hopes.

Societies for Reformation.

Such an evil ſpirit as is now ſpread among the Clergy, would be a ſad ſpeculation at any time, but in our preſent circumſtances, when we are near ſo great a criſis, it is a dreadful thing: But a little to ballance this, I ſhall give an account of more promiſing beginnings and appearances, which tho' they are of an elder date, yet of late they have been brought into a more regulated form. In King *James*'s Reign, the fear of Popery was ſo ſtrong, as well as juſt, that many, in and about *London*, began to meet often together, both for Devotion, and for their further Inſtruction: Things of that kind had been formerly practiſed, only among the Puritans and the Diſſenters: But theſe were of the Church, and came to their Miniſters, to be aſſiſted with forms of Prayer and other directions: They were chiefly conducted by Dr. *Beveridge* and Dr. *Horneck*. Some diſliked this, and were afraid it might be the Original of new Factions and Parties; but wiſer and better men thought, it was not fit nor decent to check a ſpirit of Devotion, at ſuch a time: It might have given ſcandal, and it ſeemed a diſcouraging of Piety, and might be a mean to drive well-meaning perſons over to the Diſſenters. After the Revolution, theſe Societies grew more numerous, and for a greater encouragement to Devotion, they got ſuch Collections to be made, as maintained many Clergymen to read Prayers in ſo many places, and at ſo many different hours, that devout perſons might have that comfort, at every hour of the day: There were conſtant Sacraments every Lord's Day in many Churches: There were both greater numbers and greater appearances of Devotion at Prayers and Sacraments, than had been obſerved in the memory of Man. Theſe Societies reſolved, to inform the Magiſtrates of Swearers, Drunkards, Profaners of the Lord's Day, and of Lewd Houſes; and they threw in the part of the Fine, given by Law to Informers, into a ſtock of Charity: From this, they were called Societies of Reformation: Some good Magiſtrates encouraged them; but others treated them roughly. As ſoon as the late Queen heard of this, ſhe did, by her Letters and Proclamations, encourage theſe good deſigns, which were

were afterwards proſecuted by the late King. Other Societies ſet themſelves to raiſe Charity Schools, for teaching poor Children, for cloathing them and binding them out to Trades; Many Books were printed, and ſent over the Nation by them, to be freely diſtributed: Theſe were called Societies for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge: By this means, ſome thouſands of Children are now well educated and carefully looked after. In many places of the Nation, the Clergy met often together, to confer about matters of Religion and Learning; and they got Libraries to be raiſed for their common uſe. At laſt a Corporation was created by the late King, for propagating the Goſpel among Infidels, for ſettling Schools in our Plantations, for furniſhing the Clergy that were ſent thither, and for ſending Miſſionaries among ſuch of our Plantations, as were not able to provide Paſtors for themſelves. It was a glorious concluſion of a Reign, that was begun with preſerving our Religion, thus to create a Corporation, for propagating it to the remoter parts of the Earth, and among Infidels: There were very liberal Subſcriptions made to it, by many of the Biſhops and Clergy, who ſet about it with great care and zeal: Upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown, they had all poſſible aſſurances of her favour and protection, of which upon every application, they received very eminent marks. 1702

The Affairs of *Scotland* began to be ſomewhat embroiled: By an Act made ſoon after the Revolution, it was provided, that all Princes ſucceeding to the Crown, ſhould take the Coronation Oath, before they enter'd upon the Regal Dignity; but no direction was given, concerning thoſe who ſhould tender it, or the manner in which it ſhould be taken: So this being left undetermined, the Queen called together all the late King's Miniſters for that Kingdom, and in the preſence of about twelve of them, ſhe took the Coronation Oath: Men, who were diſpoſed to cenſure every thing, ſaid, that this ought not to be done, but in the preſence of ſome, deputed for that effect, either by the Parliament, or at leaſt by the Privy Council of that Kingdom. Another point occaſioned a more important Debate. Affairs in *Scotland*.

Upon the Aſſaſſination Plot, an Act had paſſed in *Scotland* for continuing the Parliament, that ſhould be then in being, ſix months after the Death of the King, with two ſpecial Clauſes in it; the firſt was, that it ſhould meet twenty days after the Death of the King: But the Queen did, by ſeveral Prorogations, continue the Parliament almoſt three months after the King's Death, before it was opened; Some ſaid the Parliament was by this diſſolved, ſince it did not meet upon the day, limited by the Act to continue it; but there was another Proviſo in the Act, that ſaved to the Crown the full Prerogative of adjourning or diſſolving it within that time; yet in oppoſition to that, it was acknowledged, that as to all ſubſequent days of Meeting, the Prerogative was entire, but the day that was limited, that is the twenty firſt after the King's Death, to be fixed for the firſt opening the Seſſion.

The ſecond Clauſe was, a limitation on the Power of the Parliament, during their ſitting, that it ſhould not extend to the repealing Laws; they were empowered only, to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and the publick peace of the Country: It was therefore ſaid, that the Queen was peaceably obeyed, and the Country now in full quiet, ſo there was no need of aſſembling the Parliament: The end of the Law being compaſſed, it was ſaid, the Law fell of it ſelf, and therefore it was neceſſary to call a new Parliament: for the old one, if aſſembled, could have no Authority, but to ſee to the preſervation of Religion, and the peace of the Country, their power being limited to thoſe two heads, by the Act that authorized their ſitting. In oppoſition to this, it was ſaid, that the Act which gave them Authority to ſit as a Parliament for ſix months, gave them the full Authority of a Parliament: the directing them to take care of ſome more important matters, did not hinder their meddling with other matters, ſince no Parliament can limit a ſubſequent one: It was alſo ſaid, that, ſince the Queen was now engaged in a War, the publick Peace could not be ſecured, without ſuch a Force and ſuch Taxes to maintain it, as the preſent ſtate of Affairs required. The Duke of *Queensbury*, and his Party, were for continuing the Parliament: But Duke *Hamilton*, and the others, who had oppoſed that Duke in the laſt Parliament, complained highly of this way of proceeding: They ſaid, they could not acknowledge this to be a legal Parliament, they could not ſubmit to

1702 it, but must protest against it: This was ominous; a Reign was to be begun with a Parliament, liable to a dispute; and from such a breach, it was easy to foresee a train of mischief likely to follow. These Lords came up, and represented to the Queen, and those in favour with her, their exceptions to all, that was intended to be done; every thing they said was heard very calmly; but the Queen was a stranger to their Laws, and could not take it upon her to judge of them, so she was determined by the Advice of the Privy Council of that Kingdom. The Lords that came up to oppose the Duke of *Queensbury*, continued to press for a new Parliament, in which they promised to give the Queen all that she could ask of them, and to consent to an Act of Indemnity, for all that was past in the former Reign; But it was thought, that the Nation was then in too great a heat to venture on that; and that some more time was necessary, to prepare matters, as well as mens minds, before a new Parliament should be summoned. Both Parties went down, and both being very sensible that the Presbyterian Interest would, with its weight, turn that scale, into which it should fall; great pains were taken by both sides to gain that Party. On the one hand, they were made to apprehend, what a madness it would be for them, to provoke the Queen in the beginning of her Reign, who might be enough disposed to entertain prejudices against them: these would be much heightened, if in a point, in which Conscience could not be pretended, they should engage in a Faction against her, especially when they could not say, that any cause of jealousy was given: On the contrary, the Queen had, in all her publick Letters, promised to maintain Presbyterian Government; and tho' that gave great offence, in the late King's time, when those publick Letters were printed, yet now this past without censure. The other Party was as busy to inflame them; They told them the Queen was certainly in her heart against them: All those who were now in her confidence, the Earls of *Rochester* and *Nottingham* in particular, were enemies to Presbyterian Government: Good words were now given them, to separate them from a National Interest, knowing well, that if they went off from that, and so lost the hearts of the Nation, they lost that, in which their chief strength lay: The Party that now governed, as soon as they should have carried the present point by their help, and render'd them odious, by their concurring in it, would strengthen themselves at Court, by entering into the Episcopal Interest, and trying to introduce Episcopacy into *Scotland*: which would be soon brought about, if the Presbyterians should once lose their popularity: These were the Methods and reasonings that were used on both hands.

A Session of Parliament there.

The Parliament was brought together on the *9th* of *June*; at the opening the Session, Duke *Hamilton* read a Paper, importing, that this was not a legal Parliament, since the only ends, for which they were empowered to meet, were already obtained: The Queen was obeyed, Religion was secured, and the Peace of the Country was settled: so there seemed to be no occasion for their continuance; Upon which he and seventy four more withdrew; but one hundred and twelve Members continued to sit, and voted themselves to be a free and legal Parliament, and declared, that pursuant to their ancient Laws, it was High Treason to impugn their Authority. They ratified all Acts made, in favour of Presbyterian Government, in which they proceeded with such violence, that Sir *Alexander Bruce* moving, that all those Acts might be read, for he believed some of them might be found inconsistent with Monarchy, he was for that expelled the House. They by one Act recognized the Queen's Title; by another, they empowered her to name Commissioners to treat of the Union of the Two Kingdoms; and by a third, they gave a Tax sufficient to keep up the Force, that was then in *Scotland*, for two years longer: and so the Parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion.

Ireland was put under Lords Justices, named by the Earl of *Rochester*, and the Trustees continued still in their former Authority.

Affairs in *Germany*.

While our Affairs were in this posture at home; The first step that was made beyond Sea, was by the House of *Hanover*; it had been concerted with the late King before his Sickness, and was set on foot the Week he died; The design was well laid, and the execution was managed with great secrecy; The old Duke

of *Zell*, and his Nephew the Elector of *Brunſwick*, went in perſon with an Army, that was rather inferior in ſtrength to that of the Duke's of *Wolfembuttle*; They enter'd their Country, while their Troops were diſperſed in their Quarters: They ſurprized ſome Regiments of Horſe, and came and inveſted both *Wolfembuttle* and *Brunſwick* at once, and cut off all communication between them: Having them at this diſadvantage, they required them to concur in the Common Councils of the Empire, to furniſh their Quota for its defence, and to keep up no more Troops, than were conſiſtent with the ſafety of their Neighbours; for it was well known, that the greateſt part of their Men were ſubſiſted with *French* pay, and that they had engaged themſelves to declare for *France*, as ſoon as it ſhould be required. Duke *Rodolph*, the elder Brother, was a learned and pious Prince; but as he was never married, ſo he had turned over the Government to the Care of his Brother Duke *Anthony*, who was a Prince of a temper very much different from his Brother's: He could not bear the advancement of the Houſe of *Hanover*; So in oppoſition to them, he went into the Intereſts of *France*: But being thus ſurpriſed, he went away in diſcontent, and his Brother broke thro' all thoſe meaſures, in which he had involved himſelf: In conjunction with Duke *Anthony*, the Duke of *Saxe Gotha* had enter'd into the ſame engagements with *France*; but was now forced to fall into the common Intereſts of the Empire. 1702

Thus all the North of *Germany* was united, and ready to declare againſt *France*; only the War in *Poland* was ſo near them, that they were obliged to continue armed, and ſee the iſſue of that War: The King of *Sweden* was engaged in it, with ſuch a determined oppoſition to King *Auguſtus*, that there was no hope of treating a Peace, tho' it was endeavoured both by *England* and the *States*: The King of *Sweden* ſeemed to have accuſtomed himſelf to fatigue and danger, ſo that he grew to love both; and tho' the *Muſcovites* had fallen upon the Frontiers of *Sweden*, where they had gained ſome advantages, yet even that could not divert him from carrying on the War in *Poland*. A Diet was ſummoned there, but it broke up in confuſion, without coming to any concluſion, only they ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Sweden* to treat of a Peace. The King of *Pruſſia* was very apprehenſive of the conſequences of this War, which was now in the neighbourhood of *Pruſſia*; and the King of *Sweden* threaten'd to invade *Saxony*, with the Troops that he had in *Pomerania*, which could not be done but thro' his Territories. The King of *Sweden* delay'd giving Audience to the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*; and marched on to *Warſaw*; ſo the King of *Poland* retired to *Cracow*, and ſummoned thoſe Palatines, who adhered to him, to come about him: When the King of *Sweden* came to *Warſaw*, he ſent to the Cardinal to ſummon a Diet, for chuſing a new King: This went further than the reſentments of the *Poles* yet carried them: But the reſt of this matter will appear hereafter. The War in *Poland*.

All *Germany* was now united, only the two Brothers of *Bavaria*; The Court of *Vienna* ſet on foot ſeveral Negotiations with the Elector of *Bavaria*, but all to no purpoſe: for that Elector ſeemed only to hearken to their Propoſitions, that he might make the better terms with *France*: The Elector of *Cologn* put *Liege*, and all the places that he had on the *Rhine*, except *Bonne*, into the hands of the *French*: It was ſaid, that he kept *Bonne*, hoping to be able to make his peace with the Emperor, by putting that into his poſſeſſion; but he was prevailed on afterwards to deliver that likewiſe to the *French*. In this, the Elector acted againſt the advice of all his Council; and as the Dean of *Liege* was making ſome oppoſition to him, he was ſeized on, and carried away Priſoner in a barbarous manner: The Elector, to excuſe his letting the *French* into his Country, pretended, he only deſired the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*, to ſecure his Dominions: For as *France* was not aſhamed of the ſlighteſt pretences, ſo ſhe taught her Allies to make excuſes unbecoming the Dignity of Princes. A Treaty with the Houſe of *Bavaria*.

The firſt ſtep of this War was to be made in the name of the Elector *Palatine*, in the Siege of *Keiſerwert*, which, whilſt in the Enemies hands, expoſed both the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, and the *States* Dominions: for their places on the *Whall*, being in no good condition, were laid open to the excurſions of that Garriſon. Negotiations were ſtill carried on in ſeveral Courts: *Methuen* was The Siege of *Keiſerwert*.

1702 sent to try the Court of *Portugal*; he came quickly back, with full assurances of a Neutrality, and a freedom of Trade in their Ports; Insinuations were given of a disposition to go further, upon a better prospect and better terms; so he was presently sent back, to drive that matter as far as it would go. The Pope pretended he would keep the Neutrality of a common Father, but his partiality to the *French* appeared on many occasions: yet the Court of *Vienna* had that veneration for the See, that they contented themselves with expostulating, without carrying their resentments further. The *Venetians* and the Great Duke followed the example set them by the Pope, tho' the former did not escape so well, for their Country suffered on both hands.

The Siege of Landaw.

The Prince of *Baden* drew together the Troops of the Empire; he began with blocking up *Landaw*, and that was soon turned to a Siege: *Catinat* was sent to Command the *French* Army in *Alsace*, but it was so weak, that he was not able to make head with it. In the end of *April*, the *Dutch* formed three Armies; one under the Prince of *Nassaw*, undertook the Siege of *Keiserwert*; Another was commanded by the Earl of *Athlone*, and lay in the Dutchy of *Cleve*, to cover the Siege; A third commanded by *Cohorn*, broke into *Flanders*, and put a great part of that Country under Contribution. Marescbal *Boufflers* drew his Army together, and having laid up great Magazines in *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*, he passed the *Maese* with his whole Army. The Duke of *Burgundy* came down post from *Paris*, to command it: The *States* apprehended, that so great a Prince would, at his first appearance, undertake somewhat worthy of him, and thought the Design might be upon *Maestricht*: so they put twelve thousand Men in Garrison there: The Auxiliary Troops from *Germany* did not come so soon as was expected, and cross Winds stopt a great part of our Army: So that the Earl of *Athlone* was not strong enough to enter into action with Mareschal *Boufflers*: But he lay about *Cleve*, watching his motions. The Siege of *Keiserwert* went on slowly: The *Rhine* swelling very high, so filled their Trenches, that they could not work in them. Mareschal *Tallard* was sent to lie on the other side of the *Rhine*, to cannonade the Besiegers, and to send fresh Men into the Town: The King of *Prussia* came to *Wezel*, from whence he furnished the Besiegers with all that was necessary: There was one vigorous Attack made, in which many were killed on both sides; In conclusion, after a brave defence, the Counterscarp was carried, and then the Town capitulated, and was razed according to agreement. When the Duke of *Burgundy* saw, that the Siege could not be raised, he tried to get between the Earl of *Athlone* and *Nimeguen*: The Design was well laid, and wanted little of being punctually executed: It must have had fatal effects, had it succeeded: for the *French* would either have got into *Nimeguen*, or have forced the Earl of *Athlone* to fight at a great disadvantage. But the Earl of *Athlone* so carefully watched their motions, that he got before them, under the Cannon of *Nimeguen*; yet by this means, he was forced to abandon *Cleve*. The *French* discharged their fury upon that Town, and on the Park, and all the delicious Walks of that charming place, little to the Honour of the Prince who commanded the Army: for upon such occasions, Princes are apt to be civil to one another, and not to make havock of such embellishments as can be of no use to them. The Earl of *Athlone*'s conduct on this occasion, raised his credit, as much as it sunk *Boufflers*, who, tho' he had the superior Army, animated by the presence of so great a Prince, yet was able to do nothing; but was unsuccessful in every thing that he designed; and his Parties, that at any time were engaged with those of the Earl of *Athlone*, were beaten almost in every Action.

Keiserwert taken.

The Earl of Marlborough commands the Army.

Soon after this, the Earl of *Marlborough* came over, and took the Command of the Army. The Earl of *Athlone* was set on, by the other *Dutch* Generals, to insist on his Quality of *Velt Marshal*, and to demand the Command by turns: He was now in high reputation by his late Conduct, but the *States* obliged him to yield this to the Earl of *Marlborough*, who indeed used him so well, that the Command seemed to be equal between them. The Earl of *Athlone* was always inclined to cautious and sure, but feeble Counsels: But the Earl of *Marlborough*, when the Army was brought together, finding his Force superior to the Duke of *Burgundy*, passed the *Maese* at the *Grave*, and marched up to the *French*; they retired as he advanced: this made him for venturing on a decisive

Action,

Action, but the *Dutch* apprehended the putting things to such a hazard, and would not consent to it. The Pensioner, and those who ordered matters at the *Hague*, proceeded the more timorously, because, upon the King's Death, those who had always opposed him, were beginning to form Parties, in several of their Towns, and were designing a change of Government: So that a publick misfortune in their conduct, would have given great advantages to those who were watching for them. The Pensioner was particularly aimed at: this made him more unwilling to run any risque. Good Judges thought, that if the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Advices had been followed; matters might have been brought to a happy decision: But as he conducted the Army prudently, so he was careful not to take too much upon him. The Duke of *Burgundy* finding himself obliged to retreat, as the Confederate Army advanced, thought this was not suitable to his Dignity; So he left the Army, and ended his first Campaign very ingloriously; and it seems, the King was not satisfied with Mareschal *Boufflers*, for he never commanded their Armies since that time. The Earl of *Marlborough* went on, taking several places, which made little or no resistance; and seeing that Mareschal *Boufflers* kept at a safe distance, so that there was no hope of an engagement with him, he resolved to fall into the *Spanish Guelder*: He began with *Venlo*. There was a Fort on the other side of the River, that commanded it, which was taken by the Lord *Cutts*, in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by every body but himself: but he lost the honour, that was due to many brave Actions of his, by talking too much of them: The young Earl of *Huntington* shewed upon this, as upon many other occasions, an extraordinary heat of Courage: He called to the Soldiers, who had got over the pallisadoes, to help him over, and promised them all the money he had about him, which he performed very generously, and led them on with much bravery and success: Upon the Fort's being taken, the Town capitulated. *Ruremonde* and *Stevenzwert* were taken in a few days after; for Mareschal *Boufflers* did not come to their relief. Upon these Successes, that came quicker than was expected, the Earl of *Marlborough* advanced to *Liege*, which was a place of more importance, in which he might put a great part of his Army in Winter Quarters: The Town quickly capitulated; The Citadel was carried by storm, and another Fort in the Town likewise surrendred. Here was a very prosperous Campaign: many places were taken with little resistance, and an inconsiderable loss, either of time or of men. The Earl of *Marlborough*'s conduct and deportment gained him the hearts of the Army: The *States* were highly satisfied with every thing he did, and the Earl of *Athlone* did him the justice to own, that he had differed in opinion from him in every thing that was done: and that therefore the Honour of their Success was wholly owing to him. 1702

The Earl of *Marlborough* taken by a Party of the *French*, got out of their hands.

The Campaign was kept open till *November*, and at the end of it, an accident happened, that had almost lost the advantages and honour got in it. The Earl of *Marlborough* thought the easiest and quickest, as well as the safest way of returning to the *Hague*, was by some of those great Boats, that pass on the *Maese*: There was one Company in the Boat in which he went, and two Companies went in another, that was to be before him; There were also some Troops ordered, to ride along the Banks for their Guard. The great Boat that went before, sailed away too quick, and the Horse mistook their way in the night: The *French* had yet the Town of *Guelder* in their hands, which was indeed all they had of the *Spanish Guelder*: A Party from thence was lying on the Banks of the River, waiting for an Adventure, and they seized this Boat, the whole Company being fast asleep: so they had now both the Earl of *Marlborough* and *Opdam*, one of the *Dutch* Generals, and *Gueldermalsen*, one of the States Deputies in their hands: They did not know the Earl of *Marlborough*, but they knew the other two. They both had Passes, according to a Civility, usually practised among the Generals of both sides. The Earl of *Marlborough*'s Brother had a Pass but his ill health made him leave the Campaign, so his Pass was left with his Brother's Secretary, and that was now made use of for himself. 'Tis true, the Date of the Pass was out, but they being in haste, and in the night, that was not considered: The Boat was rifled, and they took Presents from those, who they believed were protected by their passes: So, after a stop of some hours, they

1702 were let go, and happily escaped the danger. The news of their being taken got before them to the *Hague*; upon which the *States* immediately met, under no small consternation: They sent Orders to all their Forces, to march immediately to *Guelder*, and to threaten the Garrison with all extremities, unless they should deliver the Prisoners: and never to leave the Place, till they had either taken it, or had the Generals delivered to them. But before these Orders could be dispatched, the Earl of *Marlborough* came to the *Hague*, where he was received with inexpressible joy, not only by the *States*, but by all the Inhabitants: for he was beloved there to a high degree: Soon after his return to *England*, the Queen made him Duke of *Marlborough*; and both Houses of Parliament sent some of their number to him, with their Thanks for the great Services he had done this Campaign.

Landaw was taken. The Campaign likewise ended happily on the Upper *Rhine*: *Landaw* was taken after a long Siege; The King of the *Romans* came in time to have the honour of taking it: But with so great a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expence of it put all the Emperor's Affairs in great disorder: the most necessary things being neglected, while a needless piece of Pomp devoured so great a part of their Treasure; The Siege was stopp'd some weeks for want of Ammunition, but in conclusion, the place was taken.

The necessities of the King of *France*'s Affairs, forced him at this time, to grant the Elector of *Bavaria* all his demands: It is not yet known what they were; But the Court of *France* did not agree to what he asked, till *Landaw* was given for lost: and then seeing that the Prince of *Baden* might have over-run all the *Hondruck*, and carried his Winter Quarters into the neighbourhood of *France*, it was necessary to gain this Elector on any terms: If this agreement had been sooner made, probably the Siege, how far soever it was advanced, must have been raised. The Elector made his Declaration, when he had possessed himself of *Ulm*, which was a rich free Town of the Empire: It was taken by a stratagem, that, how successful soever it proved to the Elector, was fatal to him who conducted it: for he was killed by an accident, after he was possessed of the Town. This gave a great alarm to the neighbouring Circles and Princes, who called away their Troops from the Prince of *Baden*, to their own defence; by this means, his Army was much diminished; but with the Troops that were left him, he studied to cut off the Communication between *Strazbourg* and *Ulm*. The Emperor with the Diet, proceeded according to their forms against the Elector; But he was now engaged, and continued firm to the Interests of *France*. Mareschal *Villars*, who commanded the *French* Army in *Alsatia*, had Orders to break thro' the Black Forest, and join the *Bavarians*: His Army was much superior to the Prince of *Baden*; but the latter had so posted himself, that after an unsuccessful attempt, *Villars* was forced to return to *Strazbourg*.

The Elector of *Bavaria* declares for *France*.

The War in *Italy*. In *Italy*, the Duke of *Vendosme* began with the Relief of *Mantua*, which was reduced to great extremities by the long Blockade Prince *Eugene* had kept about it: He had so fortified the *Oglio*, that the Duke of *Vendosme* apprehending the difficulty of forcing his Posts, marched thro' the *Venetian* Territories (notwithstanding the Protestations of the Republick against it) and came to *Goito*, with a great Convoy for *Mantua*. Prince *Eugene* drew his Army all along the *Mantua Fossa*, down to *Borgofortes*; he was forced to abandon a great many places, but apprehending that *Bersello* might be besieged, and considering the importance of that place, he put a strong Garrison in it. He complained much, that the Court of *Vienna* seemed to forget him; and did not send him the Reinforcements they had promised: It was thought, that his Enemies at that Court, under Colour of supporting the King of the *Romans* in his first Campaign, were willing to neglect every thing that related to him: By this means, the best Army the Emperor ever had, was left to moulder away to nothing.

King *Philip* went to *Italy*. King *Philip* took a very extraordinary Resolution of going over to *Italy*, to possess himself of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to put an end to the War in *Lombardy*; he was received at *Naples* with outward splendor, but he made little Progress, in quieting the minds of that unruly Kingdom: He did not obtain the Investiture of it from the Pope, tho' he sent him a Cardinal Legate, with a high Complement: The *Germans* thought this was too much, while the *French* thought

thought it was not enough; yet upon it, the Emperor's Ambaſſador left *Rome*. 1702
King *Philip* was conducted from *Naples* to *Final* by the *French* Fleet, that had carried him from *Barcelona* to *Naples*. As he was going to Command the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Army, he was met by the Duke of *Savoy*, of whom there was ſome jealouſy, that, having married his two Daughters ſo greatly, he began now to diſcern his own diſtinct intereſt, which called upon him to hinder the *French* from being Maſters of the *Milaneſe*. King *Philip* wrought to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, not to fight Prince *Eugene*, till he could join him: He ſeemed jealous, leaſt that Prince ſhould be driven out of *Italy*, before he could come to ſhare in the Honour of it; yet when he came, he could do nothing, tho' Prince *Eugene* was miſerably abandoned by the Court of *Vienna*. Count *Mansfield*, Preſident of the Council of War, was much ſuſpected, as corrupted by *France*: The Supplies promiſed, were not ſent into *Italy*: The apprehenſions they were under of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s declaring, ſome time before he did it, gave a colour to thoſe, who were jealous of Prince *Eugene*'s Glory, to detain the Recruits and Troops that had been promiſed to him, for the Emperor's own Defence: But tho' he was thus forſaken, yet he managed the Force he had about him, with great skill and conduct. When he ſaw *Luzara* was in danger, he marched up to the King of *Spain*; and as that King very oddly expreſſed it, in a Letter to the King of *France*, he had the boldneſs (*Audace*) to attack him, but which was worſe, he had the boldneſs likewiſe to beat him; and if he had not been ſhut in by Rivers, and the narrowneſs of the Ground, very probably he would have carried the advantage, he had in that engagement, much further. The ill ſtate of his Affairs forced him upon that deſperate action, in which he ſucceeded beyond expectation; It put the *French* to ſuch a ſtand, that all they could do after this, was only to take *Luzara*, and ſome other inconſiderable places; but Prince *Eugene* ſtill kept his Poſts. King *Philip* left the Army, and returned, after an inglorious Campaign, into *Spain*; where the Grandees were much diſguſted, to ſee themſelves ſo much deſpiſed, and their Affairs wholly conducted by *French* Councils. The *French* tried, by all poſſible methods, to engage the *Turks* into a new War with the Emperor; and it was believed that the *Grand Vizier* was entirely gained, tho' the *Mufti*, and all who had any credit in that Court, were againſt it: The *Grand Vizier* was ſtrangled, and ſo this deſign was prevented.

The Court of *France* was in a management with the Cardinal Primate of *Poland*, to keep that Kingdom ſtill embroiled: The King of *Sweden* marched on to *Cracow*, which was much cenſured, as a deſperate attempt, ſince a defeat there muſt have deſtroyed him and his Army entirely, being ſo far from home. He attack'd the King of *Poland*, and gave him ſuch an Overthrow, that tho' the Army got off, he carried both their Camp and Artillery. He poſſeſſed himſelf of *Cracow*, where he ſtaid ſome Months, till he had raiſed all the money they could produce: and tho' the *Muſcovites* with the *Lithuanians* deſtroyed *Livonia*, and broke into *Sweden*, yet that could not call him back. The Duke of *Holſtein*, who had married his eldeſt Siſter, was thought to be gained by the *French*, to puſh on this young King, to proſecute the War with ſuch an unrelenting Fury, in which he might have a deſign for himſelf, ſince the King of *Sweden*'s venturing his own perſon ſo freely, might make way for his Dutcheſs to ſucceed to the Crown. That Duke was killed in the battle of *Cracow*. There was ſome hopes of Peace this Winter, but the two Princes were ſo exaſperated againſt one another, that it ſeemed impoſſible to compoſe that animoſity: This was very unacceptable to the Allies: for both Kings were well inclined to ſupport the Confederacy, and to engage in the War againſt *France*, if their own Quarrels could have been made up. The King of *Sweden* continued ſtill ſo vertuous and pious in his whole deportment, that he ſeemed to be formed, to be one of the Heroes of the Reformation. This was the ſtate of Affairs on the Continent, during this Campaign.

Affairs in Poland.

One unlooked for accident ſprung up in *France*: An Inſurrection happened, in the *Cevennes* in *Languedoc*: of which I can ſay nothing that is very particular, or well aſſured. When it firſt broke out, it was looked on as the effect of Oppreſſion and Deſpair, which would quickly end in a ſcene of Blood: but it had a much longer continuance than was expected; and it had a conſiderable effect

An Inſurrection in the Cevennes.

1702 on the Affairs of *France*; for an Army of ten or twelve thouſand men, who were deſigned, either for *Italy* or *Spain*, was employed, without any immediate ſucceſs in reducing them.

The *Engliſh* Fleet ſent to to *Cadiz*.

I now change the Element, to give an account of our operations at Sea: *Rook* had the Command; The Fleet put to Sea much later than we hoped for; The *Dutch* Fleet came over, about a Month before ours was ready; The whole conſiſted of fifty Ships of the Line, and a Land Army was put on board, of twelve thouſand men, ſeven thouſand *Engliſh*, and five thouſand *Dutch*: *Rook* ſpoke ſo coldly of the Deſign he went upon, before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the Enemy as little harm as poſſible. Advice was ſent over from *Holland*, of a Fleet that ſailed from *France*, and was ordered to call in at the *Groyne*. *Munden* was recommended by *Rook*, to be ſent againſt this Fleet; but tho' he came up to them, with a ſuperior Force, yet he behaved himſelf ſo ill, and ſo unſucceſsfully, that a Council of War was ordered to ſit on him: They indeed acquitted him, ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying, that if they had condemned him, the puniſhment was Death: whereas they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſence: ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him, for a defect of that, which Nature had not given him. Thoſe who recommended him to the Imployment, ſeemed to be more in fault. This acquittal raiſed ſuch an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. *Rook*, to divert the deſign that he himſelf was to go upon, wrote up from St. *Helen's*, that the *Dutch* Fleet was victualled only to the middle of *September*; So they, being then in *July*, no great deſign could be undertaken, when ſo large a part of the Fleet was ſo ill provided. When the *Dutch* Admiral heard of this, he ſent to their Ambaſſador, to complain to the Queen of this miſinformation: for he was victualled till the middle of *December*. They were for ſome time ſtopt by contrary Winds, accidents and pretences, many of which were thought to be ſtrained and ſought for: but the Wind being turned wholly favourable, after ſome croſs Winds, which had render'd their paſſage ſlow and tedious, they came on the 12*th* of *Auguſt*, into the Bay of *Cadiz*. *Rook* had laid no diſpoſition before-hand, how to proceed upon his coming thither: Some days were loſt on pretence of ſeeking for intelligence: It is certain, our Court had falſe accounts of the ſtate the place was in, both with relation to the Garriſon and the Fortifications; The Garriſon was much ſtronger, and the Fortifications were in a better caſe, than was repreſented. The *French* Men of War, and the Gallies that lay in the Bay, retired within the *Puntals*. In the firſt ſurprize, it had been eaſy to have followed them, and to have taken or burnt them; which *Fairborn* offered to execute, but *Rook* and the reſt of his creatures did not approve of this. Some days were loſt, before a Council of War was called; In the mean while, the Duke of *Ormond* ſent ſome Engineers and Pilots to ſound the South-ſide of *Cadiz*, near the Iſland of St. *Pedro*: but while this was doing, the Officers, by the taking of ſome Boats, came to know, that thoſe of *Cadiz* had ſent over the beſt of their Goods and other Effects to the Port of St. *Maries*, an open Village over againſt it, on the Continent of *Spain*; ſo that here was good plunder to be had eaſily, whereas the Landing on the Iſle of *Cadiz* was like to prove dangerous, and, as ſome made them believe, impracticable. In the Council of War, in which their Inſtructions were read, it was propoſed to conſider, how they ſhould put them in execution; *O'Hara*, one of the General Officers, made a long Speech againſt Landing: He ſhewed how deſperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the ſtate of the place, from the repreſentation made of it in *England*: The greater number agreed with him, and all that the Duke of *Ormond* could ſay to the contrary was of no effect. *Rook* ſeemed to be of the ſame mind with the Duke, but all his Dependants were of another opinion, ſo this was thought to be a piece of craft in him: In concluſion, the Council of War came to a reſolution, not to make a Deſcent on the Iſland of *Cadiz*: But before they broke up, thoſe, whom the Duke had ſent to ſound the Landing places on the South-ſide, came and told them, that as they might Land ſafely, ſo the Ships might ride ſecurely on that ſide; yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their former reſolution, nor were there any Orders given for Bombarding the Town. The Sea was for the moſt part very high while they

they

they lay there, but it was ſo calm for one day, that the Engineers believed they could have done much miſchief; but they had no Orders for it: And indeed it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob St. *Maries*. 1702

A Landing on the Continent was reſolved on; and tho' the Sea was high, and the danger great, yet the hope of ſpoil made them venture on it; they landed at *Rota*; a Party of *Spaniſh* Horſe ſeemed to threaten ſome reſiſtance, but they retired, and ſo our men came to St. *Maries*, which they found deſerted, but full of riches: Both Officers and Soldiers ſet themſelves, with great courage, againſt this tempting but harmleſs enemy; Some of the General Officers ſet a very ill example to all the reſt; chiefly *O'Hara* and *Bellaſis*. The Duke of *Ormond* tried to hinder it, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made ſome examples at firſt, he might have prevented the miſchief that was done: But the whole Army, running ſo violently on the Spoil, he either was not able, or, thro' a gentleneſs of temper, was not willing to proceed to extremities. He had publiſhed a Manifeſto, according to his Inſtructions, by which the *Spaniards* were invited to ſubmit to the Emperor; and he offered his Protection to all that came into him: But the Spoil of St. *Maries* was thought an ill Commentary on that Text. After ſome days of unfruitful Trials, on the Forts of that ſide, it appeared that nothing could be done; ſo about the middle of *September*, they all re-embarked. Some of the Ships Crews were ſo imployed, in bringing and beſtowing the Plunder, that they took not the neceſſary care to furniſh themſelves with freſh Water. *Rook*, without proſecuting his other inſtructions, in caſe the deſign on *Cadiz* miſcarried, gave Orders only for a Squadron to ſail to the *Weſt-Indies*, with ſome Land Forces; and tho' he had a Fleet of Victuallers, that had Proviſions to the middle of *December*, he ordered them to ſail home; by this means, the Men of War were ſo ſcantily furniſhed, that they were ſoon forced to be put on ſhort allowance. Nor did *Rook* ſend Advice-Boats, either to the Ports of *Algarve*, or to *Lisbon*, to ſee what Orders or Advices might be lying for him, but ſailed in a direct Courſe for *England*: But ſome Ships, not being provided with Water for the Voyage to *England*, touched on the Coaſt of *Algarve*, to take in Water.

They landed and robbed St. *Maries*.

They met with intelligence there, that the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet, with a good Convoy of *French* Men of War, had put in at *Vigo*, a Port in *Gallicia*, not far from *Portugal*; where the entrance was narrow, and capable of a good defence. It widened within Land, into a Bay or Mouth of a River, where the Ships lay very conveniently: He who commanded the *French* Fleet, ordered a Boom to be laid croſs the entrance, and Forts to be raiſed on both ſides: He had not time to finiſh what he deſigned, otherwiſe the place had been inacceſſible: But as it was, the difficulty in forcing this Port was believed to be greater, than any they could have met with, if they had landed on the Iſle of *Cadiz*. As ſoon as this Fleet had put in at *Vigo*; *Methuen*, the Queen's Miniſter at *Lisbon*, ſent Advertiſements of it, to all the places, where he thought our Advice-Boats might be ordered to call: *Rook* had given no Orders for any to call, and ſo held on his courſe towards Cape *Finiſterre*: But one of his Captains, *Hardy*, whilſt he water'd in *Algarve*, heard the news there; upon which, he made all the Sail he could after *Rook*, and overtook him. *Rook* upon that, turned his courſe towards *Vigo*, very unwillingly as was ſaid, and finding the Advice was true, he reſolved to force his way in.

The Galleons put in at *Vigo*.

The Duke of *Ormond* landed with a Body of the Army, and attack'd the Forts with great bravery, while the Ships broke the Boom, and forced the Port. When the *French* ſaw what was done, they left their Ships, and ſet ſome of the Men of War and ſome of the Galleons on fire: Our Men came up with ſuch diligence, that they ſtopt the progreſs of the fire, yet fifteen Men of War and eight Galleons were burnt or ſunk; but our Men were in time to ſave five Men of War, and five Galleons, which they took. Here was a great deſtruction made, and a great Booty taken, with very little loſs on our ſide. One of our Ships was ſet on fire by a Fire-Ship, but ſhe too was ſaved, though with the loſs of ſome Men; which was all the loſs we ſuſtained in this important Action. The Duke of *Ormond* marched into the Country, and took ſome Forts, and the Town of *Ritondella*, where much Plunder was found; The

But they were burnt or taken by the *Engliſh*.

1702 *French* Seamen and Soldiers escaped, for we having no Horse, were not in a condition to pursue them: The *Spaniards* appeared at some distance, in a great Body: But they did not offer to enter into any Action with the Duke of *Ormond*: It appeared, that the resentments of that proud Nation, which was now governed by *French* Councils, were so high, that they would not put themselves in any danger, or to any Trouble, even to save their own Fleet, when it was in such hands.

After this great Success, it came under consultation, whether it was not advisable to leave a good Squadron of Ships, with the Land Forces, to winter at *Vigo*: The Neighbourhood of *Portugal* made, that they could be well furnished with Provisions, and all other necessaries from thence: This might also encourage that King to declare himself, when there was such a Force and Fleet lying so near him: It might likewise encourage such of the *Spaniards*, as favoured the Emperor, to declare themselves, when they saw a safe place of retreat, and a Force to protect them: The Duke of *Ormond*, upon these considerations, offered to stay, if *Rook* would have consented; but he excused it; he had sent home the Victuallers with the Stores; and so he could not spare what was necessary, for such as would stay there: and indeed, he had so ordered the matter, that he could not stay long enough to try, whether they could raise and search the Men of War and the Galleons that were sunk: He was obliged to make all possible haste home; and if the Wind had turned to the East, which was ordinary in that Season, a great part of our Ships Crews must have died of Hunger.

The English Fleet came back to England.

The Wind continued favourable, so they got home safe, but half starved. Thus ended this Expedition, which was ill projected, and worse executed. The Duke of *Ormond* told me, he had not half the Ammunition that was necessary, for the taking *Cadiz*, if they had defended themselves well: tho' he believed they would not have made any great resistance, if he had landed on his first arrival, and not given them time to recover from the disorder, into which the first surprize had put them. A great deal of the Treasure taken at *Vigo* was embezzled, and fell into private hands: One of the Galleons founder'd at Sea. The Publick was not much enriched by this extraordinary Capture, yet the loss our enemies made by it was a vast one, and to compleat the ruine of the *Spanish* Merchants, their King seized on the Plate, that was taken out of the Ships, upon their first arrival at *Vigo*. Thus the Campaign ended; very happily for the Allies, and most gloriously for the Queen, whose first year, being such a continued course of Success, gave a hopeful presage, of what might be hereafter expected.

A new Parliament.

The Session of Parliament comes next to be related: The Queen did not openly interpose in the Elections, but her inclination to the Tories appearing plainly, all people took it for granted, that she wished they might be the Majority: This wrought on the inconstancy and servility, that is natural to multitudes: and the conceit, which had been infused and propagated with much Industry, that the Whigs had charged the Nation with great Taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, had so far turned the tide, that the Tories in the House of Commons were at least double the number of the Whigs. They met full of fury against the Memory of the late King, and against those, who had been imploy'd by him. The first instance, wherein this appeared, was in their Address to the Queen, congratulating her great Successes; they added, that by her wise and happy Conduct, the Honour of the Kingdom was *Retrieved*. The word *Retrieved* implying that it was formerly lost, all that had a just regard to the King's Memory opposed it: He had carried the Honour of the Nation further, than had been done in any Reign before his: To him they owed their preservation, their safety, and even the Queen's being on the Throne; He had designed and formed that great Confederacy, at the head of which she was now set. In opposition to this, it was now said, that during his Reign, things had been conducted by Strangers, and trusted to them; and that a vast Treasure had been spent in unprofitable Campaigns in *Flanders*. The Partition Treaty, and every thing else, with which the former Reign could be loaded, was brought into the account, and the keeping the word *Retrieved*, in the Address, was carried

ried by a great Majority; All that had favour at Court, or hoped for any, going into it. Controverted Elections were judged in favour of Tories, with such a bare-faced partiality, that it shewed the Party was resolved on every thing, that might serve their ends. 1702

Great partiality in judging Elections.

Of this I shall only give two Instances: The one was of the Borough of *Hindon*, near me at *Salisbury*, where upon a complaint of Bribery, the proof was so full and clear, that they ordered a Bill to disfranchize the Town for that Bribery, and yet, because the Bribes were given by a man of their Party, they would not pass a Vote on him as guilty of it: So that a Borough was voted, to lose its Right of Electing, because many in it were guilty of a Corruption, in which no man appeared to be the Actor. The other was of more importance; and because it may be set up for a Precedent, I will be more particular in the Report: Mr. *John How* had been Vice Chamberlain to the late Queen, but missing some of those advantages, that he had proposed to himself, he had gone into the highest opposition, that was made in the House of Commons, to the Court, during the last Reign: not without many indecent reflections on the person of the late King; and a most virulent attacking of all his Ministers. He was a man of some wit, but of little judgment, and of small principles of Religion: He stood Knight of the Shire for *Glocestershire*; and had drawn a Party in that County to join with him in an Address to the Queen, in which, reflections were made on the danger and ill usage she had gone thro' in the former Reign; this Address was received by the Queen, in so particular a manner, that it looked like the owning that the Contents of it were true; but she made such an excuse for this, when the offence it gave was laid before her, that probably, she was not acquainted with the matter of the Address, when she so received it. Upon this, great opposition was made to his Election; When it came to the Poll, it appeared, he had lost it; So the Sheriff was moved for a Scrutiny, to examine, whether all those who had sworn, that they were Freeholders of Forty Shillings a year, had sworn true. By the Act of Parliament, the matter was referred to the Parties Oath, and their swearing false was declared Perjury: Therefore such, as had sworn falsly, were liable to a Prosecution: But by all Laws, an Oath is looked upon as an end of Controversy, till he who swore is convict of Perjury: And the Sheriff, being an Officer named by the Court, if he had a power to review the Poll, this put the Election of Counties, wholly in the power of the Crown: yet upon this occasion, the heat of a Party prevailed so far, that they voted *How* duly elected.

All the Supply agreed to.

The House of Commons very unanimously, and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the Court, and voted all the Supplies that were necessary for carrying on the War. Upon the Duke of *Marlborough's* coming over, a new demand for an additional Force was made, since the King of *France* had given out Commissions, for a great increase of his Armies: Upon that, the *States* moved the Queen, for ten thousand more men: This was consented to, but with a condition, which how reasonable soever it might be in itself, yet the manner, in which it was managed, shewed a very ill disposition towards the *Dutch*; and in the Debate, they were treated very indecently. It was insisted on, that before the Pay of these new Troops should begin, the *States* should prohibit all Trade with *France*, and break off all Correspondence with that Kingdom. It was indeed true, that *France* could not have supplied their Armies in *Italy* but by the means of this secret Trade; so it was reasonable to break it; but the imposing it on the *Dutch*, in the manner in which this was pressed, carried in it too high a strain of Authority over them. Theirs is a Country, that subsists not by any intrinsick Wealth of their own, but by their Trade; some seemed to hope, that the opposition, which would be raised on this head, might force a Peace, at which many among us were driving so indecently, that they took little care to conceal it. The *States* resolved to comply with *England* in every thing; and tho' they did not like the manner of demanding this, yet they readily consented to it. The ordinary business of a Session of Parliament was soon dispatched, no opposition being made to the Supply, at which, in the former Reign, things stuck longest.

1702

A Bill against occasional Conformity.

When those matters were settled, a Bill was brought in by the Tories, against Occasional Conformity, which produced great and long Debates: By this Bill, all those who took the Sacrament and Test (which by the Act passed in the year 1673, was made necessary to those, who held Offices of Trust, or were Magistrates in Corporations, but was only to be taken once by them) and did after that, go to the Meetings of Dissenters, or any Meeting for Religious Worship, that was not according to the *Liturgy* or Practice of the Church of *England*, where five Persons were present, more than the Family, were disabled from holding their Imployments, and were to be fined in an hundred pounds, and in five pounds a day for every day, in which they continued to act in their Imployments, after their having been at any such Meeting: They were also made incapable to hold any other Imployment, till after one whole year's Conformity to the Church, which was to be proved at the Quarter Session: Upon a relapse, the penalty and the time of incapacity were doubled: no limitation of time was put in the Bill, nor of the way, in which the offence was to be proved: But whereas, the Act of the Test only included the Magistrates in Corporations, all the inferior Officers or Freemen in Corporations, who were found to have some Interest in the Elections, were now comprehended within this Bill. The Preamble of the Bill asserted the Toleration, and condemned all Persecution for Conscience sake, in a high strain: Some thought the Bill was of no consequence, and that, if it should pass into a Law, it would be of no effect: but that the Occasional Conformists would become constant ones. Others thought, that this was such a breaking in upon the Toleration, as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect on Corporations; as indeed, the intent of it was believed to be, the modelling Elections, and by consequence of the House of Commons.

Great Debates about it.

On behalf of the Bill, it was said, the design of the Test Act was, that all in Office should continue in the Communion of the Church; that coming only once to the Sacrament for an Office, and going afterwards to the Meetings of Dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the Law, and a profanation of the Sacrament, which gave great scandal, and was abhorred by the better sort of Dissenters. Those who were against the Bill, said, the Nation had been quiet ever since the Toleration, the Dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it, than the Church; The Nation was now engaged in a great War; it seemed therefore unreasonable, to raise animosities at home, in matters of Religion, at such a time; and to encourage a tribe of Informers, who were the worst sort of men: The Fines were excessive; higher than any laid on Papists by Law; and since no limitation of Time, nor concurrence of Witnesses, was provided for in the Bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold Swearer, or wicked Servant: It was moved, that since the greatest danger of all was from Atheists and Papists, that all such as received the Sacrament for an Office, should be obliged to receive it three times a year, which all were by Law required to do; and to keep to their Parish Church, at least one Sunday a Month; but this was not admitted. All, who pleaded for the Bill, did in words declare for the continuance of the Toleration, yet the sharpness, with which they treated the Dissenters in all their Speeches, shewed as if they designed their extirpation. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons, by a great Majority. The Debates held longer in the House of Lords: Many were against it, because of the high Penalties: Some remember'd the practice of Informers, in the end of King *Charles*'s Reign, and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods; All believed, that the chief design of this Bill was, to model Corporations, and to cast out of them all those, who would not vote in Elections for Tories: The Toleration itself was visibly aimed at, and this was only a step to break in upon it. Some thought the design went yet further, to raise such quarrels and distractions among us, as would so embroil us at home, that our Allies might see, they could not depend upon us; and that we, being weaken'd by the disorders, occasioned by those Prosecutions, might be disabled from carrying on the War, which was the chief thing driven at, by the promoters of the Bill. So that many of the Lords, as well as the Bishops, agreed in opposing this Bill, tho' upon different views: yet they consented to some parts of it; chiefly, that such as went to Meetings, after they had received the Sacrament, should be disabled from holding any Imployments, and be fined in twenty pounds; many went into

into this, tho' they were againſt every part of the Bill, becauſe they thought this the moſt plauſible way of loſing it: ſince the Houſe of Commons had of late ſet it up for a maxim, that the Lords could not alter the Fines, that they ſhould fix in a Bill, this being a meddling with money, which they thought was ſo peculiar to them, that they would not let the Lords, on any pretence, break in upon it. 1702

The Lords hereupon appointed a very exact ſearch to be made into all the *Rolls*, that lay in the Clerk of the Parliament's Office, from the middle of King *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, down to the preſent time: and they found, by ſome hundreds of Precedents, that in ſome Bills the Lords began the Clauſes, that ſet the Fines; and that when Fines were ſet by the Commons, ſometimes they altered the Fines, and at other times, they changed the uſe, to which they were applied: The Report made of this was ſo full and clear, that there was no poſſibility of replying to it, and the Lords ordered it to be enter'd in their Books. But the Commons were reſolved to maintain their point, without entering into any Debate upon it. The Lords alſo added Clauſes, requiring proof to be made by two Witneſſes, and that the Information ſhould be given in within ten days, and the Proſecution commenced within three months after the Fact. The Commons agreed to this, but would not alter the Penalties that they had ſet. The thing depended long between the two Houſes; both ſides took pains to bring up the Lords that would vote with them, ſo that there were above an hundred and thirty Lords in the Houſe; the greateſt number that had ever been together.

The Court put their whole ſtrength to carry the Bill; Prince *George*, who had received the Sacrament, as Lord High Admiral, and yet kept his Chapel in the *Lutheran* way, ſo that he was an occaſional Communicant, came and voted for the Bill: After ſome Conferences, wherein each Houſe had yielded ſome ſmaller differences to the other, it came to a free Conference in the Painted Chamber, which was the moſt crowded upon that occaſion, that had ever been known; ſo much weight was laid on this matter on both ſides.

When the Lords retired, and it came to the final Vote *of Adhering*, the Lords were ſo equally divided, that in three Queſtions, put on different heads, the *Adhering* was carried but by one voice in every one of them; and it was a different perſon that gave it in all the three Diviſions. The Commons likewiſe *Adhered*, ſo the Bill was loſt. This Bill ſeemed to favour the Intereſts of the Church, ſo hot men were for it: and the greater number of the Biſhops being againſt it, they were cenſured, as cold and ſlack in the concerns of the Church: a reproach, that all moderate men muſt expect, when they oppoſe violent motions. A great part of this fell on my ſelf: for I bore a large ſhare in the Debates, both in the Houſe of Lords, and at the free Conference. Angry men took occaſion from hence, to charge the Biſhops as enemies to the Church, and betrayers of its Intereſts, becauſe we would not run blindfold into the paſſions and deſigns of ill tempered men; tho' we can appeal to all the world, and which is more, to God himſelf, that we did faithfully and zealouſly purſue the true Intereſt of the Church, the promoting Religion and Learning, the encouraging of all good men, and good deſigns: and that we did apply ourſelves to the duties of our Function, and to the work of the Goſpel. Having this quiet within our ſelves, we muſt bear the Croſs, and ſubmit to the Will of God: The leſs of our Reward that we receive from men, we have ſo much the more to look for from Him.

The Two Houſes diſagreeing, the Bill was loſt.

While the Bill, that had raiſed ſo much heat, was in agitation: The Queen ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, deſiring them to make ſome ſuitable proviſion for Prince *George*, in caſe he ſhould out-live her. He was many years elder than the Queen, and was troubled with an Aſthma, that every year had ill effects on his health; it had brought him into great danger this Winter; yet the Queen thought it became her to provide for all events. *How* moved, that it ſhould be an hundred thouſand pounds a year: This was ſeconded by thoſe, who knew how acceptable the Motion would be to the Queen; tho' it was the double of what any Queen of *England* ever had in Jointure; ſo it paſſed without any oppoſition. But while it was paſſing, a motion was made upon a Clauſe in the Act, which

A Bill for Prince *George*.

Debates on a Clauſe that was in it.

1702 which limited the Succeſſion to the *Hanover* Family; which provided againſt ſtrangers, tho' naturaliz'd, being capable to hold any Imployments among us. This plainly related only to thoſe, who ſhould be naturalized in a future Reign, and had no retroſpect to ſuch as were already naturalized, or ſhould be naturalized during the preſent Reign. It was however propoſed as doubtful, whether when that Family might reign: all who were naturalized before ſhould not be incapacitated by that Clauſe, from ſitting in Parliament, or holding Imployments; and a Clauſe was offered to except the Prince, from being comprehended in that incapacity. Againſt this two Objections lay; One was, that the Lords had reſolved by a Vote, to which the greater number had ſet their hands, that they would never paſs any Money Bill, ſent up to them by the Commons, to which any Clauſe was tacked, that was foreign to the Bill. They had done this, to prevent the Commons from faſtning matters of a different nature to a Money Bill, and then pretending, that the Lords could not meddle with it; for this was a method to alter the Government, and bring it entirely into their own hands: By this means, when Money was neceſſary for preſerving the Nation, they might force, not only the Lords, but the Crown to conſent to every thing they propoſed, by tacking it to a Money Bill. It was ſaid, that a capacity for holding Imployments, and for ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, were things of a different nature from Money; ſo that this Clauſe ſeemed to many to be a Tack; Whereas others thought it was no Tack, becauſe both parts of the Act related to the ſame perſon. The other Objection was, that this Clauſe ſeemed to imply, that perſons already naturalized, and in poſſeſſion of the Rights of natural born Subjects, were to be excluded in the next Reign; tho' all people knew, that no ſuch thing was intended, when the Act of Succeſſion paſſed. Great Oppoſition was made, for both theſe Reaſons, to the paſſing this Clauſe; But the Queen preſſed it with the greateſt earneſtneſs, ſhe had yet ſhewed in any thing whatſoever; She thought it became her, as a good Wife, to have the Act paſſed; in which ſhe might be the more earneſt, becauſe it was not thought adviſeable, to move for an Act, that ſhould take Prince *George*, into a Conſortſhip of the Regal Dignity. This matter raiſed a great heat in the Houſe of Lords: Thoſe, who had been advanced by the late King, and were in his Intereſts, did not think it became them to conſent to this, which ſeemed to be a prejudice, or at leaſt, a diſgrace to thoſe, whom he had raiſed. The Court managed the matter ſo dextrouſly, that the Bill paſſed, and the Queen was highly diſpleaſed with thoſe, who had oppoſed it, among whom I had my ſhare. The Clauſe was put in the Bill, by ſome in the Houſe of Commons, only becauſe they believed it would be oppoſed by thoſe, againſt whom they intended to irritate the Queen.

A further ſecurity to the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

Soon after this, the Commons ſent up a Bill, in favour of thoſe, who had not taken the Oath, abjuring the Prince of *Wales*, by the day that was named; granting them a year longer to conſider of it: for it was ſaid, that the whole Party was now come entirely into the Queen's Intereſts: Tho' on the other hand it was given out, that Agents were come from *France*, on deſign to perſuade all Perſons to take the Abjuration, that they might become capable of Imployments, and ſo might in time be a Majority in Parliament, and by that means, the Act of Succeſſion, and the Oath impoſed by it, might be repealed. When the Bill, for thus prolonging the time, was brought up to the Lords, a Clauſe was added, qualifying thoſe perſons, who ſhould in the new extent of time take the Oaths, to return to their Benefices or Imployments, unleſs they were already legally filled. When this was agreed, two Clauſes of much greater conſequence were added to the Bill. One was, declaring it High Treaſon to endeavour to defeat the Succeſſion to the Crown, as it was now limited by Law, or to ſet aſide the next Succeſſor; This had a Precedent in the former Reign, ſo it could not be denied now. It ſeemed the more neceſſary, becauſe there was another Perſon, who openly claimed the Crown; ſo that a further ſecurity might well be inſiſted on. This was a great Suprize to many, who were viſibly uneaſy at the motion, but were not prepared for it, and did not ſee how it could be reſiſted. The other Clauſe was, for ſending the Abjuration to *Ireland*, and obliging all there (in the ſame manner as in *England*) to take it: This ſeemed the more reaſonable, conſidering the ſtrength of the Popiſh Intereſt there. Both

Clauſes,

Clauſes paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, without any oppoſition: but it was apprehended, that the Houſe of Commons would not be ſo eaſy: yet when it was ſent to them, they ſtruggled only againſt the firſt Clauſe, that barred the return of perſons, upon their taking the Oaths, into Places that were already filled. The Party tried their ſtrength upon this, and upon their ſucceſs in it, they ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the other Clauſe: but it was carried, tho' only by one voice, to agree with the Lords. When the Clauſe, relating to the Succeſſion, was read; *Muſgrave* try'd if it might not be made a Bill by it ſelf, and not put as a Clauſe in another Bill; but he ſaw the Houſe was reſolved to receive both Clauſes, ſo he did not inſiſt on his motion. All People were ſupprized to ſee a Bill, that was begun in favour of the Jacobites, turned ſo terribly upon them; ſince by it, we had a new ſecurity given, both in *England* and *Ireland*, for a Proteſtant Succeſſor. 1602

The Earl of *Rocheſter* laid down his Imployments.

At this time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* quitted his place of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: He was uneaſy at the preference which the Duke of *Marlborough* had in the Queen's confidence, and at the Lord *Godolphin*'s being Lord Treaſurer. It was generally believed, he was endeavouring to embroil our Affairs, and that he was laying a train of oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons: The Queen ſent a Meſſage to him, ordering him to make ready to go to *Ireland*; for it ſeemed very ſtrange, eſpecially in a time of War, that a perſon, in ſo great a Poſt, ſhould not attend upon it: but he, after ſome days adviſing about it, went to the Queen, and deſired to be excuſed from that Imployment: This was readily accepted, and upon that he withdrew from the Councils. It was immediately offered to the Duke of *Ormond*, and he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Ormond*, upon his firſt arrival from the expedition to *Cadiz*, complained very openly of *Rook*'s Conduct, and ſeemed reſolved to carry the matter, to a publick accuſation: But the Court found the Party, that prevailed in the Houſe of Commons, determined to juſtify *Rook*, ſo to comply with this, the Queen made him a Privy Counſellor, and much pains were taken on the Duke of *Ormond* to ſtifle his Reſentments: He was in a great meaſure ſoftened, yet he had made his Complaints to ſo many Lords, that they moved the Houſe to examine, both his Inſtructions and the Journals relating to that expedition. A Committee of the Houſe of Peers ſate long upon the matter: They examined all the Admirals and Land Officers, as well as *Rook* himſelf, upon the whole progreſs of that Affair. *Rook* was ſo well ſupported by the Court, and by his Party in the Houſe of Commons, and that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the Lords could do. Some, who underſtood Sea matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every motion that he made during the Expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuſe and make a ſhew: They alſo concluded, from the protection that the Miniſtry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how improper a thing a Deſcent on *Cadiz* was, and how fatal the Attempt muſt have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his Inſtructions, and the Deſign he was ſent on, with great boldneſs, and ſhewed little regard to the Miniſters; who took more pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The Lords of the Committee prepared a Report, which was hard upon *Rook*, and laid it before the Houſe; but ſo ſtrong a Party was made, to oppoſe every thing that reflected on him, that tho' every particular in the Report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a Vote was carried in his favour, juſtifying his whole Conduct. The great imployment given to the Duke of *Ormond*, ſo effectually prevailed on him, that tho' the enquiry was ſet on by his means, and upon his ſuggeſtions, yet he came not to the Houſe, when it was brought to a concluſion: So *Rook*, being but faintly puſhed by him, and moſt zealouſly ſupported by his Party, was juſtified by a Vote, though univerſally condemned by more impartial Judges. The behaviour of the Miniſtry in this matter heightened the jealouſies, with which many were poſſeſſed, for it was inferred, that they were not in earneſt in this whole Expedition; ſince the conduct, being ſo contrary to the Inſtructions, their juſtifying the one, was plainly condemning the other.

Rook's Conduct examined and juſtified.

The Report made by the Commiſſioners, appointed to take the publick Accounts, was another buſineſs, that took up much time in this Seſſion, and occaſioned many Debates. They pretended, that they had made great diſcoveries; They

The Enquiry made into the publick Accounts.

1702 They began with the Earl of *Ranelagh*, who had been in great Posts; and had all the arts that were necessary to recommend a man in a Court; who stuck at nothing, that could maintain his Interest, with those whom he served: He had been Pay-master of the Army in King *James*'s time; and being very fit for the Post, he had been continued all the last Reign: He had lived high, and so it was believed, his appointments could not support so great an expence: He had an Account of one and twenty Millions lay upon him. It was given out, that a great deal of the money, lodged in his Office, for the pay of the Army, was diverted to other uses, distributed among Favourites, or given to corrupt Members of Parliament; and that some Millions had been sent over to *Holland*: It had been often said, that great discoveries would be made, whensoever his Accounts were looked into: and that he, to save himself, would lay open the ill practices of the former Reign. But now, when all was brought under a strict examination, a few inconsiderable Articles, of some hundreds of pounds, was all that could be found to be objected to him: and even to these he gave clear and full Answers. At last they found, that, upon the breaking of a Regiment, a Sum which he had issued out for its pay, had been returned to his Office, the Regiment being broke sooner, than that pay was exhausted: and that no entry of this was made in his Accounts. To this he answered, that his Officer, who received the Money, was within three days after, taken so ill of a confirmed stone, that he never came again to the Office, but died in great misery; and during those three days, he had not enter'd that Sum in the Books. Lord *Ranelagh* acknowledged, that he was liable to account for all the Money that was received by his under Officers; but here was no crime or fraud designed; yet this was so aggravated, that he saw his good Post was his greatest guilt: So he quitted that, which was divided into two: One was appointed to be Pay-master of the Guards and Garrisons at home; and another, of the Forces that were kept beyond Sea: *How* had the first, as being the more lasting Post. With this, all the clamour raised against the Earl of *Ranelagh* was let fall; yet to make a shew of severity, he was expelled the House; But he appeared, upon all this canvassing, to be much more innocent, than even his friends had believed him.

The Clamour against the former Reign still kept up.

The Clamour that had been long kept up against the former Ministry, as Devourers of the publick Treasure, was of such use to the Party, that they resolved to continue it, by all possible methods: So a Committee of the House of Commons prepared a long Address to the Queen, reflecting on the ill management of the Funds, upon which they laid the great Debt of the Nation, and not upon the Deficiencies: This was branched out into many particulars, which were all heavily aggravated. Yet, tho' a great part of the outcry had been formerly made against *Russel*, Treasurer of the Navy, and his Office, they found not so much as a colour to fix a Complaint there: Nor could they charge anything on the Chancery, the Treasury, or the Administration of Justice. Great Complaints were made of some Accounts, that stood long out, and they insisted on some pretended neglects, the old methods of the Exchequer not having been exactly followed: tho' it did not appear, that the Publick suffered in any sort by those failures. They kept up a clamour likewise against the Commissioners of the Prizes, tho' they had past their Accounts, as the Law directed; and no objection was made to them. The Address was full of severe reflections and spiteful insinuations; and thus it was carried to the Queen, and published to the Nation, as the sence of the Commons of *England*.

It was examined by the Lords, and found to be Ill grounded.

The Lords, to prevent the ill impressions this might make, appointed a Committee, to examine all the observations, that the Commissioners of Accounts had offered to both Houses: They searched all the publick Offices, and were amazed to find, that there was not one Article, in all the long Address that the Commons had made to the Queen, or in the Observations then before them, that was of any Importance, but what was false in fact. They found the Deficiencies in the former Reign were of two sorts: The one was of Sums, that the Commons had voted, but for which, they had made no sort of provision: The other was, when the Supply that was given came short of the Sum it was estimated at: and between these two, the Deficiencies amounted to fourteen Millions: This was the

1702

of the great Debt that lay on the Nation. They examined into all the pretended miſmanagment, and found that what the Commons had ſtated ſo invidiouſly was miſtaken. So far had the late King and his Miniſters been, from miſapplying the money that was given for Publick Occaſions, that he applied three Millions to the Publick Service, that by Law was his own Money, of which they made up the account. They alſo found, that ſome ſmall omiſſions, in ſome of the forms of the Exchequer, were of no conſequence, and neither had nor could have any ill effect: and whereas a great clamour was raiſed againſt paſſing of Accounts by Privy Seals, they put an end to that effectually, when it appeared on what ground this was done. By the ancient methods of the Exchequer, every Account was to be carried on, ſo that the new Officer was to begin his Account with the balance of the former Account; Sir *Edward Seimour*, who had been Treaſurer of the Navy, owed by his laſt account, an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, and he had received after that an hundred and forty thouſand pounds, for which the Accounts were never made up: Now it was not poſſible for thoſe who came after him, to be liable for his Accounts: Therefore the Treaſurers of the Navy in the laſt Reign, were forced to take out Privy Seals for making up their Accounts: Theſe imported no more, than that they were to account only for the money that they themſelves had received: for in all other reſpects, their Accounts were to paſs, according to the ordinary methods of the Exchequer. Complaints had been alſo made of the remiſsneſs of the Lords of the Treaſury, or their Officers, appointed to account with the Receivers of Counties, for the Aids that had been given: But when this was examined, it appeared, that this had been done with ſuch exactneſs, that of the Sum of twenty four Millions, for which they had accounted, there was not owing above ſixty thouſand pounds, and that was for the moſt part in *Wales*; where it was not thought adviſable to uſe too much rigour in raiſing it: and of that ſum, there was not above fourteen thouſand pounds, that was to be reckoned as loſt. The Collectors of the Cuſtoms likewiſe anſwered all the obſervations made on their accounts ſo fully, that the Houſe of Commons was ſatisfied with their Anſwers, and diſmiſſed them, without ſo much as a reprimand. All this was reported to the Houſe of Lords, and they laid it before the Queen in an Addreſs, which was afterwards printed with the Vouchers to every particular: By this means, it was made out to the ſatisfaction of the whole Nation, how falſe thoſe Reports were, which had been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread, and were ſo eaſily believed by the greater part: for the bulk of Mankind will be always apt to think, that Courts and Miniſters ſerve their own ends, and ſtudy to enrich themſelves at the publick coſt. This Examination held long, and was followed with great exactneſs, and had all the effect that could be deſired from it: for it ſilenced that noiſe, which the late King's enemies had raiſed, to aſperſe him and his Miniſters. With this the Seſſion of Parliament ended. In it the Lords had rendered themſelves very conſiderable, and had gained an univerſal Reputation over the whole Nation: It is true, thoſe who had oppoſed the perſons, that had carried matters before them in this Seſſion, were ſo near them in number, that things of the greateſt conſequence were carried only by one or two voices; therefore as they intended to have a clear Majority in both Houſes, in the next Seſſion, they prevailed with the Queen, ſoon after the Prorogation, to create four new Peers, who had been the violenteſt of the whole Party; *Finch*, *Gower*, *Granvil*, and young *Seimour*, were made Barons. Great Reflections were made upon this Promotion; When ſome ſevere things had been thrown out in the Houſe of Commons upon the oppoſition, that they met with from the Lords, it was inſinuated that it would be eaſy to find men of Merit and Eſtate to make a clear Majority in that Houſe: This was an open declaration of a deſign, to put every thing in the hands and power of that Party: It was alſo an encroachment on one of the tendereſt points of the Prerogative, to make motions of creating Peers in the Houſe of Commons. *Harvey*, tho' of the other ſide, was at the ſame time made a Baron, by private favour. Thus the Seſſion of Parliament was brought to a much better concluſion, than could have been reaſonably expected by thoſe, who knew of whom it was conſtituted, and how it had begun. No harm was done in it: The Succeſſion was fortified by a new ſecurity, and the popular clamours of Corruption and Pecu-

Some new Peers made.

1702

The Proceedings in Convocation.

late, with which the Nation had been ſo much poſſeſſed, were in a great meaſure diſſipated.

The Proceedings of the Convocation, which ſate at the ſame time, are next to be related: At the firſt opening of it, there was a Conteſt between the Two Houſes, that laſted ſome days, concerning an Addreſs to the Queen. The Lower Houſe intended to caſt ſome reflections on the former Reign, in imitation of what the Houſe of Commons had done, and theſe were worded ſo invidiouſly, that moſt of the Biſhops were pointed at by them; but the Upper Houſe, refuſing to concur, the Lower Houſe receded, and ſo they both agreed in a very decent Addreſs. The Queen received it graciouſly, promiſing all favour and protection to the Church, and exhorting them all to Peace and Union among themſelves. After this, the Lower Houſe made an Addreſs to the Biſhops, that they might find an expedient, for putting an end to thoſe Diſputes, that had ſtopt the Proceedings of former Convocations: The Biſhops reſolved to offer them all that they could, without giving up their Character and Authority: So they made a Propoſition, that, in the intervals of Seſſions, the Lower Houſe might appoint Committees to prepare Matters, and when buſineſs was brought regularly before them, that the Archbiſhop ſhould ſo order the Prorogations, that they might have convenient and ſufficient time, to ſit and deliberate about it. This fully ſatisfied many of that Body; But the Majority thought, this kept the matter ſtill in the Archbiſhop's Power, as it was indeed intended it ſhould: So they made another application to the Biſhops, deſiring them to refer the points in queſtion to the Queen's deciſion, and to ſuch as ſhe ſhould appoint to hear and ſettle them. To this the Biſhops anſwered, that they reckoned themſelves ſafe and happy in the Queen's Protection, and would pay all due ſubmiſſion to her Pleaſure and Orders: But the Rights, which the Conſtitution of the Church and the Law had veſted in them, were Truſts lodged with them, which they were to convey to their Succeſſors, as they had received them from their Predeceſſors, and that it was not in their power to refer them. It would have been a ſtrange ſight, very acceptable to the enemies of the Church, chiefly to Papiſts, to ſee the Two Houſes of Convocation, pleading their Authority and Rights before a Committee of Council, that was to determine the matter. This failing, the Lower Houſe tried what they could obtain of the Houſe of Commons; but they could not be carried further than a general Vote, which amounted to nothing, that they would ſtand by them in all their juſt Rights and Privileges. They next made a ſeparate Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her Protection, praying her to hear and determine the Diſpute: She received this favourably; ſhe ſaid, ſhe would conſider of it, and ſend them Her anſwer. The matter was now brought into the hands of the Miniſters; The Earl of *Nottingham* was of their ſide, but confeſſed that he underſtood not the Controverſy; The Judges and the Queen's Council were ordered to examine, how the matter ſtood in point of Law, which was thus ſtated to them: The conſtant practice, as far as we had Books or Records, was, that the Archbiſhop prorogued the Convocation by a *Schedule*; of this the Form was ſo fixed, that it could not be altered but by Act of Parliament: There was a Clauſe in the Schedule, that continued all matters before the Convocation, in the ſtate in which they then were, to the day, to which he prorogued them; this made it evident, that there could be no intermediate Seſſion, for a Seſſion of the Lower Houſe could, by paſſing a Vote in any matter, alter the State in which it was. It was kept a ſecret, what opinion the Lawyers came to, in this matter. It was not doubted, but they were againſt the pretenſions of the Lower Houſe; The Queen made no Anſwer to their Addreſs; and it was believed, that the reaſon of this was, becauſe the Anſwer muſt, according to the opinion of Lawyers, have been contrary to what they expected: and therefore the Miniſters choſe rather, to give no Anſwer, and that it ſhould ſeem to be forgot, than that ſuch an one ſhould be given, as would put an end to the Debate, which they intended to cheriſh and ſupport.

The Lower Houſe finding, that by oppoſing their Biſhops in ſo rough a manner as well as in ſo unheard of a manner, they were repreſented as favourers of Presbytery; to clear themſelves of that imputation, came ſuddenly into a concluſion

that Epiſcopacy was of Divine and Apoſtolical Right. The Party that ſtuck together in their Votes, and kept their intermediate Seſſions ſigned this, and brought it up to the Biſhops, deſiring them to concur in ſettling the matter; ſo that it might be the ſtanding Rule of the Church. This was a plain attempt to make a Canon or Conſtitution, without obtaining a Royal Licence, which by the Statute confirming the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, made both them, and all who choſe them, incur a *Premunire*; So the Biſhops reſolved not to entertain the Propoſition, and a great many of the Lower Houſe apprehending, what the conſequences of ſuch proceedings might be, by a Petition to the Biſhops, prayed that it might be enter'd in their Books, that they had not concurred in that Definition, nor in the Addreſs made purſuant to it. The Lower Houſe looked on what they did in this matter, as a Maſterpiece: for if the Biſhops concurred with them, they reckoned they gained their point: and if they refuſed it, they reſolved to make them, who would not come up to ſuch a poſitive Definition, paſs for ſecret favourers of Presbytery. But the Biſhops ſaw into their Deſigns, and ſent them for Anſwer, That they acquieſced in the Declaration, that was already made on that head, in the Preface to the Book of Ordinations; and that they did not think it ſafe, either for them or for the Clergy, to go further in that matter, without a Royal Licence. To this, a dark Anſwer was made, and ſo all theſe matters were at a full ſtand, when the Seſſion came to an end, by the Prorogation of the Parliament; which was become neceſſary, the Two Houſes being fixed in an oppoſition to one another. 1702

Great diſtractions among the Clergy.

From thoſe Diſputes in Convocation, Diviſions ran thro' the whole Body of the Clergy, and to fix theſe, new names were found out: they were diſtinguiſhed by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH. All that treated the Diſſenters with temper and moderation, and were for reſiding conſtantly at their Cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expreſſed a zeal againſt the Prince of *Wales*, and for the Revolution; that wiſhed well to the preſent War, and to the Alliance againſt *France*, were repreſented as ſecret favourers of Presbytery, and as ill affected to the Church, and were called *Low Churchmen*: it was ſaid, that they were in the Church only, while the Law and Preferments were on its ſide; but that they were ready to give it up, aſſoon as they ſaw a proper time for declaring themſelves: With theſe falſe and invidious Characters did the High Party endeavour to load all thoſe, who could not be brought into their meaſures and deſigns. When the Seſſion was at an end, the Court was wholly taken up with the preparations for the Campaign.

1703

Preparations for the Campaign.

The Duke of *Marlborough* had a great domeſtick affliction at this time: He loſt his only Son, a graceful perſon, and a very promiſing youth: He died at *Cambridge* of the Small Pox: This, as may be imagined, went very deep in his Father's heart, and ſtopt his paſſing the Seas ſome days longer than he had intended. Upon his arrival on the other ſide, the *Dutch* brought their Armies into the Field: The firſt thing they undertook, was the Siege of *Bonne*. In the mean while, all mens eyes were turned towards *Bavaria*: The Court of *Vienna* had given it out, all the former Winter, that they would bring ſuch a Force upon that Elector, as would quickly put an end to that War, and ſeize his whole Country. But the ſlowneſs of that Court appeared on this, as it had done on many other occaſions: For tho' they brought two Armies into the Field, yet they were not able to deal with the Elector's Forces; *Villars*, who lay with his Army at *Strasbourg*, had Orders to break thro' and join the Elector: So he was to force his way to him, at all adventures. He paſſed the *Rhine*, and ſet down before *Fort Keil*, which lay over againſt *Strasbourg*, and took it in a few days. Prince *Lewis* was in no condition to raiſe the Siege; for the beſt part of his Army was called away to the War in *Bavaria*: He therefore poſted himſelf advantageouſly at *Stollhoffen*, yet he could not have maintained it, if the *States* had not ſent him a good Body of Foot, which came ſeaſonably, a few days before Mareſchal *Villars* attackt him with an Army, that was more than double his number: But his Men, chiefly the *Dutch* Battalions, received them with ſo much courage, that the *French* were forced to quit the attack, after they had loſt about

1703 four thouſand Men in it. Yet, upon repeated Orders from *France*, Mareſchal *Villars* reſolved to venture the loſs of his whole Army, rather than abandon the Elector; who, tho' he had taken *Newburg*, and had ſurprized *Ratisbon*, and had ſeveral advantages in little engagements with the Imperialiſts, yet was like to be over-powered by a ſuperior Force, if he was not relieved in time. The Black Foreſt was thought impracticable in that ſeaſon, which was a very wet one; This was too much truſted to, ſo that the Paſſes were ill looked after: and therefore *Villars* overcame all difficulties, and joined the Elector: but his Troops were ſo haraſſed with the March, that he was obliged to put them, for ſome time, into Quarters of Refreſhment.

Bonne taken. The Duke of *Marlborough* carried on the Siege of *Bonne*, with ſuch vigour, that they capitulated within ten days after the Trenches were opened; The *French* reckoned upon a longer reſiſtance, and hoped to have diverted this by an attempt upon *Liege*: The *States* had a ſmall Army about *Maſtricht*, which the *French* intended to fall upon, being much ſuperior to it: But they found the *Dutch* in ſo good order, and ſo well poſted, that they retired within their Lines, aſſoon as they ſaw the Duke of *Marlborough*, after the Siege of *Bonne*, was marching towards them. The Winter had produced very little Action in *Italy*: The Country was under another heavy Plague, by a continued Succeſſion of threatning, and of ſome very devouring Earthquakes: *Rome* itſelf had a ſhare in the common Calamity: but it proved to them more dreadful, than it was miſchievous. Prince *Eugene* found that his Letters, and the moſt preſſing repreſentations he could ſend to the Court of *Vienna*, had no effect: ſo at laſt he obtained leave to go thither.

Earthquakes in *Italy*.

The Motions of the *Dutch* Army made it believed, there was a deſign on *Antwerp*: *Coborn* was making Advances in the *Dutch Flanders*, and *Opdam* commanded a ſmall Army on the other ſide of the *Scheld*, while the Duke of *Marlborough* lay with the main Army, near the Lines in *Brabant*. *Bouflers* was detached from *Villeroy*'s Army, with a Body, double in number to *Opdam*'s, to fall on him; he marched ſo quick, that the *Dutch*, being ſurprized at *Eckeren*, were put in great diſorder, and *Opdam*, apprehending all was loſt, fled with a Body of his Men to *Breda*: but the *Dutch* rallied, and maintained their ground with ſuch firmneſs, that the *French* retired, little to their honour; ſince though they were much ſuperior in number, yet they let the *Dutch* recover out of their firſt confuſion, and keep their ground, altho' forſaken by their General, who juſtified himſelf in the beſt manner he could, and caſt the blame on others.

The Battle of *Eckeren*.

Bouflers's Conduct was ſo much cenſured, that it was thought this finiſhed his diſgrace; for he was no more put at the head of the *French* Armies: Nor was the Duke of *Marlborough* without ſome ſhare of cenſure on this occaſion, ſince it was pretended, that he ought to have ſent a force to ſupport *Opdam*, or have made an attempt on *Villeroy*'s Army, when it was weakned by the detachment ſent with *Bouflers*.

Huy, *Limbourg*, and *Guelder*, with all the *Coudras* taken.

The *French* Lines were judged to be ſo ſtrong, that the forcing them ſeemed impracticable, ſo the Duke of *Marlborough* turned towards *Huy*, which was ſoon taken; and after that to *Limbourg*, which he took with no loſs, but that of ſo much time, as was neceſſary to bring up a train of Artillery: and as ſoon as that was done, the Garriſon were made Priſoners of War, for they were in no condition to maintain a Siege. *Guelder* was alſo block'd up, ſo that before the end of the Campaign, it was brought to capitulate. Thus the *Low Rhine* was ſecured, and all that Country, called the *Coudras*, was intirely reduced: This was all that our Troops, in conjunction with the *Dutch*, could do in *Flanders*: We had the ſuperior Army, but what by reaſon of the cautious Maxims of the *States*, what by reaſon of the Factions among them, which were riſing very high, between thoſe, who had been of the late King's Party, and were now for having a Captain General, and thoſe of the *Loveſtein* Party, who were for governing all by a deputation from the *States*, no great deſign could be undertaken by an Army ſo much diſtracted.

The ſucceſs of the *French* on the *Danube*.

In the *Upper Rhine*, matters went much worſe; *Villars* lay, for ſome time on the *Danube*, while the Elector of *Bavaria* marched into *Tirol*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Inſpruck*: The Emperor's Force was ſo broken into many ſmall Armies,

mies, in different places, that he had not one good one any where: he had none at all in *Tirol*: and all that the Prince of *Baden* could do, was to watch *Villars*'s motions: but he did not venture on attacking him, during this ſeparation. Many blamed his conduct: ſome called his courage, and others his fidelity in queſtion; while many excuſed him, ſince his Army was both weak, and ill furniſhed in all reſpects. The Duke of *Vendoſme* had Orders to march from the *Milaneſe* to *Tirol*, there to join the Elector of *Bavaria*: upon which junction, the ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have probably followed: But the Boors in *Tirol* roſe, and attack'd the Elector with ſo much reſolution, that he was forced to retire out of the Country, with conſiderable loſs, and was driven out before the Duke of *Vendoſme* could join him, ſo that he came too late: He ſeemed to have a deſign on *Trent*, but the Boors were now ſo animated with their ſucceſſes, and were ſo conducted and ſupported by Officers and Troops ſent them by the Emperor, that *Vendoſme* was forced to return back, without being able to effect any thing. 1703

Little done in *Italy*.

Nothing paſſed this Summer in *Italy*: The Imperialiſts were too weak, and too ill ſupplied from *Germany*, to be able to act offenſively: and the miſcarriage of the deſign upon *Tirol*, loſt the *French* ſo much time, that they undertook nothing, unleſs it were the Siege of *Oſtiglia*, in which they failed. *Berſello*, after a long Blockade, was forced to capitulate, and by that means, the *French* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Duke of *Modena*'s Country: The Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Alſace*, and ſate down before *Briſack*, of which he was ſoon Maſter, by the cowardice or treachery of thoſe who commanded, for which they were condemned by a Council of War.

A War begun in *Hungary*.

The Emperor's misfortunes grew upon him; Cardinal *Calonitz* and *Eſterhaſi* had the Government of *Hungary*, truſted chiefly to them: The former was ſo cruel, and the other ſo ravenous, that the *Hungarians* took advantage from this diſtraction in the Emperor's Affairs, to run together in great bodies, and in many places, ſetting Prince *Ragotzki* at their head. They demanded, that their Grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and that their Privileges ſhould be reſtored: They were much animated in this, by the practices of the *French*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Agents: Some ſmall aſſiſtance was ſent them by the way of *Poland*; They were encouraged to enter upon no Treaty, but to unite and fortify themſelves; aſſurances being given them, that no Peace ſhould be concluded, unleſs they were fully reſtored to all their antient Liberties.

Diſorders in the Emperor's Court.

The Court of *Vienna* was much alarmed at this; fearing it might be ſecretly ſet on by the *Turks*: though that Court gave all poſſible aſſurances, that they would maintain the Peace of *Carlowitz* moſt religiouſly, and that they would in no ſort encourage or aſſiſt the Malecontents. A Revolution happening in that Empire, in which a new Sultan was ſet up, raiſed new apprehenſions of a Breach on that ſide: But the Sultan renewed the aſſurances of maintaining the Peace ſo ſolemnly, that all thoſe fears were ſoon diſſipated. There was a great Faction in the Emperor's Court, and among his Miniſters; and it did not appear, that he had ſtrength of Genius enough to govern them. Count *Mansfield* was much ſuſpected of being in the Intereſts of *France*; The Prince of *Baden*, and Prince *Eugene*, both agreed in charging his Conduct, tho' they differed almoſt in every thing elſe: yet he was ſo poſſeſſed of the Emperor's favour and confidence, that it was not eaſy to get him ſet aſide: In concluſion, he was advanced to a high Poſt in the Emperor's Houſhold, and Prince *Eugene* was made Preſident of the Council of War.

Augsbourg and *Landaw* taken by the *French*.

But what Effect ſoever this might have in ſucceeding Campaigns, it was then too late in the Year to find Remedies for the preſent diſorders: and all Affairs on the South of the *Danube* were falling into great confuſion: Things went a little better on the North Side of that River: The Upper Palatinate was entirely conquered; but near the end of the year, *Augsbourg* was forced to ſubmit to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and *Landaw* was beſieged by the *French*: *Tallard*, who commanded the Siege, took it in fewer Weeks, than it had coſt the *Germans* Months, to take it the former year: Nor was this all, an Army of the Confederates was brought together to raiſe the Siege: The young Prince of *Heſſe* commanded, but the Prince of *Naſſaw Weilburg*, as a man of more experience in War, was chiefly depended on; tho' his conduct ſhewed how little he

1703 deſerved it. The Emperor's Birth-day, was a day of diverſion, and the *German* Generals, then at *Spire*, allowed themſelves all the idle liberties, uſed in Courts on ſuch days, without the ordinary precaution, of having Scouts or Parties abroad, in the ſame careleſs ſtate, as if no Enemy had been near them. *Tallard*, having intelligence of this, left a Party of his Army to make a ſhew, and maintain the Works before *Landaw*; and marched with his beſt Troops againſt the *Germans*: He ſurprized and routed them: upon which *Landaw* capitulated: with this the warlike operations of this Campaign ended, very glorioufly, and with great Advantage to the *French*.

A Treaty with the King of *Portugal*.

But two great Negotiations, then brought to a concluſion, very much changed the face of Affairs: All the Confederates preſſed the King of *Portugal* to come into the Alliance, as his own intereſt led him to it; ſince it was viſible, that as ſoon as *Spain* was once united to the Crown of *France*, he could not hope to continue long in *Portugal*. The *Almirante* of *Caſtile* was believed to be in the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; therefore to ſend him out of the way, he was appointed to go Ambaſſador to *France*; He ſeemed to undertake it, and made the neceſſary preparations; He ſaw this Embaſſy was intended for an Exile, and that it put him in the power of his Enemies; So, after he had raiſed what was neceſſary to defray his expence, he ſecretly changed his courſe, and eſcaped with the Wealth he had in his hands to *Lisbon*: where he entered into ſecret Negotiations with the King of *Portugal*, and the Emperor: He gave great aſſurances of the good diſpoſitions, in which both the People and Grandees of *Spain* were, who were grown ſick of their new Maſters. The riſque, he himſelf ran, ſeemed a very full credential; He aſſured them, the new King was deſpiſed, and that the *French* about him were univerſally hated; The *Spaniards* could not bear the being made a Province, either to *France* or to the Emperor.

He therefore propoſed, that the Emperor and the King of the *Romans* ſhould renounce all their pretenſions, and transfer them to the Archduke, and declare him King of *Spain*; and that he ſhould be immediately ſent thither; for he aſſured them; the *Spaniards* would not revolt from a King that was in poſſeſſion, till they ſaw another King, who claimed his Right: and in that caſe, they would think they had a right to adhere to the King they liked beſt: The King of *Portugal* likewiſe demanded an enlargement of his Frontiers, and ſome new acceſſions to his Crown, which were reaſonable, but could not be ſtipulated, but by a King of *Spain*.

In the Treaty, that the Emperor had made with the late King, and with the *States*, one Article was, that they ſhould be at liberty to poſſeſs themſelves of the Dominions, which the Crown of *Spain* had in the *Weſt-Indies*, and he veſted in them the right, that their Arms ſhould give them, in theſe Acquiſitions; upon which the King had deſigned to ſend a great Fleet, with a Land Army, into the Bay of *Mexico*, to ſeize ſome important Places there, with a deſign of reſtoring them to the crown of *Spain*, upon advantageous Articles for a free Trade, as ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſhould receive a King of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. This deſign was now laid aſide, and the reaſon that the Miniſters gave for it, was, that the *Almirante* had aſſured them, that if we poſſeſſed our ſelves of any of their places in the *Weſt-Indies*, the whole Nation would by that means become entirely *French*; they would never believe our Promiſes of reſtoring them; and ſeeing they had no Naval Power of their own to recover them, they would go into the *French* Intereſt very cordially, as the only way left to recover theſe Places.

An entire credit was given to the *Almirante*; So the Queen and the *States* agreed to ſend over a great Fleet, with a Land Army of twelve thouſand Men, together with a great Supply of Money and Arms to *Portugal*; that King undertaking to have an Army of twenty eight thouſand Men ready to join ours. In this Treaty, an incident happened, that had almoſt ſpoiled the whole; The King of *Portugal* inſiſted, on demanding the Flag, and the other Reſpects to be paid by our Admiral, when he was in his Ports; The Earl of *Nottingham* inſiſted, it was a diſhonour to *England* to ſtrike, even in another King's Ports; This was not demanded of the Fleet, that was ſent to bring over Queen *Katharine*, ſo, tho' *Methuen*, our Ambaſſador, had agreed to this Article, he preſſed the Queen not to ratify it.

Methuen,

Methuen, in his own juſtification, ſaid, he conſented to the Article, becauſe he ſaw it was inſiſted on ſo much, that no Treaty could be concluded, unleſs that Point were yielded: The low ſtate of their affairs, in the year 1662, when the Protection of *England* was all they had in view, for their preſervation, made ſuch a difference between that and the preſent time, that the one was not to be ſet up for a Precedent to govern the other: beſides, even then the matter was much conteſted in their Councils, tho' the extremities, to which they were reduced, made them yield it. The Lord *Godolphin* looked on this, as too inconſiderable to be inſiſted on, the whole affairs of *Europe* ſeemed to turn upon this Treaty, and ſo important a matter ought not to be retarded a day for ſuch Punctilio's, as a ſalute or ſtriking the Flag: and it ſeemed reaſonable, that every Sovereign Prince ſhould claim this acknowledgment, unleſs where it was otherwiſe ſtipulated by expreſs Treaties. The laying ſo much weight on ſuch Matters, very much heightened jealouſies; and it was ſaid, that the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Tories ſeemed to lay hold on every thing that could obſtruct the progreſs of the War; while the round proceeding of the Lord *Godolphin* reconciled many to him. The Queen confirmed the Treaty; upon which, the Court of *Vienna* was deſired to do their part. But that Court proceeded with its ordinary ſlowneſs; The mildeſt Cenſure paſt on theſe delays was, that they proceeded from an unreaſonable affectation of Magnificence in the Ceremonial, which could not be performed ſoon nor eaſily, in a poor but a haughty Court: It was done at laſt, but ſo late in the year, that the new declared King of *Spain* could not reach *Holland*, before the end of *October*. A Squadron of our Fleet was lying there, to bring him over; ſuch as was wont to convoy the late King, when he croſſed the Seas. But the Miniſters of the King of *Spain* thought it was not ſtrong enough; They pretended, they had advertiſements, that the *French* had a ſtronger Squadron in *Dunkirk*, which might be ſent out to intercept him: ſo an additional ſtrength was ſent; this loſt ſome time, and a fair wind. 1703

It had like to have been more fatal; for about the end of *November* the Weather grew very boiſterous, and broke out on the 27th of *November*, in the moſt violent Storm, both by Sea and Land, that had been known in the memory of man: The City of *London* was ſo ſhaken with it, that people were generally afraid of being buried in the ruines of their Houſes: Some houſes fell and cruſhed their Maſters to death: great hurt was done in the Southern parts of *England*; little happening in the North, where the Storm was not ſo violent. There was a great fall of Trees, chiefly of Elms, that were blown down by the wind. We had, at that time, the beſt part of our Naval Force upon the Sea: which filled all people with great apprehenſions of an irreparable loſs; and indeed, if the Storm had not been at its height at full Flood, and in a Spring tide, the loſs might have proved fatal to the Nation. It was ſo conſiderable, that fourteen or fifteen Men of War were caſt away, in which 1500 Seamen periſhed; Few Merchant-men were loſt; ſuch as were driven to Sea were ſafe: ſome few only were over-ſet. Thus the moſt threatning danger, to which the Nation could be expoſed, went off with little damage: we all ſaw our hazard, ſince the loſs of our Fleet muſt have been the loſs of the Nation. If this great Hurricane had come at Low water, or in a quarter tide, our Ships muſt have been driven out upon the Banks of Sand, that lie before the Coaſt, and have ſtuck and periſhed there, as ſome of the Men of War did: but the Sea being ſo full of water, all but ſome heavy Ships got over theſe ſafe: Our Squadron, which was then in the *Maeſe*, ſuffered but little, and the Ships were ſoon refitted, and ready to ſail.

The great Wind in *November*.

About the end of *December* the King of *Spain* landed at *Portſmouth*; The Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring him to an Interview, which was to be at *Windſor*; Prince *George* went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great Magnificence: The Court was very ſplendid, and much thronged; The Queen's Behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging; The young King charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his Age, tempered with much Modeſty; His behaviour was in all Points ſo exact, that there was not a circumſtance, in his whole deportment, that was liable to cenſure; He paid an extraordinary Reſpect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatneſs in it; He had an art of ſeeming well pleaſed with e-

The new King of *Spain* came to *England*.

1703 very thing, without ſo much as ſmiling once all the while he was at Court, which was only three days; He ſpoke but little, and all he ſaid was judicious and obliging; All poſſible haſte was made, in fitting out the Fleet, ſo that he ſet ſail in the beginning of *January*, and for five days he had a fair wind with good weather, but then the wind changed, and he was driven back to *Portſmouth*; He lay there above three weeks, and then he had a very proſperous Navigation. The Forces, that were ordered to go over to his aſſiſtance, were by this time got ready to attend on him, ſo he ſailed with a great Fleet, both of Men of War and Tranſport Ships: He arrived happily at *Lisbon*, where he was received with all the outward expreſſions of joy and welcome, and at an expence, in a vain magnificence, which that Court could not well bear: but a National Vanity prevailed to carry this too far, by which other things, that were more neceſſary, were neglected: That Court was then very melancholy; for the young *Infanta*, whom the King of *Spain* was to have married, as had been agreed, died a few days before his arrival.

He landed at *Lisbon*.

While this Negotiation with *Portugal* was carried on, the Duke of *Savoy* began to ſee his own danger, if the two Crowns ſhould come to be united; and he ſaw, that if the King of *France* drove the Imperialiſts out of *Italy*, and became Maſter of the *Milaneſe*, he muſt lie expoſed, and at mercy; He had married his two Daughters to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and to King *Philip* of *Spain*; but as he wrote to the Emperor, he was now to take care of himſelf and his Son: His Alliance with *France* was only for one year, which he had renewed from year to year, ſo he offered, at the end of the year, to enter into the great Alliance; and he demanded for his ſhare, the *Novarize* and the *Montferrat*. His leaving the Allies, as he had done in the former War, ſhewed that he maintained the Character of his Family, of changing ſides, as oft as he could expect better terms, by a new turn: yet his intereſt lay ſo viſibly now on the ſide of the Alliance, that it was very reaſonable to believe, he was reſolved to adhere firmly to it. So when the demands he made were laid before the Court of *Vienna*, and from thence tranſmitted to *England* and *Holland*, all the aſſiſtance, that he propoſed, was promiſed him: The Court of *Vienna* had no money to ſpare, but *England* and the *States* were to pay him twenty thouſand pounds a month, of which *England* was to pay him two thirds, and the *States* the reſt.

The Duke of *Savoy* came into the Alliance.

The ſecret reaſons of his former departure from it.

Since I am to relate the reſt of this Tranſaction, I muſt look back, and give ſome account of his departing from the Alliance in the former War, which I had from Monſieur *Herval*, who was then the King's Envoy in *Switzerland*, a *French* Refugee, but originally of a *German* Family of *Augsbourg*, ſettled but lately in *France*. In *January* 1696, when the Plot for aſſaſſinating the King and invading the Nation, was thought ſo ſurely laid, that it could not miſcarry; The King of *France* ſent Mr. *Chanley* very ſecretly to the Duke of *Savoy*, with a full credence to the Propoſitions he was to make, demanding a poſitive anſwer within ſix hours: with that the Duke of *Orleans* wrote very warmly to him; he ſaid, he had employed all his Intereſt with the King his Brother, to get theſe Offers made to him, which he conjur'd him to accept of, otherwiſe he muſt look for utter ruin, without remedy or recovery. *Chanley* told him, that at that preſent time, he was to reckon that King *James* was repoſſeſſed of the Throne of *England*, and that the Prince of *Orange* was either dead, or in his hands: ſo he offered to reſtore *Cazal* and *Pigneroll*, and all that was afterwards agreed to by the Treaty, if he would depart from the Alliance. The Duke of *Savoy* being thus alarmed with a Revolution in *England*, and being ſo ſtraitned in time, thought the extreme neceſſity, to which he would be reduced, in caſe that was true, muſt juſtify his ſubmitting, when otherwiſe his Ruin was unavoidable. The worſt part of this was, that he got leave to pretend to continue in the Alliance, till he had drawn all the Supplies, he was to expect for that year from *England* and the *States*, and then the whole matter was owned, as has been related in the Tranſactions of that year. I leave this upon the credit of him from whom I had it, who aſſured me he was well informed concerning it.

The Duke of *Savoy*, having now ſecretly agreed to enter into the Alliance, did not declare it, but continued ſtill denying it to the *French*, that ſo when the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſent back his Troops to him, at the end of the Campaign, he might

might more ſafely own it. The *French* had reaſon to ſuſpect a ſecret Negotiation, but could not penetrate into it, ſo they took an effectual, though a very fraudulent method to diſcover it, which was told me ſoon after by the Earl of *Pembroke*. They got the Elector of *Bavaria* to write to him, with all ſeeming ſincerity, and with great ſecrecy, for he ſent it to him by a Subject of his own, ſo well diſguiſed and directed, that the Duke of *Savoy* was impoſed on by this management: In this Letter, the Elector complained bitterly of the inſolence and perfidiouſneſs of the *French*, into whoſe hands he had put himſelf: He ſaid, he ſaw his error now, when it was too late to ſee how he could correct it; yet if the Duke of *Savoy*, who was almoſt in as bad a ſtate as himſelf, would join with him, ſo that they might act by concert, they might yet not only recover themſelves, but procure a happy Peace to all the reſt of *Europe*. The Duke of *Savoy*, miſtruſting nothing, wrote him a frank anſwer, in which he owned his own deſigns, and encouraged the Elector to go on, and offered all offices of friendſhip on his behalf, with the reſt of the Allies: The *French*, who knew by what ways the *Savoyard* was to return, ſeized him, without ſo much as acquainting the Elector with the diſcovery, that they had made; they ſaw now into this Secret; ſo when the time came, in which the Duke of *Vendoſme* ought to have ſent back his Troops to him, they were made Priſoners of War, contrary to all Treaties: and with this the War began in thoſe parts. It was much apprehended that, conſidering the weak and naked ſtate in which the Duke of *Savoy* then was, the *French* would have quickly maſtered him; but Count *Staremberg* ventured on a march, which Military men ſaid was the beſt laid, and the beſt executed of any in the whole War: He marched from the *Modoneſe*, in the worſt Seaſon of the year, thro' ways that, by reaſon of the rains that had fallen, ſeemed impracticable, having in many places the *French* both before and behind him: He broke thro' all, and in concluſion joined the Duke of *Savoy*, with a good body of Horſe. By this, he was render'd ſafe in *Piedmont*: It is true the *French* made themſelves quickly maſters of all *Savoy*, except *Montmelian*; where ſome ſmall Actions happen'd, much to the Duke's advantage. The *Switzers* interpoſed, to obtain a Neutrality for *Savoy*, though without effect.

1703

The *French* diſcover his Intentions, and make all his Troops with them Priſoners of War.

Count *Staremberg* joined them.

The Riſing in the *Cevennes* had not been yet ſubdued, though Mareſchal *Montrevel* was ſent, with an Army to reduce or deſtroy them; He committed great barbarities, not only on thoſe he found in Arms, but on whole Villages, becauſe they, as he was informed, favoured them; They came often down out of their Hills in Parties, ravaging the Country, and they engaged the King's Troops with much reſolution, and ſometimes with great advantage; They ſeemed reſolved to accept of nothing leſs, than the reſtoring their Edicts to them; for a connivance at their own way of Worſhip was offered them; They had many among them, who ſeemed qualified in a very ſingular manner, to be the Teachers of the reſt; they had a great meaſure of Zeal without any Learning; they ſcarce had any Education at all; I ſpoke with the perſon who, by the Queen's order, ſent one among them to know the ſtate of their Affairs; I read ſome of the Letters, which he brought from them, full of a ſublime Zeal and Piety, expreſſing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted; One inſtance of this was, that they all agreed, that if any of them was ſo wounded, in an Engagement with the enemy, that he could not be brought off, he ſhould be ſhot dead, rather than be left alive to fall into the enemies hands; It was not poſſible then, to form a judgment of that Inſurrection, the reports about it were ſo various and uncertain, it being as much magnified by ſome, as it was undervalued by others; The whole number, that they could reckon on, was four thouſand men, but they had not Arms and Clothes for half that number, ſo they uſed theſe by turns, while the reſt were left at home, to follow their labour; They put the Country all about them in a great fright, and to a vaſt expence; while no intelligence could be had of their deſigns, and they broke out in ſo many different places, that all who lay within their reach were in a perpetual agitation; It was a lamentable thing, that they lay ſo far within the Country, that it was not poſſible to ſend Supplies to them, unleſs the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be in a condition to break into *Dauphiny*; and therefore Advices were ſent them, to accept of ſuch Terms as could be had, and to reſerve themſelves for better times.

The Inſurrection in the *Cevennes*.

1703

The Affairs in *Poland*.

In *Poland* the ſcene was more embroiled than ever; There was ſome appearance of Peace this Summer, but it went off in Winter; The old fierce Cardinal drew a Diet to *Warſaw*; there it was declared, that their King had broken all their Laws: upon that they, by a formal Sentence, depoſed him, and declared the Throne vacant. This was done, in concert with the King of *Sweden*, who lay with his Army at ſome diſtance from them, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, which alarmed the Citizens very much; It was believed, that they deſigned to chooſe *Sobieski*, the eldeſt Son of the late King, who then lived at *Breſlaw* in *Sileſia*, and being in the Emperor's Dominions, he thought himſelf ſafer than he proved to be; The King of *Poland* retired into *Saxony* in ſome haſte, which made many conclude, that he reſolved to abandon *Poland*; but he laid another deſign, which was executed to his mind, tho' in the ſequel it proved not much to his advantage; *Sobieski* and his Brother were in a Correſpondence with the Party in *Poland*, that oppoſed the King, upon which they ought to have looked to their own ſecurity with more precaution: They, it ſeems, apprehended nothing where they then were, and ſo diverted themſelves at hunting, and otherwiſe in their uſual manner; upon this ſome, ſent by the King of *Poland*, took them both Priſoners, and brought them to *Dreſden*, where they were ſafely kept; and all the Remonſtrances that the Emperor could make, upon ſuch an act of Hoſtility, had no effect. This for a while broke their meaſures at *Warſaw*; many forſook them, while the King of *Sweden* ſeemed implacable in his oppoſition to *Auguſtus*; whoſe chief confidence was in the *Czar*: It was ſuſpected, that the *French* had a management in this matter; ſince it was certain that, by the War in *Poland*, a great part of that Force was diverted, which might otherwiſe have been engaged in the common Cauſe of the great Alliance. All the Advices that we had from thence agreed in this, that the King of *Sweden* himſelf was in no underſtanding with the *French*, but it was viſible, that what he did, contributed not a little to ſerve their Ends. This was the ſtate of Affairs at Land.

Affairs at Sea.

I turn next to another Element; and to give an account of the Operations at Sea, where things were ill deſigned, and worſe executed; The making Prince *George* our Lord High Admiral, proved in many inſtances very unhappy to the Nation: Men of bad deſigns impoſed on him, he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſhelter'd themſelves under his Name, to which a great Submiſſion was paid; but the Complaints roſe the higher for that: Our main Fleet was ready to go out in *May*, but the *Dutch* Fleet was not yet come over; ſo *Rook* was ſent out, to alarm the Coaſt of *France*; He linger'd long in Port, pretending ill health; upon that *Churchill* was ſent to command the Fleet; but *Rook*'s health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to Sea, where he continued a month; but in ſuch a Station, as if his deſign had been to keep far from meeting the *French* Fleet, which ſailed out at that time; and to do the Enemy no harm, not ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their Coaſt: at laſt he returned, without having attempted any thing.

A Fleet ſent into the *Mediterranean*.

It was after this reſolved, to ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the *Mediterranean*; It was near the End of *June*, before they were ready to ſail, and they had Orders to come out of the *Streights*, by the end of *September*: Every thing was ſo ill laid in this Expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing ſhould be done by it, beſides the convoying our Merchant Ships; which did not require the fourth part of ſuch a Force. *Shovel* was ſent to command; when he ſaw his Inſtructions, he repreſented to the Miniſtry, that nothing could be expected from this Voyage; He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his Orders; He got to *Leghorn* by the beginning of *September*. His arrival ſeemed to be of great conſequence, and the Allies began to take courage from it; but they were ſoon diſappointed of their hopes, when they underſtood, that by his Orders he could only ſtay a few days there: Nor was it eaſy to imagine, what the deſign of ſo great an expedition could be, or why ſo much Money was thrown away on ſuch a Project, which made us deſpiſed by our Enemies, while it provoked our Friends, who might juſtly think, they could not depend upon ſuch an Ally, who managed ſo great a Force with ſo poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their Enemies, nor protect their Friends by it.

A Squadron

A Squadron was ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, commanded by *Graydon*; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the preſent ſtate of Affairs: The deſign was, to gather all the Forces that we had, ſcattered up and down the Plantations, and with that ſtrength to go and take *Placentia*, and ſo to drive the *French* out of the *Newfoundland* Trade: but the Secret of this was ſo ill kept, that it was commonly talked of, before he ſailed: The *French* had timely notice of it, and ſent a greater Force to defend the Place, than he could bring together to attack it. His Orders were preſſing, in particular, that he ſhould not go out of his way, to purſue any of the Enemy's Ships, whom he might ſee: Theſe he obſerved ſo punctually, that when he ſaw a Squadron of four *French* Men of War ſailing towards *Breſt*, that were viſibly foul, and in no condition to make any reſiſtance, he ſent indeed one of his Ships to view them, who engaged them, but *Graydon* gave the Signal to call him off, upon which they got ſafe into *Breſt*. This was afterwards known to be *Du Caſſe*'s Squadron, who was bringing Treaſure home from *Carthagena*, and other Ports of the *Weſt-Indies*, reported to be four Millions of pieces of Eight: But tho' here was a good prey loſt, yet ſo careful was the Prince's Council to excuſe every thing, done by ſuch a man, that they ordered an Advertiſement to be put in the *Gazette*, to juſtify *Graydon*; in which it was ſaid, that purſuant to his Orders, he had not engaged that Fleet. The Orders were indeed ſtrangely given, yet our Admirals had never thought themſelves ſo bound down to them, but that, upon great occaſions, they might make ſtretches; eſpecially where the advantage was viſible, as it was in this caſe: for ſince they were out of the way of new Orders, and new occaſions might happen, which could not be known, when their Orders were given, the nature of the Service ſeemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the Land Service. When he came to the Plantations, he acted in ſo ſavage a manner, as if he had been ſent rather to terrify, than to protect them: When he had drawn the Forces together, that were in the Plantations, he went to attack *Placentia*: but he found it to be ſo well defended, that he did not think fit ſo much as to make any attempt upon it: So this Expedition ended very inglorioufly, and many Complaints of *Graydon*'s Conduct was ſent after him.

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Another to the *Weſt-Indies*.

They returned without ſucceſs.

There was alſo a great Complaint thro' the whole Fleet of their Victualling; we loſt many of our Seamen, who, as was ſaid, were poiſoned by ill food; and tho' great complaints were made of the Victuallers, before the Fleet went out, yet there was not ſuch care taken to look into it, as a matter of that conſequence deſerved: The Merchants did alſo complain, that they were ill ſerved with Convoys, and ſo little care had been taken of the *Newcaſtle* Fleet, that the price of Coals roſe very high: It was alſo ſaid, that there was not a due care had of our Seamen, that were taken by the Privateers, many of them died by reaſon of their ill uſage, while others, to deliver themſelves from that, went into the *French* Service. Thus all our Marine Affairs were much out of order, and theſe diſorders were charged on thoſe, who had the conduct of them; every thing was unproſperous, and that will always be laid heavily on thoſe, who are in the management of Affairs: It is certain that, in the beginning of this Reign, all thoſe who hated the late King and his Government, or had been diſmiſſed the Service by him, were ſought out, and invited into Imployments: ſo it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the War againſt *France*.

Our Fleets were ill victualled.

The Affairs of *Scotland* come next to be related: A new Parliament was called, and many were choſen to ſerve in it, who were believed to be in ſecret Engagements with the Court at St. *Germains*; The Lords, who had hitherto kept out of Parliament, and were known to be Jacobites, came and qualified themſelves, by taking the Oaths, to vote in Parliament: It was ſet up for a Maxim, by the new Miniſtry, that all the Jacobites were to be invited home: ſo a Proclamation was iſſued out, of a very great extent, indemnifying all perſons, for all Treaſons committed before *April* laſt; without any limitation of Time for their coming home, to accept of this Grace, and without demanding any ſecurity of them for the future. The Duke of *Queensbury* was ſent down the Queen's Commiſſioner to the Parliament: This inflamed all thoſe who had formerly oppoſed him; They reſolved to oppoſe him ſtill in every thing, and the greater part of the Jacobites joined with them, but ſome of them were bought off, as

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

1703 was ſaid, by him: He, ſeeing ſo ſtrong an oppoſition formed againſt him, ſtudied to engage the Presbyterian Party to ſtick to him: and even the Party that united againſt him, were ſo apprehenſive of the ſtrength of that Intereſt, that they likewiſe ſtudied to court them, and were very careful not to give them any umbrage. By this, all the hopes of the Epiſcopal Party were loſt; and every thing relating to the Church did not only continue in the ſame ſtate, in which it was during the former Reign, but the Presbyterians got a new Law in their favour, which gave them as firm a ſettlement, and as full a Security, as Law could give; for an Act paſſed, not only confirming the Claim of Rights, upon which the Crown had been offered to the late King, one of its Articles being againſt Prelacy, and for a Parity in the Church, but it was declared High Treaſon to endeavour any alteration of it. It had been often propoſed to the late King, to paſs this into an Act, but he would never conſent to it: He ſaid, he had taken the Crown on the Terms in that Claim, and that therefore he would never make a breach on any part of it; but he would not bind his Succeſſors, by making it a perpetual Law. Thus a Miniſtry, that carried all matters relating to the Church to ſo great a heighth, yet, with other views, gave a fatal Stroke to the Epiſcopal Intereſt in *Scotland*, to which the late King would never give way.

Presbytery was confirmed.

Debates concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown.

The great Debates in this Seſſion were concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown, in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Iſſue. They reſolved to give the Preference to that Debate, before they would conſider the Supplies; it was ſoon reſolved that the Succeſſor to the Crown after the Queen, ſhould not be the ſame Perſon that was King or Queen of *England*, unleſs the juſt Rights of the Nation ſhould be declared in Parliament, and fully ſettled in an Independance upon *Engliſh* Intereſts and Councils. After this, they went to name Particulars, which by ſome were carried ſo far, that thoſe Expedients were indeed the ſetting up a Commonwealth, with the empty Name of a King: for it was propoſed, that the whole Adminiſtration ſhould be committed to a Council, named by Parliament, and that the Legiſlature ſhould be entirely in the Parliament, by which no ſhadow of Power was left with the Crown, and it was merely a Nominal Thing: But the further entring upon Expedients was laid aſide for that Time, only one Act paſs'd, that went a great way towards them: It was declared, that no ſucceeding King ſhould have the Power to engage the Nation in a War, without conſent of Parliament. Another Act of a ſtrange Nature paſt, allowing the Importation of *French* Goods, which, as was pretended, were to be imported, in the Ships of a neutral State. The truth was, the Revenue was ſo exhauſted, that they had not enough to ſupport the Government, without ſuch help: Thoſe who deſired to drink good Wine, and all who were concerned in Trade, ran into it; ſo it was carried, tho' with great Oppoſition: The *Jacobites* alſo went into it, ſince it opened a free Correſpondence with *France*: It was certainly againſt the publick Intereſt of the Government, in oppoſition to which private Intereſt does often prevail. The Court of St. *Germains*, perceiving ſuch a Diſjointing in *Scotland*, and ſo great an Oppoſition made in Parliament, was from thence encouraged to ſet all their Emiſſaries in that Kingdom at work, to engage both the chief of the Nobility, and the ſeveral Tribes in the Highlands, to be ready to appear for them. One *Frazier* had gone thro' the Highlands the former Year, and from thence he went to *France*, where he pretended, he had Authority from the Highlanders, to undertake to bring together a Body of 12000 Men, if they might be aſſiſted by ſome Force, together with Officers, Arms, Ammunition, and Money from *France*. After he had delivered this Meſſage, to the Queen at St. *Germains*, ſhe recommended him to the *French* Miniſters; ſo he had ſome Audiences of them. He propoſed that 5000 Men ſhould be ſent from *Dunkirk*, to land near *Dundee*, with Arms for 20000 Men; and that 500 ſhould be ſent from *Breſt*, to ſeize on *Fort William*, which commanded the great Paſs in the Highlands. The *French* hearkened to all this, but would not venture much upon ſlight Grounds, ſo they ſent him back with ſome others, in whom they confided more, to ſee how much they might depend on, and what the Strength of the Highlanders was: They were alſo ordered, to try whether any of the great Nobility of that Kingdom would engage in the Deſign.

Practices from *France*.

Whea

When theſe came over, *Frazier* got himſelf ſecretly introduced to the Duke of *Queensbury*, to whom he diſcovered all that had been already tranſacted: And he undertook to diſcover the whole Correſpondence, between St. *Germains* and the *Jacobites*. He alſo named many of the Lords, who oppoſed him moſt in Parliament, and ſaid, they were already deeply engaged. The Duke of *Queensbury* hearkened very willingly to all this, and he gave him a Paſs to go through the Highlands again, where he found ſome were ſtill very forward, but others were more reſerved. At his return, he reſolved to go back to *France*, and promiſed to make a more entire Diſcovery: He put one Letter in the Duke of *Queensbury*'s hands, from the Queen at St. *Germains*, directed on the Back (but by another hand) to the Marquiſs of *Athol*: The Letter was writ, in ſuch general Terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great Nobility: And probably he, who was truſted with it, had power given him to direct it to any, to whom he found it would be moſt acceptable: For there was nothing in the Letter, that was particular to any one Perſon or Family; it only mentioned the Promiſes and Aſſurances ſent to her by that Lord. This *Frazier* had been accuſed of a Rape, committed on a Siſter of the Lord *Athol*'s, for which he was convicted and outlawed: So it might be ſuppoſed, that he, to be revenged of the Lord *Athol*, who had proſecuted him for that Crime, might put his Name on the back of that Letter. It is certain, that the others who were more truſted, and were ſent over with him, avoided his Company, ſo that he was not made acquainted with that Proceeding. *Frazier* came up to *London* in Winter, and had ſome Meetings with the practiſing *Jacobites* about the Town, to whom he diſcovered his Negotiation: He continued ſtill to perſuade the Duke of *Queensbury* of his Fidelity to him: His Name was not told the Queen, for when the Duke of *Queensbury* wrote to her an Account of the Diſcovery, he added, that unleſs ſhe commanded it, he had promiſed not to name the Perſon, for he was to go back to St. *Germains*, to compleat the Diſcovery. The Queen did not ask his Name, but had more regard to what he ſaid, becauſe in the main it agreed with the Intelligence, that her Miniſters had from their Spies at *Paris*. The Duke of *Queensbury* procured a Paſs for him to go to *Holland*, but by another name: For he opened no part of this Matter to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who gave the Paſs. The *Jacobites* in *London* ſuſpected *Frazier*'s Correſpondence with the Duke of *Queensbury*, and gave advertiſement to the Lord *Athol*, and by this means the whole Matter broke out, as ſhall be told afterwards. What Influence ſoever this, or any other Practice might have in *Scotland*, it is certain the Oppoſition in Parliament grew ſtill greater; and ſince the Duke of *Queensbury* would not ſuffer them to proceed, in thoſe ſtrange Limitations upon the Crown, that had been propoſed, tho' the Queen ordered him to paſs the other Bills, they would give no Supply; ſo that the Pay of the Army, with the Charge of the Government, was to run upon Credit, and by this means Matters there were like to come to extremities. A national Humour of rendring themſelves a free and independent Kingdom did ſo inflame them, that as they had a Majority of ſeventy in Parliament; they ſeemed capable of the moſt extravagant things, that could be ſuggeſted to them: The greateſt part of the Miniſtry forſook the Duke of *Queensbury* in Parliament; both the Earl of *Seafield*, Lord Chancellor, the Marquiſs of *Athol*, the Lord-Privy Seal, and Lord *Tarbet*, the Secretary of State, with all that depended on them, broke off from him: Yet upon the Concluſion of the Seſſion, *Athol* was made a Duke, and *Tarbet* was made Earl of *Cromarty*, which looked like rewarding them for their Oppoſition. Soon after that, the Queen reſolved to revive the Order of the Thiſtle, that had been raiſed by her Father, but was let fall by the late King: It was to be carried in a green Ribbon, as the *George* is in a blue, and the Glory was in the Form of a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, with a Thiſtle in the middle. *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Annandale*, *Orkney*, and *Seafield* were the firſt that had it, the number being limited to Twelve. And to ſuch a heighth did the Diſorders in that Kingdom riſe, that great Skill and much ſecret Practice ſeemed neceſſary to ſet Matters right there: The Averſion and Jealouſy towards thoſe, who had been moſt active in the laſt Reign, and the Favour ſhewed to thoſe, who were in King *James*'s Intereſts, had an appearance of bringing Matters out of an Exceſs, to a Temper:

1703 A Diſcovery made of theſe.

Reflections on the Conduct of Affairs there.

1703 And it was much magnified by thoſe, who intended to flatter the Queen, on deſign to ruin her. Tho' the ſame Meaſures were taken in *England*, yet there was leſs danger in following them here than there: Errors might be ſooner obſerved, and eaſier corrected, where Perſons are in view, and are watched in all their Motions: but this might prove fatal at a greater diſtance, where it was more eaſy to deny or palliate Things, with great Aſſurance. The Duke of *Queensbury*'s engroſſing all things to himſelf, encreaſed the Diſguſt, at the Credit he was in: He had begun a Practice of drawing out the Seſſions of Parliament, to an unuſual length; by which his Appointments exhauſted ſo much of the Revenue, that the reſt of the Miniſters were not paid, and that will always create diſcontent: He truſted entirely to a few Perſons, and his Conduct was liable to juſt Exceptions: ſome of thoſe, who had the greateſt Credit with him, were believed to be engaged in a Foreign Intereſt, and his paſſing, or rather promoting the Act, that opened a Correſpondence with *France*, was conſidered as a Deſign, to ſettle a Commerce there: And upon that, his Fidelity or his Capacity were much queſtioned.

The Affairs of *Ireland*. There were ſtill high Diſcontents in *Ireland*, occaſioned by the behaviour of the Truſtees there. The Duke of *Ormond* was the better received, when he went to that Government, becauſe he came after the Earl of *Rocheſter*; till it appeared, that he was in all things governed by him; and that he purſued the Meaſures, which he had begun to take, of raiſing new Diviſions in that Kingdom: For before that Time, the only Diviſion in *Ireland* was, that of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, Proteſtants and Papiſts: But of late an Animoſity came to be raiſed there, like that we labour under in *England*, between Whig and Tory. The wiſer ſort of the *Engliſh* reſolved to oppoſe this all they could, and to proceed with Temper and Moderation: The Parliament there was opened with Speeches and Addreſſes, that carried the Compliments to the Duke of *Ormond* ſo far, as if no other Perſon beſides himſelf, could have given them that Settlement, which they expected from his Government. The Truſtees had raiſed a Scandal upon that Nation, as if they deſigned to ſet up an Independance upon *England*: ſo they began the Seſſion with a Vote, diſclaiming that, as falſe and injurious. They expreſſed on all Occaſions their hatred of the Truſtees and of their Proceedings, yet they would not preſume to meddle with any thing they had done, purſuant to the Act, that had paſs'd in *England*, which veſted the Truſt in them. They offered the neceſſary Supplies, but took Exceptions to the Accounts, that were laid before them, and obſerved ſome Errors in them. This begat an Uneaſineſs in the Duke of *Ormond*; for tho' he was generous, and above all ſordid Practices, yet being a Man of Pleaſure, he was much in the power of thoſe, who acted under him, and whoſe Integrity was not ſo clear. One great Deſign of the wiſer among them was, to break the Power of Popery, and the Intereſt, that the Heads of the *Iriſh* Families had among them: They enacted the Succeſſion of the Crown, to follow the Pattern ſet them by *England*, in every particular: They alſo paſſed an Act concerning Papiſts, ſomewhat like that which had paſſed in *England* three Years before; but with ſome more effectual Clauſes, for the want of which, we have not yet had any Fruit from that Act: The main Difference was that, which made it look leſs invidious, and yet was more effectual, for breaking the Dependance on the Heads of Families: For it was provided, that all Eſtates ſhould be equally divided among the Children of Papiſts, notwithſtanding any Settlements to the contrary, unleſs the Perſons, on whom they were ſettled, qualified themſelves by taking the Oaths, and coming to the Communion of the Church: This ſeemed to carry no Hardſhip to the Family in general, and yet gave hopes of weakning that Intereſt ſo conſiderably, that the Bill was offered to the Duke of *Ormond*, preſſing him, with more than uſual Vehemence, to interceed ſo effectually, that it might be returned back under the Great Seal of *England*. They underſtood, that the Papiſts of *Ireland* had raiſed a conſiderable Sum, to be ſent over to *England*, to ſupport their Practices, in order to the ſtopping this Bill: It came over, warmly recommended by the Duke of *Ormond*: But it was as warmly oppoſed by thoſe, who had a mind to have a ſhare in the Preſents, that were ready to be made. The Pretence for oppoſing

An Act paſſed there againſt Popery.

posing it was, that while the Queen was so deeply engaged with the Emperor, and was interceeding for Favour to the Protestants in his Dominions; it seemed not seasonable, and was scarce decent, to pass so severe a Law against those of his Religion: Tho' this had the less Strength, since it was very evident, that all the *Irish* Papists were in the *French* Interest, so there was no reason to apprehend that the Emperor could be much concerned for them. The Parliament of *England* was sitting when this Bill came over, and Mens Eyes were much set on the Issue of it: So that the Ministers judged, it was not safe to deny it: But a Clause was added, which they hoped would hinder its being accepted in *Ireland*. That Matter was carried on so secretly, that it was known to none, but those who were at the Council, till the News of it came from *Ireland*, upon its being sent thither: The Clause was to this purpose, that none in *Ireland* should be capable of any Employment, or of being in the Magistracy in any City, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the Sacrament, according to the Test-Act passed in *England*; which before this time had never been offered to the *Irish* Nation. It was hoped by those, who got this Clause to be added to the Bill, that those in *Ireland* who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a Weight hung to it: The greatest part of *Ulster* was possessed by the *Scotch*, who adhered stifly to their first Education in *Scotland*: And they were so united in that way, that it was believed they could not find such a number of Men, who would qualify themselves, as was necessary by this Clause, to maintain the Order and Justice of the Country. Yet upon this occasion the *Irish* Parliament proceeded with great Caution and Wisdom: They reckoned that this Act, so far as it related to Papists, would have a certain and great effect, for their common Security: And that when it was once pass'd, it would never be repealed: Whereas if great Inconveniencies did arise upon this new Clause, it would be an easier thing to obtain a Repeal of it, in a subsequent Parliament, either of *England* or *Ireland*. So the Act was passed, and those who thought they had managed the Matter with a Master-piece of Cunning, were outwitted by an *Irish* Parliament. However this Artifice, and some other things in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Conduct, put them into such an ill humour, that the Supply Bill was clogged and lessened by many Clauses added to it. The Session ended in so much Heat, that it was thought that Parliament would meet no more, if the Duke of *Ormond* was continued in the Government. 1703

Jealousies of the Ministry.

Thus the Parts of the Government that were thought the most easily managed, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, had of late been put into so much disorder, that it might prove no easy Work to set them again in order: The Government was every where going, as it were, out of joint: Its Nerves and Strength seemed to be much slackened: The trusting and employing, not only violent Tories, but even known *Jacobites*, as it brought a Weakness on the Management, so it raised a Jealousy, that could not be easily cured. Stories were confidently vented, and by some easily believed, that the Queen was convinced of the Wrong done her pretended Brother, and that she was willing to put Affairs in the hands of Persons, who favoured his Succession: It was also observed, that our Court kept to cold Civilities with the House of *Hanover*, and did nothing that was tender or cordial looking that way: Nor were any employed, who had expressed a particular Zeal for their Interests. These things gave great Jealousy: All that was said in excuse for trusting such Persons, was, that it was fit once to try if good Usage would soften them, and bring them entirely into the Queen's Interests: And Assurances were given, that, if upon a trial, the effect hoped for did not follow, they should be again dismiss'd.

This was the State of our Affairs when a new Session of Parliament was opened in *November*: The Queen, in her Speech expressed a great Zeal, for carrying on the War, and with relation to the Affairs of *Europe*: She recommended Union and good Agreement to all her People; she said she wanted Words to express, how earnestly she desired this. This was understood, as an Intimation of her Desire, that there should be no further Proceeding in the Bill against Occasional Conformity: Addresses full of Respect were made to the Queen, in return to her Speech; and the Lords, in theirs, promised to avoid every thing, that should occasion Dis-union or Contention: But nothing could lay the Heat of a Party,

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A Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity.

which was wrought on by ſome, who had deſigns, that were to be denied or diſguiſed, till a proper Time for owning them ſhould appear. A Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for bringing in the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity: Great Oppoſition was made to it; the Court was againſt it, but it was carried by a great Majority, that ſuch a Bill ſhould be brought in. So a new Draught was formed: In it the Preamble, that was in the former Bill, was left out. The Number beſides the Family, that made a Conventicle, was enlarged from Five to Twelve: And the Fine ſet on thoſe, who went to Conventicles, after they had received the Sacrament, beſides the loſs of their Employment, was brought down to Fifty Pound: Theſe were Artifices, by which it was hoped, upon ſuch Softnings, once to carry the Bill on any Terms: And when that point was gained, it would be eaſy afterwards to carry other Bills of greater Severity. There was now ſuch a Diviſion upon this Matter, that it was fairly debated in the Houſe of Commons: Whereas before, it went there with ſuch a Torrent, that no Oppoſition to it could be hearkened to. Thoſe who oppoſed the Bill went chiefly upon this ground, that this Bill put the Diſſenters in a worſe Condition than they were before: So it was a Breach made upon the Toleration, which ought not to be done, ſince they had not deſerved it by any ill Behaviour of theirs, by which it could be pretended that they had forfeited any of the Benefits, deſigned by that Act: Things of this kind could have no effect, but to embroil us with new Diſtractions, and to diſguſt Perſons well affected to the Queen and her Government: It was neceſſary to continue the happy Quiet, that we were now in, eſpecially in this time of War, in which even the ſevereſt of Perſecutors made their Stops, for fear of irritating ill Humours too much. The old Topicks of Hypocriſy, and of the Danger the Church was

Paſs'd by the Commons.

in, were brought up again on behalf of the Bill, and the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons by a great Majority: And ſo it was ſent up to the Lords, where it occaſioned one Debate of many Hours, whether the Bill ſhould be entertained and read a ſecond time, or be thrown out: The Prince appeared no more for it, nor did he come to the Houſe upon this occaſion: Some who had voted for it, in the former Seſſion, kept out of the Houſe, and others owned they ſaw farther into the Deſign of the Bill, and ſo voted againſt it. Upon a Diviſion it

But rejected by the Lords.

was carried, by a Majority of Twelve, not to give it a ſecond Reading, but to reject it.

The Biſhops were almoſt equally divided: There were two more againſt it, than for it: Among theſe, I had the largeſt ſhare of Cenſure on me, becauſe I ſpoke much againſt the Bill: I knew how the Act of Teſt was carried, as has been already ſhewn in its proper place: I related that in the Houſe, and the many Practices of the Papiſts, of ſetting us of the Church againſt the Diſſenters, and the Diſſenters againſt us by turns, as it might ſerve their ends: I ventured to ſay, that a Man might lawfully communicate with a Church, that he thought had a Worſhip and Doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a Church, that he thought more perfect: I my ſelf had communicated with the Churches of *Geneva* and *Holland*; and yet at the ſame time communicated with the Church of *England*: So, tho' the Diſſenters were in a Miſtake, as to their Opinion, which was the more perfect Church, yet allowing them a Toleration in that Error, this Practice might be juſtified. I was deſired to print what I ſaid upon that occaſion, which drew many virulent Pamphlets upon me, but I anſwered none of them: I ſaw the *Jacobites* deſigned to raiſe ſuch a Flame among us, as might make it ſcarce poſſible to carry on the War; thoſe who went not ſo deep, yet deſigned to make a Breach on the Toleration by gaining this Point: And I was reſolved never to be ſilent, when that ſhould be brought into Debate: For I have long looked on Liberty of Conſcience, as one of the Rights of Human Nature, antecedent to Society, which no Man could give up, becauſe it was not in his own power: And our Saviour's Rule, of doing as we would be done by, ſeemed to be a very expreſs Deciſion to all Men, who would lay the Matter home to their own Conſcience, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others.

The Clergy out of humour.

The Clergy over *England*, who were generally inflamed with this Matter, could hardly forgive the Queen and the Prince, the Coldneſs that they expreſſed on

on this occaſion: The Lord *Godolphin* did ſo poſitively declare, that he thought the Bill unſeaſonable, and that he had done all he could, to hinder its being brought in, that tho' he voted to give the Bill a ſecond Reading, that did not reconcile the Party to him: They ſet up the Earl of *Rocheſter*, as the only Man to be depended on, who deſerved to be the chief Miniſter. 1703

The Houſe of Commons gave all the Supplies, that were neceſſary, for carrying on the War: Some tried to tack the Bill againſt occaſional Conformity to the Bill of Supply, but they had not Strength to carry it: The Commons ſhewed a very unuſual Neglect of all that related to the Fleet, which was wont to be one of their chief Cares: It was ſurmiſed, that they ſaw, that if they opened that Door, Diſcoveries would be made of Errors that could neither be juſtified nor palliated, and that theſe muſt come home chiefly to their greateſt Favourites; ſo they avoided all Examinations, that would probably draw ſome Cenſure on them. The Commons vote all the neceſſary Supplies.

The Lords were not ſo tender: They found great Fault with the Counſels, chiefly with the ſending *Shovell* to the Mediterranean, and *Graydon* to the *Weſt-Indies*: And laid all the Diſcoveries, that were made to them, with their own Obſervations on them, before the Queen, in Addreſſes that were very plain, tho' full of all due Reſpect: They went on likewiſe, in their Examinations of the Outcry made of the Waſte of the publick Treaſure in the laſt Reign; they examined the Earl of *Orford*'s Accounts, which amounted to ſeventeen Millions, and upon which ſome Obſervations had been made by the Commiſſioners, for examining the publick Accounts; they found them all to be falſe in Fact, or ill grounded, and of no Importance. Enquiries into the Conduct of the Fleet.

The only Particular, that ſeemed to give a juſt Colour to Exception, was very ſtrictly examined: He had victualled the Fleet, while they lay all Winter at *Cadiz*: the Purſers Receipts for the Quantity, that was laid into every Ship, were produced, but they had no Receipts of the *Spaniards*, from whom they had bought the Proviſions; but they had entered the Prices of them in their own Books, and theſe were given in upon Oath. This Matter had been much canvaſſed in the late King's Time, and it ſtood thus: *Ruſſel*, now Earl of *Orford*, when he had been ordered to lie at *Cadiz*, wrote to the Board of Victualling, to ſend one over to provide the Fleet; they anſwered, that their Credit was then ſo low, that they could not undertake it: ſo he was deſired to do it upon his own Credit. It appeared, that no Fleet nor ſingle Ship had ever been victualled ſo cheap, as the Fleet was then by him: It was not the Cuſtom in *Spain* to give Receipts; but if any Fraud had been intended, it would have been eaſy to have got the *Spaniards*, after they had their Money, to have ſigned any Receipts, that could have been offered them, for ſwelling up the Accounts; for the Practices of ſwelling Accounts, in their dealings with their own Court, were well known there. Upon theſe Reaſons, the Lords of the Treaſury had paſs'd his Accounts, and were of opinion that he had done a great Service to the Government, in that whole Tranſaction. The Houſe of Lords did now confirm this; and ordered an Account of that whole Matter to be printed. The Earl of *Orford*'s Accounts juſtified.

The Commons made no progreſs in any Diſcoveries of ill Practices in the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s Office, but concluded that matter with an Addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would order a Proſecution. This was an Artifice to make the Nation ſtill think, that great Diſcoveries of Corruption might be made, if carefully look'd after: It was expected, after ſuch an Outcry as they had made, and after the expence the Nation was put to, for this Commiſſion, and the extraordinary Powers that were lodged with the Commiſſioners, that at leaſt ſome important Diſcoveries ſhould have been made by them.

The Commons ſent up a Bill to the Lords, for continuing the Commiſſion another Year: It was obſerved that an Alteration was made of the Perſons; ſome who expected better Places, got their Names to be left out. The Lords excepted to one *Bierly*, who was named to be one of the Commiſſioners; becauſe he had been a Colonel, and had not yet cleared the Accounts of his own Regiment: ſo they ſtruck out his Name, and named another; and they added two more, who were not Members of the Houſe of Commons. The reaſon of this was, becauſe the Members of that Houſe would not appear before them, to explain 1704

A Bill for examining the publick Accounts loſt between the two Houſes.

1704 plain ſome Particulars; they only ſent their Clerk, to inform them, and when the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, to deſire them to order their Members to attend on their Committee, all the return they had was, that they would ſend an anſwer, by Meſſengers of their own: but this was illuſory, for they ſent no ſuch Meſſage. So the Lords thought it neceſſary, in order to their being better informed, to put ſome in the Commiſſion for the future, who ſhould be bound to attend upon them, as oft as they ſhould be called for. The Commons rejected theſe Amendments; and pretended that this was of the Nature of a Money-Bill, and that therefore the Lords could make no Alterations in it. The Meſſage, that the Commons ſent the Lords upon this Head, came ſo near the end of the Seſſion, that the Lords could not return an Anſwer to it, with the Reaſons for which they inſiſted on their Amendments; ſo that Bill fell.

The Charge of this Commiſſion amounted to Eight Thouſand Pounds a-year; the Commiſſioners made much noiſe, and brought many Perſons before them to be examined, and gave great diſturbance to all the publick Offices, what by their Attendance on them, what by copying out all their Books for their Peruſal; and yet in a Courſe of many Years, they had not made any one Diſcovery: ſo a full ſtop was put to this way of proceeding.

A Diſpute concerning Injuſtice in the Elections of Members of Parliament.

An Incident happened during this Seſſion, which may have great Conſequences, tho' in it ſelf it might ſeem inconſiderable: There have been great Complaints long made, and theſe have increaſed much within theſe few Years, of great Partiality and Injuſtice in the Elections of Parliament Men, both by Sheriffs in Counties, and by the returning Officers in Burroughs. In *Aylesbury*, the Return was made by four Conſtables, and it was believed, that they made a bargain with ſome of the Candidates, and then managed the Matter, ſo as to be ſure, that the Majority ſhould be for the Perſon, to whom they had engaged themſelves; they canvaſſed about the Town, to know how the Voters were ſet, and they reſolved to find ſome Pretence for diſabling thoſe, who were engaged to vote for other Perſons than their Friends, that they might be ſure to have the Majority in their own hands. And when this Matter came to be examined by the Houſe of Commons, they gave the Election always for him who was reckoned of the Party of the Majority, in a manner ſo bareſaced, that they were ſcarce out of countenance, when they were charged for Injuſtices in judging Elections. It was not eaſy to find a Remedy, to ſuch a crying Abuſe, of which all ſides in their turns, as they happened to be depreſſed, had made great Complaints; but when they came to be the Majority, ſeemed to have forgot all, that they had formerly cryed out on. Some few excuſed this, on the Topick of Retaliation; they ſaid, they had dealt with others as they had dealt with them, or their Friends. At laſt an Action was brought againſt the Conſtables of *Aylesbury*, at the Suit of one, who had been always admitted to vote in former Elections, but was denied it in the laſt Election. This was tried at the *Aſſizes*, and it was found there by the Jury, that the Conſtables had denied him a Right, of which he was undoubtedly in poſſeſſion, ſo they were to be caſt in Damages; but it was moved in the Queen's Bench, to quaſh all the Proceedings in that Matter, ſince no action did lie or had ever been brought upon that account. *Powel*, *Gould* and *Powis* were of opinion, that no Hurt was done the Man; that the judging of Elections belonged to the Houſe of Commons; that as this Action was the firſt of its kind, ſo if it was allowed, it would bring on an Infinity of Suits, and put all the Officers, concerned in that Matter, upon great Difficulties: Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, tho' alone, yet differed from the reſt; he thought this was a Matter of the greateſt Importance, both to the whole Nation in general, and to every Man in his own particular; he made a great Difference between an Election of a Member, and a Right to vote in it; the Houſe of Commons were the only Judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed or not, without Bribery, Fraud or Violence; but the Right of voting in an Election, was an original Right founded either on a Freehold of Forty Shillings a year in the County; or on Burgageland, or upon a Preſcription, or by Charter, in a Burrough: Theſe were all legal Titles, and as ſuch were triable in a Court of Law. Acts of Parliament were made concerning them, and by reaſon of theſe, every thing

thing relating to those Acts, was triable in a Court of Law; he spoke long and learnedly, and with some vehemence upon the Subject; but he was one against three, so the Order of the Court went, in favour of the Constables. The Matter was upon that brought before the House of Lords, by a Writ of Error; the Case was very fully argued at the Bar, and the Judges were ordered to deliver their Opinions upon it, which they did very copiously. 1704

Chief Justice *Trevor* insisted much, on the Authority that the House of Commons had, to judge of all those Elections; from that he inferred, that they only could judge who were the Electors: Petitions were often grounded on this, that in the Poll some were admitted to a Vote, who had no Right to it, and that others were denied it, who had a Right; so that in some Cases they were the proper Judges of this Right: And if they had it in some Cases, they must have it in all. From this he inferred, that every thing relating to this Matter was triable by them, and by them only; if two independant Jurisdictions might have the same Case brought before them, they might give contrary Judgments in it; and this must breed great Distraction, in the Execution of those Judgments.

To all this it was answered, that a single Man, who was wronged in this Matter, had no other Remedy but by bringing it into a Court of Law; for the House of Commons could not examine the Right of every Voter; if the Man, for whom he would have voted, was returned, he could not be heard to complain to the House of Commons, tho' in his own Particular he was denied a Vote, since he could not make any Exceptions to the Return; so he must bear his Wrong, without a Remedy, if he could not bring it into a Court of Law. A Right of voting in an Election was the greatest of all the Rights of an *Englishman*, since by that he was represented in Parliament; the House of Commons could give no Relief to a Man wronged in this, nor any Damages: they could only set aside one, and admit of another Return; but this was no Redress to him, that suffered the Wrong; it made him to be the less considered in his Burrough, and that might be a real Damage to him in his Trade: since this was a Right, inherent in a Man, it seemed reasonable that it should be brought, where all other Rights were tried, into a Court of Law; the Abuse was new, and was daily growing, and it was already swelled to a great heighth; when new Disorders happen, new Actions must lie, otherwise there is a failure in Justice, which all Laws abhor; Practices of this sort were enormous and crying; and if the Rule made in the Queen's Bench was affirmed, it would very much encrease these Disorders, by this Indemnity, that seemed to be given to the Officers, who took the Poll.

The Lords judge that the Right of electing was triable it Law.

After a long Debate, it was carried by a great Majority to set aside the Order in the Queen's Bench, and to give Judgment according to the Verdict given at the Assizes. This gave great Offence to the House of Commons, who passed very high Votes upon it, against the Man of *Aylesbury*, as guilty of a Breach of their Priviledges, and against all others who should for the future bring any such Suits into Courts of Law; and likewise against all Council, Attorneys and others, who should assist in any such Suits; and they affirmed, that the whole Matter relating to Elections belonged only to them: yet they did not think fit to send for the Man, who had sued, or rather in whose Name the Suit was carried on; so they let the Matter as to him fall, under a shew of Moderation and Pity, and let it rest upon those general Votes. The Lords on their part ordered the whole State of the Case to be drawn up and printed, which was done with much Learning and Judgment; they also asserted the Right, that all the People of *England* had, to seek for Justice in Courts of Law, upon all such Occasions; and that the House of Commons, by their Votes, struck at the Liberties of the People, at the Law of *England*, and at the Judicature of the House of Lords; and they ordered the Lord Keeper to send a Copy of the Case, and of their Votes to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to be communicated to all the Burroughs in their Counties. The House of Commons was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it; the Thing was popular, and the Lords got great Credit, by the Judgment they gave, which let the People of *England* see, how they might be redressed for the future, if they should meet with the Injustice, the Partiality and other ill Practices, that had appeared of late in Elections, even beyond the

1704 Examples of former Times. This may prove a Reſtraint on the Officers, now that they ſee they are liable to be ſued, and that a Vote of the Houſe of Commons cannot cover them.

The Queen gave the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits for the Benefit of the poor Clergy.

During the Seſſion and on her own Birth-day, which was the ſixth of *February*, the Queen ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her Purpoſe, to apply that Branch of the Revenue, that was raiſed out of the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, payed by the Clergy, to the encreaſe of all the ſmall Benefices in the Nation: This Branch was an Impoſition, begun by the Popes, in the Time of the Holy Wars, and it was raiſed as a Fund to ſupport thoſe Expeditions: But when Taxes are once raiſed by ſuch an Arbitrary Power, as the Popes then aſſumed, and after there has been a Submiſſion, and the Payments have been ſettled into a Cuſtom, they are always continued, even after the Pretence, upon which they were at firſt raiſed, ſubſiſts no more: So this became a ſtanding Branch of the Papal Revenue, 'till *Henry* the Eighth ſeemed reſolved to take it away: It was firſt aboliſhed for a Year, probably to draw in the Clergy, to conſent the more willingly to a Change, that delivered them from ſuch heavy Impoſitions: But in the ſucceeding Seſſion of Parliament, this Revenue was again ſettled as Part of the Income of the Crown for ever. It is true, it was the more eaſily born, becauſe the Rates were ſtill at the old Value, which in ſome Places was not the tenth, and in moſt not above the fifth Part of the true Value: And the Clergy had been often threatened with a new Valuation, in which the Rates ſhould be rigorouſly ſet to their full Extent.

The Tenths amounted to about 11000 *l.* a year, and the Firſt-Fruits, which were more caſual, roſe one Year with another, to 5000 *l.* ſo the whole amounted to between Sixteen and Seventeen Thouſand Pounds a-year: This was not brought into the Treaſury, as the other Branches of the Revenue; but the Biſhops, who had been the Pope's Collectors, were now the King's, ſo Perſons in favour obtained Aſſignations on them, for Life or for a Term of Years: This had never been applied to any good uſe, but was ſtill obtained by Favourites, for themſelves and their Friends: And in King *Charles* the Second's Time, it went chiefly among his Women and his Natural Children. It ſeemed ſtrange, that while the Clergy had much Credit at Court, they had never repreſented this, as Sacrilege, unleſs it was applied to ſome Religious Purpoſe, and that during Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Favour with King *Charles* the Firſt, or at the Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second, no Endeavours had been uſed to appropriate this to better Uſes: Sacrilege was charged on other things, on very ſlight Grounds; but this, which was more viſible, was always forgot.

When I wrote the Hiſtory of the Reformation, I conſidered this Matter ſo particularly, that I ſaw here was a proper Fund, for providing better Subſiſtence to the poor Clergy; we having among us ſome Hundreds of Cures, that have not of certain Proviſion Twenty Pounds a-year; and ſome Thouſands, that have not Fifty: Where the Encouragement is ſo ſmall, what can it be expected, Clergymen ſhould be? It is a crying Scandal, that at the Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second, the Biſhops and other Dignitaries, who raiſed much above a Million in Fines, yet did ſo little this way: I had poſſeſſed the late Queen with this, ſo that ſhe was fully reſolved, if ever ſhe had lived to ſee Peace and Settlement, to have cleared this Branch of the Revenue, of all the Aſſignations, that were upon it, and to have applied it to the Augmentation of ſmall Benefices. This is plainly inſinuated, in the Eſſay that I wrote on her Memory, ſome time after her Death. I laid the Matter before the late King, when there was a Proſpect of Peace, as a proper Expreſſion both of his Thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and of his Care of the Church; I hoped that this might have gained the Hearts of the Clergy: It might at leaſt have put a ſtop to a groundleſs Clamour raiſed againſt him, that he was an Enemy to the Clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his Affairs. He entertained this ſo well, that he ordered me to ſpeak to his Miniſters about it: They all approved it, the Lord *Somers* and the Lord *Halifax* did it, in a moſt particular manner: But the Earl of *Sunderland* obtained an Aſſignation, upon two Dioceſes, for Two Thouſand Pound a-year for two Lives; ſo nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid

laid this Matter very fully before the preſent Queen, in the King's time, and had ſpoken often of it to the Lord *Godolphin*. 1704

This Time was perhaps choſen, to pacify the angry Clergy, who were diſſatisfied with the Court, and began now to talk of the Danger the Church was in, as much as they had done during the former Reign: This extraordinary Mark of the Queen's Piety and Zeal for the Church, produced many Addreſſes, full of Compliments, but it had not yet had any great effect, in ſoftening the Tempers of peeviſh Men. When the Queen's Meſſage was brought to the Houſe of Commons, ſome of the Whigs, particularly Sir *John Holland* and Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, moved that the Clergy might be entirely freed from that Tax, ſince they bore as heavy a ſhare of other Taxes; and that another Fund might be raiſed of the ſame Value, out of which ſmall Benefices might be augmented: But this was violently oppoſed by *Muſgrave*, and other Tories, who ſaid the Clergy ought to be kept ſtill in a Dependance on the Crown.

Upon the Queen's Meſſage, a Bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this Branch of the Revenue, and to create a Corporation by Charter, to apply it to the uſe for which ſhe now gave it: They added to this a Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, ſo far as that it might be free to all Men, either by Deed or by their laſt Wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of Benefices: It was ſuggeſted, how truly I cannot tell, that this Addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the Scandal of loſing the Bill might lie on them. It occaſioned a great Debate in the Houſe of Lords: It was ſaid, that this Law was made and kept up even during the Times of Popery, and it ſeemed not reaſonable to open a Door to Practices upon dying Men. It was anſwered, that we had not the Arts of affrighting Men by the Terrors of Purgatory, or by Fables of Apparitions: Where theſe were practiſed, it was very reaſonable to reſtrain Prieſts from thoſe Artifices, by which they had ſo enriched their Church, that without ſome ſuch effectual Checks they would have ſwallowed up the whole Wealth of the World, as they had indeed in *England*, during Popery, made themſelves Maſters of a full third part of the Nation. The Biſhops were ſo zealous and unanimous for the Bill, that it was carried and paſſed into a Law. The Queen was pleaſed to let it be known, that the firſt Motion of this Matter came from me: Such a Project would have been much magnified at another time; and thoſe, who had promoted it, would have been looked on as the trueſt Friends of the Church: But this did not ſeem to make any great Impreſſion at that time; only it produced a Set of Addreſſes, from all the Clergy of *England*, full of Thanks and juſt Acknowledgments. An Act paſſed about it.

I come now, in the laſt place, to give the Relation of the Diſcoveries made of a Plot, which took up much of the Lords Time, and gave occaſion to many ſharp Reflections, that paſs'd between the two Houſes in their Addreſſes to the Queen. About the ſame time that the Story of *Frazier*'s Paſs and Negotiations began to break out, Sir *John Macclean* a Papiſt, and the Head of that Tribe or Clan in the Highlands and Weſtern Iſles of *Scotland*, came over from *France* in a little Boat, and landed ſecretly at *Folkſton* in *Kent*: He brought his Lady with him, tho' ſhe had been delivered of a Child, but eleven days before. He was taken, and ſent up to *London*; and it ſeemed, by all Circumſtances, that he came over upon ſome important Deſign: He pretended at firſt, that he came only to go thro' *England* and *Scotland*, to take the Benefit of the Queen's general Pardon there: But when he was told, that the Pardon in *Scotland* was not a good Warrant to come into *England*, and that it was High-Treaſon to come from *France*, without a Paſs, he was not willing to expoſe himſelf to the Severity of the Law: So he was prevailed on to give an account of all that he knew, concerning the Negotiations between *France* and *Scotland*. Some others were at the ſame time taken up upon his Information, and ſome upon Suſpicion: Among theſe there was one *Keith*, whoſe Uncle was one of thoſe, who was moſt truſted by the Court of St. *Germains*, and whom they had ſent over with *Frazier*, to bring them an account of the Temper the *Scotch* were in, upon which they might depend. *Keith* had been long at that Court, he had free Acceſs both to that Queen and Prince, and hoped they would have made him Under Secretary for *Scotland*; for ſome time, he denied that he knew any thing, but afterwards he A Plot diſcovered.

1704 confeſſed he was made acquainted with *Frazier*'s Tranſactions, and he undertook to deal with his Uncle to come and diſcover all he knew, and pretended there was no other Deſign among them, but to lay Matters ſo, that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould reign after the Queen. *Ferguſon* offered himſelf to make great Diſcoveries: He ſaid *Frazier* was imployed by the Duke of *Queensbury*, to decoy ſome into a Plot, which he had framed and intended to diſcover, as ſoon as he had drawn many into the Guilt: He affirmed that there was no Plot among the *Jacobites*, who were glad to ſee one of the Race of the *Stuarts* on the Throne: And they deſigned, when the State of the War might diſpoſe the Queen to a Treaty with *France*, to get ſuch Terms given her, as King *Stephen* and King *Henry* the Sixth had, to reign during her Life. When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of *Athol* had ſaid to myſelf, ſoon after the Queen's coming to the Crown: I ſaid, I hoped none in *Scotland* thought of the Prince of *Wales*: He anſwered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived: I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was ſure the Queen would live no longer, than till they thought their Deſigns for him were well laid: But he ſeemed to have no Apprehenſions of that. I preſently told the Queen this, without naming the Perſon, and ſhe anſwered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: But tho' I could not but reflect often on that Diſcourſe, yet ſince it was ſaid to me in Confidence, I never ſpoke of it to any one Perſon, during all the Enquiry, that was now on foot: But I think it too material not to ſet it down here. *Ferguſon* was a Man of a particular Character: Upon the Revolution he had a very good Place given him, but his Spirit was ſo turned to Plotting, that within a few Months after he turned about, and he has been ever ſince the boldeſt and moſt active Man of the *Jacobite* Party: He pretended he was now for High Church, but many believed him a Papiſt: There was Matter of Treaſon ſworn both againſt him and *Keith*, but there was only one Witneſs to it.

At the ſame time *Lindſey* was taken up; he had been Under-Secretary firſt to the Earl of *Melfort*, and then to the Earl of *Middletoun*; he had carried over from *France* the Letters and Orders, that gave riſe to the Earl of *Dundee*'s breaking out, the Year after the Revolution; and he had been much truſted at St. *Germains*; he had a ſmall Eſtate in *Scotland*, and he pretended, that he took the Benefit of the Queen's Pardon, and had gone to *Scotland* to ſave that; and being ſecured by this Pardon, he thought he might come from *Scotland* to *England*; but he could pretend no colour for his coming to *England*; ſo it was not doubted, but that he came hither to manage their Correſpondence and Intrigues. He pretended he knew of no Deſigns againſt the Queen and her Government; and that the Court of St. *Germains*, and the Earl of *Middletoun* in particular, had no Deſign againſt the Queen; but when he was ſhewed *Frazier*'s Commiſſion to be a Colonel, ſigned by the pretended King, and counterſigned *Middletoun*, he ſeemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a Forgery, but he ſaid that things of that kind were never communicated to him.

At the ſame time, that theſe were taken up, others were taken on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*; one of theſe, *Boucher*, was a chief Officer in the Duke of *Berwick*'s Family, who was then going to *Spain*, but it was ſuſpected that this was a Blind to cover his going to *Scotland*; the Houſe of Lords apprehended, that this Man was ſent on great Deſigns, and ſuſpecting a Remiſſneſs in the Miniſtry, in looking after and examining thoſe, who came from *France*, they made an Addreſs to the Queen, that *Boucher* might be well look'd to; they did alſo order Sir *John Macclean* to be brought before them; but the Queen, ſent them a Meſſage, that *Macclean*'s Buſineſs was then in a Method of Examination, and that ſhe did not think fit to alter that, for ſome time: But as for *Boucher*, and thoſe who were taken with him, the Earl of *Nottingham* told the Houſe, that they were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleaſed; upon that the Houſe ſent back *Macclean*, and ordered the Uſher of the Black Rod to take the other Priſoners into his Cuſtody, and they named a Committee of ſeven Lords to examine them. At this time, the Queen came to the Parliament, and acquainted both Houſes, that ſhe had unqueſtionable Proofs of a Correſpondence between *France*

France and *Scotland*, with which ſhe would acquaint them, when the Examinations were taken. 1704

The Commons were in an ill humour againſt the Lords, and ſo they were glad to find Occaſions to vent it: They thought the Lords ought not to have entred upon this Examination; they complained of it as of a new and unheard of thing, in an Addreſs to the Queen; they ſaid it was an Invaſion of her Prerogative, which they deſired her to exert. This was a Proceeding without a Precedent; the Parliamentary Method was, when one Houſe was offended with any thing done in the other, Conferences were demanded, in which Matters were freely debated; to begin an Appeal to the Throne was new, and might be managed, by an ill-deſigning Prince, ſo as to end in the Subverſion of the whole Conſtitution; and it was an amazing thing, to ſee a Houſe of Commons affirm, in ſo publick a manner and ſo poſitively, that the Lords taking Criminals into their own Cuſtody, in order to an Examination, was without Warrant or Precedent; when there were ſo many Inſtances, freſh in every Man's Memory, eſpecially ſince the Time of the Popiſh Plot, of Precedents in both Houſes, that went much further; of which a full Search has been made, and a long Liſt of them was read in the Houſe of Lords. That did not a little confound thoſe among them, who were believed to be in a ſecret Correſpondence with the Houſe of Commons; they were forced to confeſs, that they ſaw the Lords had clear Precedents to juſtify them, in what they had done, of which they were in great doubt before. Diſputes between the two Houſes in Addreſſes to the Queen.

The Lords upon this made a very long Addreſs to the Queen, in which they complained of the ill Uſage they had met with from the Houſe of Commons; they uſed none of thoſe hard Words, that were in the Addreſs made againſt them by the Houſe of Commons, yet they juſtified every Step they had taken, as founded on the Law and Practice of Parliament, and no way contrary to the Duty and Reſpect they owed the Queen: The Behaviour of the Houſe of Commons was ſuch, on this occcaſion, as if they had no mind that Plots ſhould be narrowly looked into; no Houſe of Parliament, and indeed no Court of Judicature, did examine any Perſon, without taking him into their own Cuſtody, during ſuch Examination; and if a Perſon's being in Cuſtody muſt reſtrain a Houſe of Parliament from examining him, here was a Maxim laid down, by which bad Miniſters might cover themſelves from any Enquiry into their ill Practices, only by taking the Perſons, who could make Diſcoveries, into Cuſtody: The Lords alſo ſet forth the ill Conſequences that might follow, upon one Houſe of Parliament carrying their Complaints of another to the Throne, without taking firſt the proper Method of Conferences: This Addreſs was drawn with the utmoſt Force, as well as Beauty and Decency of Stile; and was reckoned one of the beſt Pieces of its kind, that were in all the Records of Parliament. The Queen, in her Anſwer, expreſſed a great Concern to ſee ſuch a Diſpute, between the two Houſes.

Boucher, when he was examined, would confeſs nothing; he ſaid, he was weary of living ſo long out of his Country, and that having made ſome Attempt to obtain a Paſs, when that was denied him, he choſe, rather than to live always abroad, to come and caſt himſelf upon the Queen's Mercy; it did not ſeem reaſonable to believe this; ſo the Lords made an Addreſs to the Queen, that he might have no hopes of Pardon, till he was more ſincere in his Diſcoveries; and they prayed that he might be proſecuted on the Statute: He confeſſed his Crime, and was condemned, but continued ſtill denying, that he knew any thing; few could believe this; yet there being no ſpecial Matter laid againſt him, his Caſe was to be pitied; he proved, that he had ſaved the Lives of many Priſoners, during the War of *Ireland*, and that during the War in *Flanders*, he had been very careful of all *Engliſh* Priſoners: When all this was laid before the Lords, they did not think fit to carry the Matter farther, ſo he was reprieved, and that Matter ſlept.

About the end of *January*, the Queen ſent the Examinations of the Priſoners to the two Houſes; the Houſe of Commons heard them read, but paſs'd no Judgment upon them, nor did they offer any Advice to the Queen, upon this occaſion; they only ſent them back to the Queen, with Thanks for communicating them, and for her Wiſdom and Care of the Nation: It was thought ſtrange,

1704 to see a Business of this nature treated so slightly, by a Body that had looked, in former times, more carefully to things of this kind; especially since it had appeared, in many Instances, how dextrous the *French* were in raising Distractions in their Enemies Country: It was evident, that a Negotiation was begun, and had been now carried on for some time, for an Army that was to be sent from *France* to *Scotland*; upon this, which was the main of the Discovery, it was very amazing to see, that the Commons neither offered the Queen any Advice, nor gave her a Vote of Credit, for any extraordinary Expence, in which the Progress of that Matter might engage her; a Credit so given might have had a great effect, towards defeating the Design, when it appeared how well the Queen was furnished to resist it: This Coldness, in the House of Commons, gave great and just ground of Suspicion, that those, who had the chief Credit there, did not act heartily, in order to the defeating all such Plots, but were willing to let them go on, without Check or Opposition.

The Lords ordered a secret Examination of all who were suspected to be in this Plot.

The Lords resolved to examine the whole Matter narrowly; the Earl of *Nottingham* laid before them, an Abstract of all the Examinations, the Council had taken; but some took great Exceptions to it, as drawn on design to make it appear more inconsiderable, than they believed it to be: The Substance of the whole was, that there went many Messages between the Courts of St. *Germains* and *Versailles*, with relation to the Affairs of *Scotland*; the Court of *Versailles* was willing to send an Army to *Scotland*, but they desired to be well assured of the Assistance they might expect there; in order to which, some were sent over, according to what *Frazier* had told the Duke of *Queensbury*; some of the Papers were writ in Gibberish, so the Lords moved that a Reward should be offered, to any who should decypher these. When the Lords asked the Earl of *Nottingham*, if every thing was laid before them, he answered, that there was only one Particular kept from them; because they were in hopes of a Discovery, that was like to be of more Consequence than all the rest: so after the delay of a few Days, to see the Issue of it, which was *Keith*'s endeavouring to persuade his Uncle (who knew every Step that had been made, in the whole Progress of this Affair) to come in and discover it, when they were told there was no more hope of that, the Lords ordered the Committee, which had examined *Boucher*, to examine into all these Discoveries. Upon this the Commons, who expressed a great uneasiness, at every Step the Lords made in the Matter, went with a new Address to the Queen, insisting on their former Complaints, against the Proceedings of the Lords, as a wresting the Matter out of the Queen's Hands, and the taking it wholly into their own; and they prayed the Queen to resume her Prerogative, thus violated by the Lords, whose Proceedings they affirmed to be without a Precedent.

The seven Lords went on with their Examinations, and after some Days they made a Report to the House; *Macclean*'s Confession was the main thing; it was full and particular; he named the Persons that sate in the Council at St. *Germains*; he said, the Command was offered to the Duke of *Berwick*, which he declined to accept, till trial was made whether Duke *Hamilton* would accept of it, who he thought was the proper Person; he told likewise, what Directions had been sent to hinder the settling the Succession in *Scotland*; none of which Particulars were in the Paper, that the Earl of *Nottingham* had brought to the House of his Confession. It was farther observed, that all the rest, whose examination amounted to little, were obliged to write their own Confessions, or at least to sign them: But *Macclean* had not done this; for after he had delivered his Confession by Word of Mouth to the Earl of *Nottingham*, that Lord wrote it all from his Report, and read it to him the next Day; upon which he acknowledged, it contained a full Account of all he had said. *Macclean*'s Discovery to the Lords was a clear Series of all the Counsels and Messages, and it gave a full View of the Debates and Opinions in the Council at St. *Germains*, all which was omitted in that, which was taken by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Paper concerning it was both short and dark; there was an Appearance of Truth, in all that *Macclean* told, and a regular Progress was set forth in it.

Upon

Upon theſe Obſervations thoſe Lords, who were not ſatisfied with the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Paper, intended to have paſſed a Cenſure upon it, as imperfect: It was ſaid, in the Debate that followed upon this Motion, either *Macclean* was asked, who was to command the Army to be ſent into *Scotland*, or he was not; if he was asked the Queſtion, and had anſwered it, then the Earl of *Nottingham* had not ſerved the Queen or uſed the Parliament well, ſince he had not put it in the Paper; if it was not asked, here was great Remiſſneſs in a Miniſter, when it was confeſſed, that the ſending over an Army was in conſultation, not to ask who was to command that Army. Upon this Occaſion, the Earl of *Torrington* made ſome Reflections, that had too deep a Venom in them: He ſaid, the Earl of *Nottingham* did prove, that he had often read over the Paper, in which he had ſet down *Macclean*'s Confeſſion, in his hearing; and had asked him, if all he had confeſſed to him was not fully ſet down in that Paper; to which he always anſwered, that every thing he had ſaid was contained in it. Upon this, that Earl obſerved, that *Macclean*, having perhaps told his whole Story to the Earl of *Nottingham*, and finding afterwards, that he had writ ſuch a defective Account of it, he had reaſon to conclude, (for he believed, had he been in his condition, he ſhould have concluded ſo himſelf,) that the Earl of *Nottingham* had no mind, that he ſhould mention any thing, but what he had writ down, and that he deſired that the reſt might be ſuppreſſed: He could not judge of others but by himſelf; if his Life had been in danger, and if he were interrogated by a Miniſter of State, who could do him either much Good or much Hurt, and if he had made a full Diſcovery to him, but had obſerved that this Miniſter, in taking his Confeſſion in Writing, had omitted many things, he ſhould have underſtood that, as an Intimation that he was to ſpeak of theſe things no more; and ſo he believed he ſhould have ſaid it was all, tho' at the ſame time he knew it was not all, that he had ſaid. It was hereupon moved, that *Macclean* might be ſent for and interrogated, but the Party was not ſtrong enough to carry any thing of that kind; and by a previous Vote it was carried, to put no queſtion concerning the Earl of *Nottingham*'s Paper. 1704

The Lords were highly offended with *Ferguſon*'s Paper, and paſs'd a ſevere Vote againſt thoſe Lords, who had received ſuch a ſcandalous Paper from him, and had not ordered him to be proſecuted upon it; which they directed the Attorney-General to do. It was apparent, there was a Train of dangerous Negotiations, that paſſed between *Scotland* and *St. Germains*, tho' they could not penetrate into the Bottom and Depth of it: And the Deſign of *Keith*'s bringing in his Uncle, was managed ſo remiſsly, that it was generally concluded that it was not in earneſt deſired it ſhould ſucceed. During theſe Debates, one very extraordinary thing happened: The Earl of *Nottingham* did, upon three or four occaſions, affirm, that ſome things had been ordered in the Cabinet Council, which the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, who were likewiſe of that Council, did not agree with him in.

The Lords Opinion upon the whole Matter.

After all theſe Examinations and Debates, the Lords concluded the whole Matter, with voting that there had been dangerous Plots between ſome in *Scotland* and the Court of *France* and *St. Germains*; and that the Encouragement of this Plotting came, from the not ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Houſe of *Hanover*: Theſe Votes they laid before the Queen; and promiſed, that when this was done, they would endeavour to promote the Union of the two Kingdoms, upon juſt and reaſonable Terms.

An Addreſs juſtifying the Proceeding of the Lords.

This being ended, they made a long and vigorous Addreſs, in anſwer to that which the Commons had made againſt them: They obſerved how uneaſy the Commons had been at the whole Progreſs of their Inquiry into this Matter, and had taken Methods to obſtruct it all they could; which did not ſhew that Zeal for the Queen's Safety, and the Preſervation of the Nation, to which all Men pretended: They annexed to their Addreſs, a Liſt of many Precedents, to ſhew what good Warrants they had for every Step they had made: They took not the Examination to themſelves, ſo as to exclude others who had the ſame Right, and might have done it as well as they, if they had pleaſed: Their Proceedings had been Regular and Parliamentary, as well as full of Zeal and Duty to the Queen: They made ſevere Obſervations on ſome of the Proceedings in the Houſe

1704 of Commons, particularly on their not ordering Writs to be iſſued out for ſome Burroughs, to proceed to new Elections, when they, upon pretence of Corruption, had voted an Election void; which had been practiſed of late, when it was viſible that the Election would not fall on the Perſon they favoured. They charged this as a Denial of Juſtice, and of the Right that ſuch Burroughs had to be repreſented in Parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding. This Addreſs was penned with great Care and much Force. Theſe Addreſſes were drawn by the Lord *Somers*, and were read over and conſidered and corrected very critically, by a few Lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other Papers that were publiſhed by the Lords, made a great Impreſſion on the Body of the Nation: For the difference that was between theſe, and thoſe publiſhed by the Houſe of Commons, was indeed ſo viſible, that it did not admit of any Compariſon, and was confeſſed even by thoſe who were the moſt partial to them.

An Act for Recruits.

An Act paſſed in this Seſſion, which may be of great advantage to the Nation, if well executed; otherwiſe, ſince it is only enacted for one Year, it will not be of much uſe: It impowers the Juſtices of Peace, or any three of them, to take up ſuch idle Perſons, as have no Callings nor Means of Subſiſtence, and to deliver them to the Officers of the Army, upon paying them the Levy Money, that is allowed for making Recruits: The Methods of raiſing theſe hitherto, by drinking and other bad Practices, as they were juſtly odious, ſo they were now ſo well known, that they were no more of any effect: So that the Army could not be recruited, but by the help of this Act. And if this is well managed, it will prove of great advantage to the Nation; ſince by this means, they will be delivered from many vicious and idle Perſons, who are become a Burthen to their Country: And indeed there was of late Years ſo great an Encreaſe of the Poor, that their Maintenance was become in moſt Places a very heavy Load, and amounted to the full half of the publick Taxes. The Party in both Houſes, that had been all along cold and backward in the War, oppoſed this Act with unuſual Vehemence; they pretended Zeal for the publick Liberty, and the Freedom of Perſon, to which, by the Conſtitution, they ſaid every *Engliſhman* had a Right; which they thought could not be given away, but by a legal Judgment, and for ſome Crime. They thought this put a Power in the hands of Juſtices of Peace, which might be ſtretched and abuſed, to ſerve bad Ends: Thus Men, that ſeemed engaged to an Intereſt, that was deſtructive to all Liberty, could yet make uſe of that ſpecious pretence, to ſerve their Purpoſe. The Act paſs'd, and has been continued from Year to Year, with a very good effect: Only a viſible Remiſſneſs appears in ſome Juſtices, who are ſecretly influenced by Men of ill Deſigns.

An Addreſs concerning the Juſtices of Peace.

The chief Objection made to it in the Houſe of Lords was, that the Juſtices of Peace had been put in and put out, in ſo ſtrange a manner, ever ſince *Wright* had the Great Seal, that they did not deſerve ſo great a Power ſhould be committed to them: Many Gentlemen, of good Eſtates, and ancient Families, had been of late put out of the Commiſſion, for no other viſible Reaſon, but becauſe they had gone in heartily to the Revolution, and had continued zealous for the late King. This ſeemed done on deſign to mark them, and to leſſen the Intereſt they had in the Elections of Members of Parliament: And at the ſame time, Men of no Worth nor Eſtate, and known to be ill-affected to the Queen's Title, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, were put in, to the great Encouragement of ill-deſigning Men: All was managed by ſecret Accuſations, and Characters that were very partially given. *Wright* was a Zealot to the Party, and was become very exceptionable in all Reſpects: Money, as was ſaid, did every thing with him; only in his Court, I never heard him charged, for any thing but great ſlowneſs, by which the Chancery was become one of the heavieſt Grievances of the Nation. An Addreſs was made to the Queen, complaining of the Commiſſions of the Peace, in which the Lords delivered their Opinion, that ſuch as would not ſerve, or act under the late King, were not fit to ſerve her Majeſty.

The ill Temper of many, eſpecially of the Clergy.

With this the Seſſion of Parliament was brought to a quiet Concluſion, after much Heat and a great deal of Contention between the two Houſes: The Queen

Queen, as ſhe thanked them for the Supplies, ſo ſhe again recommended Union and Moderation to them. Theſe Words, which had hitherto carried ſo good a Sound, that all ſides pretended to them, were now become ſo odious to violent Men, that even in Sermons, chiefly at *Oxford*, they were arraigned as importing ſomewhat, that was unkind to the Church, and that favoured the Diſſenters: The Houſe of Commons had, during this Seſſion, loſt much of their Reputation, not only with fair and impartial Judges, but even with thoſe, who were moſt inclined to favour them. It is true, the Body of the Freeholders began to be uneaſy under the Taxes, and to cry out for a Peace: And moſt of the capital Gentry of *England*, who had the moſt to loſe, ſeemed to be ill-turned, and not to apprehend the Dangers we were in, if we ſhould fall under the Power of *France*, and into the hands of the pretended Prince of *Wales*; or elſe they were ſo fatally blinded, as not to ſee that theſe muſt be the Conſequences of thoſe Meaſures, into which they were engaged. 1704

The Univerſities, *Oxford* eſpecially, have been very unhappily ſucceſsful in corrupting the Principles of thoſe, who were ſent to be bred among them: So that few of them eſcaped the Taint of it, and the Generality of the Clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered; they exclaimed againſt all Moderation as endangering the Church, tho' it is viſible, that the Church is in no ſort of danger, from either the Numbers or the Intereſt that the Diſſenters have among us, which by reaſon of the Toleration is now ſo quieted, that nothing can keep up any Heat in thoſe Matters, but the Folly and bad Humour, that the Clergy are poſſeſſed with, and which they infuſe into all thoſe, with whom they have Credit: But at the ſame time, tho' the great and viſible Danger, that hangs over us, is from Popery, which a Miſcarriage in the preſent War muſt let in upon us, with an Inundation, not to be either reſiſted or recovered, they ſeem to be blind on that ſide, and to apprehend and fear nothing from that Quarter.

The Convocation did little this Winter, they continued their former ill Practices, but little Oppoſition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: They drew up a Repreſentation of ſome Abuſes in the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and in the Conſiſtorial Courts: But took care to mention none of thoſe greater ones, of which many among themſelves were eminently guilty; ſuch as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, the Neglect of their Cures, and the Irregularities in the Lives of the Clergy, which were too viſible.

Soon after the Seſſion was ended, the Duke of *Marlborough* went over to *Holland*. He had gone over for ſome Weeks, at the deſire of the *States*, in *January*, and then there was a Scheme form'd for the Operations of the next Campaign. It was reſolved that, inſtead of a fruitleſs one in the *Netherlands*, they would have a ſmall Army there, to lie only on the defenſive, which was to be commanded by M. *Auverquerque*; but that, ſince the *Rhine* was open, by the taking of *Bonne*, all up to the *Mozelle*, their main Army, that was to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſhould act there: More was not underſtood to be deſigned, except by thoſe who were taken into the Confidence. Upon this, all the Preparations for the Campaign were ordered to be carried up to the *Rhine*; and ſo every thing was in a readineſs, when he returned back to them in *April*: The true Secret was in few hands, and the *French* had no hint of it, and ſeemed to have no Apprehenſions about it.

The Duke of *Marlborough* went to *Holland* in Winter.

The Earl of *Nottingham* was animated by the Party, to preſs the Queen, to diſmiſs the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* from the Cabinet Council, at leaſt that they might be called thither no more: He moved it often, but finding no Inclination in the Queen to comply with his Motion, he carried the Signet to her, and told her, he could not ſerve any longer in Councils, to which theſe Lords were admitted: But the Queen deſired him to conſider better of it. He returned next day, fixed in his firſt Reſolution, to which he adhered the more ſteadily, becauſe the Queen had ſent to the Earl of *Jerſey*, for the Lord Chamberlain's Staff, and to Sir *Edward Seymour* for the Comptroller's. The Earl of *Jerſey* was a weak Man, but crafty and well practiſed in the Arts of a Court: His Lady was a Papiſt, and it was believed, that while he was Ambaſſador in *France*, he was ſecretly reconciled to the Court of St. *Germains*: For after that, he ſeemed in their Intereſts. It was one of the Reproaches of the laſt Reign,

The Earl of *Nottingham* quitted his Place.

The Earl of *Jerſey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* turned out.

1704 that he had ſo much Credit with the late King; who was ſo ſenſible of it, that if he had lived a little while longer, he would have diſmiſſed him: He was conſidered as the Perſon, that was now in the cloſeſt Correſpondence with the Court of *France*; and tho' he was in himſelf a very inconſiderable Man, yet he was applied to, by all thoſe who wiſhed well to the Court of St. *Germains*. The Earl of *Kent* had the Staff; he was the firſt Earl of *England*, and had a great Eſtate: *Manſell*, the Heir of a great Family in *Wales*, was made Comptroller; and after a Month's Delay, *Harley*, the Speaker, was made Secretary of State.

The Duke of *Marlborough* conducted his Deſign with great Secrecy.

But now I turn to give an Account of the Affairs abroad, the Emperor was reduced to the laſt Extremities; the Elector of *Bavaria* was Maſter of the *Danube* all down to *Paſſau*, and the Malecontents in *Hungary* were making a formidable Progreſs: The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a defenſive War long, on both hands; ſo that when theſe ſhould come to act by concert, no Oppoſition could be made to them. Thus his Affairs had a very black Appearance, and utter Ruin was to be apprehended; *Vienna* would be probably beſieged on both ſides; and it was not in a condition to make a long Defence: So the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſeemed loſt. Prince *Eugene* propoſed that the Emperor ſhould implore the Queen's Protection; this was agreed to, and Count *Wratiſlaw* managed the Matter at our Court, with great Application and Secreſy; the Duke of *Marlborough* ſaw the neceſſity of undertaking it, and reſolved to try, if it was poſſible, to put it in execution. When he went into *Holland* in the Winter, he propoſed it to the Penſioner and other Perſons of the greateſt Confidence; they approved of it, but it was not adviſeable to propoſe it to the *States*; at that time, many of them would not have thought their Country ſafe, if their Army ſhould be ſent ſo far from them; nothing could be long a Secret, that was propoſed to ſuch an Aſſembly, and the main hope of ſucceeding in this Deſign lay in the Secrecy, with which it was conducted. Under the Blind of the Project of carrying the War to the *Mozelle*, every thing was prepared, that was neceſſary for executing the true Deſign. When the Duke went over the ſecond time, that which was propoſed in publick, related only to the Motions towards the *Mozelle*; ſo he drew his Army together in *May*: he marched towards the *Mozelle*, but he went farther, and after he had gained the Advance of ſome Days of the *French* Troops, he wrote to the *States* from *Ladenburg* to let them know, that he had the Queen's Order, to march to the Relief of the Empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their Troops, to ſhare in the Honour of that Expedition; he had their Anſwer, as quick as the Courier could carry it, by which they approved of the Deſign, and of his carrying their Troops with him.

He marched to the *Danube*.

So he marched with all poſſible Expedition from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*; which was a great Surprize to the Court of *France*, as well as to the Elector of *Bavaria*. The King of *France* ſent Orders to Mareſchal *Tallard*, to march in all haſte, with the beſt Troops they had, to ſupport the Elector; he apprehended, that the Duke of *Marlborough* would endeavour to paſs the *Danube* at *Donawert*, and ſo to break into *Bavaria*: To prevent that, he poſted about 16000 of his beſt Troops at *Schellenberg* near *Donawert*; which was looked on as a very ſtrong and tenable Poſt. The Duke of *Marlborough* joined the Prince of *Baden*, with the Imperial Army, in the Beginning of *July*; and after a long March, continued from three in the Morning, they came up to the *Bavarian* Troops towards the Evening; they were ſo well poſted, that our Men were repulſed in the three firſt Attacks with great Loſs; at laſt the Enemy were beat from their Poſt, which was followed with a total Rout, and we became Maſters of their Camp, their Artillery and their Baggage. Their General *Arco*, with many others, ſwam over the *Danube*: Others got into *Donawert*, which they abandoned next Morning, with that precipitation, that they were not able to execute the Elector's cruel Orders, which were to ſet fire to the Town, if they ſhould be forced to abandon it: Great Quantities of Straw were laid in many places, as a Preparation for that, in caſe of a Misfortune.

The Battle of *Schellenberg*.

The beſt half of the *Bavarian* Forces were now entirely routed, about 5000 of them were killed: We loſt as many, for the Action was very hot, and our Men were much expoſed; yet they went ſtill on, and continued the Attack with ſuch Reſolution, that it let the Generals ſee, how much they might depend on

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the Courage of their Soldiers. Now we were Maſters of *Donawert*, and thereby of a Paſſage over the *Danube*, which laid all *Bavaria* open to our Army; Upon that the Elector, with Mareſchal *Marſin*, drew the reſt of his Army under the Cannon of *Augsbourg*, where he lay ſo well poſted, that it was not poſſible to attack him, nor to force him out of it; the Duke of *Marlborough* followed him, and got between him and his Country; ſo that it was wholly in his power. When he had him at this diſadvantage, he entred upon a Treaty with him, and offered him what terms he could deſire, either for himſelf or his Brother, even to the paying him the whole Charge of the War, upon condition that he would immediately break with the *French*, and ſend his Army into *Italy*, to join with the *Imperialiſts* there: His Subjects, who were now at mercy, preſſed him vehemently to accept of thoſe Terms; he ſeemed inclined to hearken to them, and Meſſengers went often between the two Armies: but this was done only to gain time, for he ſent Courier after Courier, with moſt preſſing Inſtances to haſten the Advance of the *French* Army. When he ſaw, he could gain no more time, the Matter went ſo far, that the Articles were ordered to be made ready for ſigning: In concluſion, he refuſed to ſign them; and then ſevere Orders were given for Military Execution on his Country: Every thing that was within the reach of the Army, that was worth taking, was brought away; and the reſt was burnt and deſtroyed. 1704

The two Generals did after that reſolve on further Action, and ſince the Elector's Camp could not be forced, the Siege of *Ingoldſtadt* was to be carried on: It was the moſt important Place he had, in which his great Magazines were laid up. The Prince of *Baden* went to beſiege it; and the Duke of *Marlborough* was to cover the Siege, in conjunction with Prince *Eugene*, who commanded a Body of the Imperial Army, which was now drawn out of the Poſts, in which they had been put, in order to hinder the March of the *French*: But they were not able to maintain them, againſt ſo great a Force as was now coming up; theſe formed a great Army. Prince *Eugene*, having Intelligence of the quick Motions of the *French*, poſted his Troops, that were about 18000, as advantageouſly as he could: And went to concert Matters with the Duke of *Marlborough*, who lay at ſome diſtance: He upon that marched towards the Prince's Army with all poſſible haſte, and ſo the two Armies joined; it was now in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Elector hearing how near M. *Tallard* was, marched with M. *Marſin*, and joined him. Their Armies advanced very near ours, and were well poſted; having the *Danube* on one ſide, and a Rivulet on the other, whoſe Banks were high, and in ſome places formed a Moraſs before them. The two Armies were now in view one of another: The *French* were ſuperior to us in Foot, by about 10000; but we had 3000 Horſe more than they: The Poſt, of which they were poſſeſſed, was capable of being, in a very little time, put out of all danger of future Attacks; ſo the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* ſaw how important it was, to loſe no time, and reſolved to attack them the next Morning: They ſaw the Danger of being forced otherwiſe to lie idle in their Camp, till their Forage ſhould be conſumed, and their Proviſions ſpent. They had alſo intercepted Letters from Mareſchal *Villeroy* to the Elector, by which it appeared, that he had Orders to march into *Wirtemberg*, to deſtroy that Country, and to cut off the Communication with the *Rhine*, which muſt have been fatal to us: So the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were made for the next Morning's Action. Many of the General Officers came and repreſented to the Duke of *Marlborough* the Difficulties of the Deſign; he ſaid he ſaw theſe well, but the Thing was abſolutely neceſſary: ſo they were ſent to give Orders every where, which was received all over the Army with an Alacrity, that gave a happy Preſage of the Succeſs that followed.

I will not venture on a particular Relation of that great Day; I have ſeen a copious Account of it, prepared by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Orders, that will be printed ſome time or other: But there are ſome Paſſages in it, which make him not think it fit to be publiſhed preſently. He told me, he never ſaw more evident Characters of a ſpecial Providence, than appeared that Day; a ſignal one related to his own Perſon; a Cannon-Ball went into the Ground ſo near him,

1704
The Battle of *Hocksted.*

that he was some time quite covered with the Cloud of Dust and Earth that it raised about him. I will sum up the Action in a few Words.

Our Men quickly passed the Brook, the *French* making no Opposition: This was a fatal Errror, and was laid wholly to *Tallard*'s Charge; the Action that followed, was for some time very hot, many fell on both sides: ten Battalions of the *French* stood their ground, but were in a manner mowed down in their Ranks; upon that, the Horse ran, many of them into the *Danube*, most of these perished; *Tallard* himself was taken Prisoner. The rest of his Troops were posted in the Village of *Blenheim*: These, seeing all lost, and that some Bodies were advancing upon them, which seemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break through, they did not attempt it, tho' brave Men might have made their way. Instead of that, when our Men came up to set fire to the Village; the Earl of *Orkney* first beating a Parley, they hearkened to it very easily, and were all made Prisoners of War: There were about 1300 Officers and 12000 common Soldiers, who laid down their Arms, and were now in our hands. Thus all *Tallard*'s Army was either killed in the Action, drowned in the *Danube*, or become Prisoners by Capitulation: Things went not so easily on Prince *Eugene*'s side, where the Elector and *Marsin* commanded; he was repulsed in three Attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and so he was Master of their Camp, Cannon and Baggage. The Enemy retired in some order, and he pursued them as far as Men, wearied with an Action of about six Hours, in an extreme hot day, could go; thus we gained an entire Victory. In this Action there was on our side about 12000 killed and wounded; but the *French* and the Elector lost about 40000 killed, wounded and taken.

The Elector marched with all the haste he could to *Ulm*, where he left some Troops, and then with a small Body got to *Villeroy*'s Army. Now all *Bavaria* was at mercy; the Electress received the Civilities due to her Sex, but she was forced to submit to such Terms, as were imposed on her: *Ingoldstadt* and all the fortified Places in the Electorate, with the Magazines that were in them, were soon delivered up: *Augsbourg*, *Ulm* and *Meming* quickly recovered their Liberty; so now our Army, having put a speedy Conclusion to the War, that was got so far into the Bowels of the Empire, marched quickly back to the *Rhine*. The Emperor made great Acknowledgments of this signal Service, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had done him, and upon it offered to make him a Prince of the Empire; he very decently said, he could not accept of this, till he knew the Queen's Pleasure; and upon her consenting to it, he was created a Prince of the Empire, and about a Year after *Mindleheim* was assigned him for his Principality.

Upon this great Success in *Germany*, the Duke of *Savoy* sent a very pressing Message for a present Supply; the Duke of *Vendosme* was in *Piedmont*, and after a long Siege had taken *Verceil*, and was like to make a further Progress: The few Remains of the Imperial Army, that lay in the *Modoneze*, gave but a small Diversion; the Grand Prior had so shut them up, that they lay on a feeble Defensive; Baron *Leiningen* was sent, with another small Army into the *Brescian*; but he was so ill supplied, that he could do nothing, but eat up the Country; and the *Venetians* were so feeble and so fearful, that they suffered their Country to be eat up by both sides, without declaring for or against either. The Prince of *Baden* insisted on undertaking the Siege of *Landau*, as necessary to secure the Circles, *Suabia* in particular, from the Excursions of that Garrison: This was popular in *Germany*, and tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* did not approve it, he did not oppose it, with all the Authority that his great Success gave him: So the Prince of *Baden* undertook it, while the Duke with his Army cover'd the Siege. This was universally blamed, for while *France* was in the Consternation, which the late great Loss brought them under, a more vigorous Proceeding was like to have greater Effects; besides that the Imperial Army was ill provided, the great Charge of a Siege was above their Strength: The Prince of *Baden* suffered much in his Reputation for this Undertaking; it was that, which the *French* wished for, and so it was suspected, that some secret Practice had prevailed on that Prince to propose it. It is certain that he was jealous of the Glo-

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ry the Duke hadgot, in which he had no ſhare; and it was believed, that if he had not gone to beſiege *Ingoldſtadt*, the Battle had never been fought: He was indeed ſo fierce a Bigot in his Religion, that he could not bear the Succeſſes of thoſe, he called Hereticks, and the Exaltation which he thought Hereſy might have upon it. 1704

While the Duke of *Marlborough* lay covering the Siege, *Villeroy* with his Army came and looked on him; but as our Soldiers were exalted with their Succeſs, ſo the *French* were too much diſpirited with their Loſſes, to make any Attack, or to put any thing to hazard, in order to raiſe the Siege: They retired back, and went into Quarters, and truſted to the bad State of the Imperial Army, who were ill provided and ill ſupplied; the Garriſon made as vigorous a Defence, and drew out the Siege to as great a Length, as could be expected: The Prince of *Baden* had neither Engineers nor Ammunition, and wanted Money to provide them; ſo that if the Duke had not ſupplied him, he muſt have been forced to give it over. The King of the *Romans* came again, to have the honour of taking the Place; his Behaviour there did not ſerve to raiſe his Character; he was not often in the Places of Danger, and was content to look on at a great and ſafe Diſtance; he was always beſet with Prieſts, and ſuch a face of Superſtition and Bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damped the Hopes, that were given of him.

The Duke of *Marlborough* advanced to *Triers*.

When it appeared, that there was no need of an Army to cover the Siege, and that the Place could not hold out many Days: The Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of *Triers*, as a good Winter Quarter, that brought him near the Confines of *France*; from whence he might open the Campaign next Year, with great Advantage: And he reckoned that the taking of *Traerback*, even in that advanced Seaſon, would be ſoon done: And then the Communication with *Holland*, by Water, was all clear: So that during the Winter, every thing that was neceſſary could be brought up thither from *Holland* ſafe and cheap. This he executed with that Diligence, that the *French* abandoned every Place as he advanced, with ſuch precipitation, that they had not time given them, to burn the Places they forſook, according to the barbarons Method, which they had long practiſed. The Duke got to *Triers*, and that being a large Place, he poſted a great part of his Army in and about it, and left a ſufficient Force with the Prince of *Heſſe* for the taking of *Traerback*, which held out ſome Weeks, but capitulated at laſt. *Landau* was not taken before the middle of *November*.

Thus ended this glorious Campaign; in which *England* and *Holland* gained a very unuſual Glory: for as they had never ſent their Armies ſo far by Land, ſo their triumphant Return helped not a little to animate and unite their Counſels. Prince *Eugene* had a juſt Share, in the Honour of this great Expedition, which he had chiefly promoted by his Counſels, and did ſo nobly ſupport by his Conduct. The Prince of *Baden* had no ſhare in the publick Joy: His Conduct was as bad as could be, and the Fret he was poſſeſſed with, upon the Glory that the other Generals carried from him, threw him, as was believed, into a Languiſhing, of which he never quite recovered, and of which he died two Years after.

At the Concluſion of the Campaign, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to *Berlin*, where he concerted the Meaſures for the next Campaign, and agreed with the King of *Pruſſia*, for 8000 of his Troops, which were to be ſent to *Italy* upon the Queen's Pay: He had ſettled Matters with the Emperor's Miniſters, ſo that they undertook to ſend Prince *Eugene*, with an Army of 20000 Men, who ſhould begin their March into *Italy*, as ſoon as it was poſſible to paſs the Mountains: Of theſe the Queen and the *States* were to pay 16000. He returned, by the Court of *Hannover*, where he was treated with all the Honour, that the Succeſs of the Campaign well deſerved: He met with the ſame Reception in *Holland*, and was as much conſidered and ſubmitted to, as if he had been their *Stadtholder*: The Credit he was in among them was very happy to them, and was indeed neceſſary at that time, for keeping down their Factions and Animoſities, which were riſing in every Province, and in moſt of their Towns. Only *Amſterdam*, as it was the moſt ſenſible of the common Danger, ſo it was not only quiet within itſelf, but it contributed not a little to keep all the reſt ſo, which was chiefly maintained by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s prudent Management. *England* was

1704 full of Joy, and Addreſſes of Congratulation were ſent up from all Parts of the Nation; but it was very viſible that, in many Places, the Tories went into theſe very coldly, and perhaps that made the Whigs the more zealous and affectionate.

Affairs at Sea.

I now turn to the other Element, where our Affairs were carried on more doubtfully. *Rook* ſailed into the *Straits* where he reckoned he was ſtrong enough for the *Toulon* Squadron, which was then abroad in the *Mediterranean*. Soon after that, a ſtrong Squadron from *Breſt* paſſed by *Lisbon* into the *Straits*. *Methuen*, our Ambaſſador there, apprehending, that if theſe two Squadrons ſhould join to attack *Rook*, it would not be poſſible for him to fight againſt ſo great a Force, ſent a Man of War, that *Rook* had left at *Lisbon*, with ſome particular Orders, which made him very unwilling to carry the Meſſage, but *Methuen* promiſed to ſave him harmleſs. He upon that ſailed thro' the *French* Fleet, and brought this important Advertiſement to *Rook*; who told him, that on this occaſion he would paſs by his not obſerving his Orders, but that for the future, he would find the ſafeſt Courſe was to obey Orders. Upon this, *Rook* ſtood out of the way of the *French*, towards the Mouth of the *Straits*, and there he met *Shovel*, with a Squadron of our beſt Ships; ſo being thus reinforced, he ſailed up the *Straits*, being now in a Condition, if need were, to engage the *French*. He came before *Barcelona*, where the Prince of *Heſſe Darmſtat* aſſured him, there was a ſtrong Party ready to declare for King *Charles*, as it was certain, that there was a great Diſpoſition in many to it. But *Rook* would not ſtay above three Days before it: So that the Motions within the Town, and the Diſcoveries that many made of their Inclinations, had almoſt proved fatal to them: He anſwered, when preſſed to ſtay a few Days more, that his Orders were poſitive: He muſt make towards *Nice*: which it was believed the *French* intended to beſiege.

But as he was ſailing that way, he had Advice, that the *French* had made no Advances in that Deſign: So he turned his Courſe Weſtward, and came in ſight of the *French* Fleet, ſailing from *Breſt* to *Toulon*: The Advantage he had was ſo viſible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: What Orders he had was not known, for the Matter never came under Examination: They got to *Toulon*, and he ſteered another way. The whole *French* Fleet was then together in that Harbour, for tho' the *Toulon* Squadron had been out before, it was then in Port.

A very happy Accident had preſerved a rich Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Scanderoon*, under the Convoy of three or four Frigates, from falling into their hands: The *French* Fleet lay in their way in the Bay of *Tunis*, and nothing could have ſaved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical Minute, in which they needed it: A thick Fog covered them all the while, that they were ſailing by that Bay, ſo that they had no Apprehenſion of the Danger they were in, till they had paſs'd it. I know it is not poſſible to determine, when ſuch Accidents riſe from a Chain of ſecond Cauſes in the Courſe of Nature, and when they are directed by a ſpecial Providence: But my Mind has always carried me ſo ſtrongly to acknowledge the latter, that I love to ſet theſe Reflections in the way of others, that they may conſider them with the ſame ſerious Attention, that I feel in my ſelf.

Gibraltar was taken.

Rook, as he ſailed back, fell in upon *Gibraltar*; where he ſpent much Powder, bombarding it to very little purpoſe, that he might ſeem to attempt ſomewhat; though there was no reaſon to hope that he could ſucceed: Some bold Men ventured to go a-ſhore, in a Place where it was not thought poſſible to climb up the Rocks; yet they ſucceeded in it: When they got up, they ſaw all the Women of the Town were come out, according to their Superſtition, to a Chapel there, to implore the Virgin's Protection; they ſeized on them, and that contributed not a little to diſpoſe thoſe in the Town to ſurrender; they had leave to ſtay or go as they pleaſed; and in caſe they ſtaid, they were aſſured of Protection in their Religion, and in every thing elſe; for the Prince of *Heſſe*, who was to be their Governour, was a Papiſt: But they all went away, with the ſmall Garriſon that had defended the Place. The Prince of *Heſſe*, with the *Marines* that were on board the Fleet, poſſeſſed himſelf of the place, and they were furniſhed out of the Stores, that went with the Fleet, with every thing that was ne-

neceſſary for their Subſiſtence or Defence; and a regular Method was laid down, of ſupplying them conſtantly from *Lisbon*. 1704

It has been much queſtioned, by Men who underſtand theſe Matters well, whether our poſſeſſing our ſelves of *Gibraltar*, and our maintaining our ſelves in it ſo long, was to our Advantage or not; it has certainly put us to a great Charge, and we have loſt many Men in it; but it ſeems the *Spaniards*, who ſhould know the Importance of the place beſt, think it ſo valuable, that they have been at a much greater Charge, and have loſt many more Men, while they have endeavoured to recover it, than the taking or keeping it has coſt us: And it is certain that in War, whatſoever Loſs on one ſide occaſions a greater Loſs of Men or of Treaſure to the other, muſt be reckoned a Loſs only to the ſide that ſuffers moſt.

The Affairs of *Portugal*.

Our Expedition in *Portugal*, and our Armies there, which coſt us ſo dear, and from which we expected ſo much, had not hitherto had any great Effects: The King of *Portugal* expreſſed the beſt Intentions poſſible; but he was much governed by his Miniſters, who were all in the *French* Intereſts; they had a great Army, but they had made no Preparations for taking the Field; nor could they bring their Troops together, for want of Proviſions and Carriages; the Forms of their Government made them very ſlow, and not eaſily acceſſible: They were too proud to confeſs that they wanted any thing, when they had nothing; and too lazy to beſtir themſelves, to execute what was in their power to do; and the King's ill Health furniſhed them with an Excuſe, for every thing that was defective, and out of order. The Prieſts both in *Spain* and *Portugal* were ſo univerſally in the *French* Intereſt, that even the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that had been formerly ſo much in their favour, was now in diſgrace with them: Their Alliance with Hereticks, and their bringing over an Army of them, to maintain their Pretenſions, had made all their former Services be forgotten: The governing Body at *Rome* did certainly engage all their Zealots every where to ſupport that Intereſt, which is now ſo ſet on the Deſtruction of Hereſy. King *Philip* advanced towards the Frontiers of *Portugal*, his Army being commanded by the Duke of *Berwick*, who began to ſhine there, tho' he had paſs'd elſewhere for a Man of no very great Character. They had ſeveral Advantages of the *Portugueze*; ſome of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Battalions, which were ſo poſted, that they could not be relieved, and in Places that were not tenable, fell into the Enemies hands, and were made Priſoners of War. Some of the General Officers, who came over, ſaid to me, that if the Duke of *Berwick* had followed his Advantages, nothing could have hindered his coming to *Lisbon*. The Duke of *Schomberg* was a better Officer in the Field, than in the Cabinet; he did not enough know how to prepare for a Campaign; he was both too unactive and too haughty; ſo it was thought neceſſary to ſend another to command: The Earl of *Galway* was judged the fitteſt Perſon for that Service; he undertook it, more in ſubmiſſion to the Queen's Commands, than out of any great Proſpect or Hopes of Succeſs; things went on very heavily there; the Diſtraction that the taking of *Gibraltar* put the *Spaniards* in, as it occaſioned a Diverſion of ſome of the *Spaniſh* Forces, that lay on their Frontier, ſo it furniſhed them with Advantages, which they took no care to improve.

A Fight at Sea.

Rook, after he had ſupplied *Gibraltar*, ſailed again into the *Mediterranean*: And there he met the Count of *Thoulouſe*, with the whole *French* Fleet: They were ſuperior to the *Engliſh* in number, and had many Gallies with them, that were of great uſe. *Rook* called a Council of War, in which it was reſolved to engage them; there was not due Care taken, to furniſh all the Ships with a ſufficient quantity of Powder, for ſome had waſted a great part of their Stock of Ammunition before *Gibraltar*, yet they had generally Twenty-five Rounds, and it had ſeldom happened, that ſo much Powder was ſpent in an Action at Sea. On the 12th of *Auguſt*, juſt ten Days after the Battle of *Hochſtadt*, the two Fleets engaged: *Shovel* advanced with his Squadron to a cloſe Fight, for it was the Maxim of our Seamen to fight as near as they could; he had the Advantage, and the Squadron before him gave way: *Rook* fought at a greater diſtance; many Broad-ſides paſſed, and the Engagement continued till Night parted them; ſome Ships, that had ſpent all their Ammunition, were forced on that account to go out of the Line, and if the *French* had come to a new Engagement next

1704 Day, it might have been fatal, since many of our Ships were without Powder, whilst others had enough and to spare.

In this long and hot Action, there was no Ship of either side, that was either taken, sunk or burnt; we made a shew, the next Day, of preparing for a second Engagement; but the Enemy bore off, to the great Joy of our Fleet; the *French* suffered much in this Action; and went into *Toulon* so disabled, that they could not be put in a condition to go to Sea again in many Months. They left the Sea, as the Field of Battel, to us; so the Honour of the Action remained with us; tho' the Nation was not much lifted up, with the News of a drawn Battle at Sea with the *French*. We were long without a certain Account of this Action; but the Modesty, in which the King of *France* wrote of it, to the Archbishop of *Paris*, put us out of all Fears; for whereas their Style was very boasting of their Successes, in this it was only said, that the Action was to his Advantage; from that cold Expression we concluded the Victory was on our side.

When the full Account was sent home from our Fleet, the Partialities on both sides appeared very signally; the Tories magnified this, as a great Victory, and in their Addresses of Congratulation to the Queen, they joined this with that which the Duke of *Marlborough* had gained at *Hochstadt*. I understand nothing of Sea-matters; and therefore cannot make a Judgment in the Point: I have heard Men, skilled in those Affairs, differ much in their Sentiments of *Rook*'s Conduct in that Action; some not only justifying but extolling it, as much as others condemn'd it. It was certainly ridiculous, to set forth the Glory of so disputable an Engagement, in the same Words, with the Successes we had by Land: The Fleet soon after sailed home for *England*, *Leak* being left with a Squadron at *Lisbon*.

The Siege of *Gibraltar*.

The *Spaniards* drew all the Forces, they had in *Andalousia* and *Estremadura* together, to retake *Gibraltar*; that Army was commanded by the Duke of *Villadarias*; he had with him some *French* Troops, with some Engineers of that Nation, who were chiefly relied on, and were sent from *France* to carry on the Siege. This gave some Disgust to the *Spaniards*, who were so foolish in their Pride, that tho' they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to set about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to see themselves out-done by them. The Siege was continued for above four Months, during which time the Prince of *Hesse* had many occasions given him to distinguish himself very eminently, both as to his Courage, Conduct, and indefatigable Application. Convoys came frequently from *Lisbon*, with Supplies of Men and Provisions; which the *French* were not able to hinder, or to intercept. *Pointi* at last came, with a Squadron of twenty *French* Ships, and lay long in the Bay, trying what could be done by Sea; while the Place was pressed by Land; upon that, a much stronger Squadron was sent from *Lisbon*, with a great Body of Men, and Stores of all Sorts, to relieve the Place and to raise the Siege; and the Court of *France*, not being satisfied with the Conduct of the *Spanish* General, sent Mareschal *Tesse* to carry on the Siege with greater Expedition. The *Portuguese* all this while made no use of the Diversion, given by the Siege of *Gibraltar*; they made great Demands on us; for *England* was now considered as a Source, that could never be exhausted: We granted all their Demands, and a Body of Horse was sent to them at a vast Charge. The King was in a very ill State of Health, occasioned by Disorders in his Youth; he had not been treated skilfully, so he was often relapsing, and was not in a condition to apply himself much to Business: For some time, our Queen Dowager was set at the Head of their Councils; her Administration was much commended, and she was very careful of the *English*, and all their Concerns.

Affairs in *Italy*.

In *Italy* the Duke of *Savoy* had a melancholy Campaign, losing Place after Place; but he supported his Affairs with great Conduct; and shewed a Firmness in his Misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined: *Verceil* and *Yvrea* gave the Duke of *Vendosme* the trouble of a tedious Siege; they stood their ground as long as possible; the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army was not strong enough to raise these Sieges, so both Places fell in conclusion. The *French* had not Troops both to carry on the War, and to leave Garrisons in those Places, so they

they demoliſhed the Fortifications; after they had ſucceeded ſo far, they ſat down before *Verue*, in the end of *October*. The Duke of *Savoy* poſted his Army at *Creſcentino*, over againſt it, on the other ſide of the *Po*; he had a Bridge of Communication; he went often into the Place, during the Siege, to ſee and animate his Men, and to give all neceſſary Orders; the Sick and Wounded were carried away, and freſh Men put in their ſtead: This Siege proved the moſt famous of all, that had been during the late Wars; it laſted above five Months, the Garriſon being often changed, and always ſupplied. The *French* Army ſuffered much, by continuing the Siege all the Winter, and they were at a vaſt Charge in carrying it on; the Bridge of Communication was, after many unſucceſsful Attempts, at laſt cut off; and the Duke of *Savoy* being thus ſeparated from the Place, retired to *Chivaz*, and left them to defend themſelves, as long as they could, which they did beyond what could in reaſon have been expected. The Duke of *Savoy* complained much of the Emperor's failing to make good his Promiſes; but in a Diſcourſe upon that Subject, with the Queen's Envoy, he ſaid, tho' he was abandoned by his Allies, he would not abandon himſelf. 1704

The poor People in the *Cevennes* ſuffered much this Summer; It was not poſſible to come to them with Supplies, till Matters ſhould go better in *Piedmont*, of which there was then no Proſpect; they were adviſed to preſerve themſelves the beſt they could; Mareſchal *Villars* was ſent into the Country, to manage them with a gentler hand; the ſevere Methods, taken by thoſe formerly imployed, being now diſowned, he was ordered to treat with their Leaders, and to offer them full Liberty, to ſerve God in their own way, without Diſturbance; they generally inclined to hearken to this: For they had now kept themſelves in a Body, much longer than was thought poſſible, in their low and helpleſs State; ſome of them capitulated, and took Service in the *French* Army; but as ſoon as they came near the Armies of the Allies, they deſerted, and went over to them, ſo that by all this Practice, that Fire was rather covered up at preſent, than quite extinguiſhed. And in the *Cevennes*.

The Diſorders in *Hungary* had a deeper Root, and a greater Strength; it was hoped, that the Ruin of the Elector of *Bavaria* would have quite diſheartned them, and have diſpoſed them to accept of reaſonable Terms; if the Emperor could have been prevailed on to offer them frankly, and immediately upon their firſt Conſternation, after the Conqueſt of *Bavaria*. There were great Errors in the Government of that Kingdom; by a long Courſe of Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, the *Hungarians* were grown ſavage and intractable; they ſaw they were both hated and deſpiſed by the *Germans*; the Court of *Vienna* ſeemed to conſider them, as ſo many Enemies, who were to be depreſſed, in order to their being extirpated; upon any pretence of Plots, their Perſons were ſeized on, and their Eſtates confiſcated: The Jeſuits were believed to have a great ſhare, in all thoſe Contrivances and Proſecutions; and it was ſaid, that they purchaſed the confiſcated Eſtates upon very eaſy Terms; the Nobility of *Hungary* ſeemed irreconcileable to the Court of *Vienna:* On the other hand, thoſe of that Court, who had theſe Confiſcations aſſigned them, and knew that the reſtoring theſe would certainly be inſiſted on as a neceſſary Article, in any Treaty that might follow, did all they could to obſtruct ſuch a Treaty. It was viſible that *Ragotski*, who was at their head, aimed at the Principality of *Tranſylvania:* And it was natural for the *Hungarians* to look on his arriving at that Dignity, by which he could protect and aſſiſt them, as the beſt Security they could have. On the other hand, the Court of *Vienna*, being poſſeſſed of that Principality, would not eaſily part with it. In the midſt of all this Fermentation, a Revolution happened in the *Turkiſh* Empire: A new Sultan was ſet up. So all things were at a ſtand, till it might be known, what was to be expected from him. They were ſoon delivered from this Anxiety; for he ſent a *Chiaus* to the Court of *Vienna*, to aſſure them, that he was reſolved to maintain the Peace in all Points; and that he would give no Aſſiſtance to the Malecontents. The Court of *Vienna* being freed from thoſe Apprehenſions, reſolved to carry on the War in *Hungary*, as vigorouſly as they could: This was imputed to a ſecret Practice from *France*, on ſome of that Court, and there were ſo many there, concerned in the confiſcations, that every Propoſition that way was powerfully ſupported: thus *Italy* was Affairs of *Hungary*.

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neglected, and the Siege of *Landau* was ill ſupported; their chief Strength being imployed in *Hungary*. Yet when the Miniſters of the Allies preſſed the Opening a Treaty with the Malecontents, the Emperor ſeemed willing to refer the Arbitration of that Matter to his Allies: But tho' it was fit to ſpeak in that Style, yet no ſuch thing was deſigned. A Treaty was opened, but when it was known that *Zeiber* had the chief Management of it, there was no reaſon to expect any good effect of it: He was born a Proteſtant, a Subject of the *Palatinate*, and was oft employed by the Elector *Charles Lewis*, to negotiate Affairs at the Court of *Vienna*; he, ſeeing a Proſpect of riſing in that Court, changed his Religion, and became a Creature of the Jeſuits; and adhered ſteadily to all their Intereſts. He managed that ſecret Practice with the *French* in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, by which the Proteſtants of the *Palatinate* ſuffered ſo conſiderable a Prejudice. The Treaty in *Hungary* ſtuck at the Preliminaries; for indeed neither ſide was then inclined to treat; the Malecontents were ſupported from *France*; they were routed in ſeveral Engagements, but theſe were not ſo conſiderable as the Court of *Vienna* gave it out, in their publick News; the Malecontents ſuffered much in them, but came ſoon together again, and they ſubſiſted ſo well, what by the Mines, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, what by the Incurſions they made, and the Contributions they raiſed from the Emperor's Subjects, that unleſs the Wars were carried on more vigorouſly, or a Peace were offered more ſincerely, that Kingdom was long like to be a ſcene of Blood and Rapine.

The Affairs of *Poland*.

So was its neighbouring Kingdom of *Poland:* It was hoped, that the Talk of a new Election was only a loud Threatning, to force a Peace the ſooner; but it proved otherwiſe: A Diet was brought together of thoſe, who were irreconcileable to King *Auguſtus*, and after many Delays, *Staniſlaus*, one of the *Palatines*, was choſen and proclaimed their King; and he was preſently owned by the King of *Sweden*. The Cardinal ſeemed at firſt unwilling to agree to this, but he ſuffered himſelf to be forced to it; this was believed only to be an Artifice of his, to excuſe himſelf to the Court of *France*, whoſe Penſioner he was, and to whom he had engaged to carry the Election for the Prince of *Conti*. The War went on this Year, with various Succeſs on both ſides; King *Auguſtus* made a quick March to *Warſaw*, where he ſurprized ſome of *Staniſlaus*'s Party, he himſelf eſcaping narrowly; but the King of *Sweden* followed ſo cloſe, that not being able to fight him, he was forced to retreat into *Saxony*, where he continued for ſome Months: There he ruined his own Dominions, by the great Preparations he made, to return with a mighty Force; the Delay of that made many forſake his Party; for it was given out, that he would return no more, and that he was weary of the War, and he had good reaſon ſo to be. *Poland*, in the mean while, was in a moſt miſerable Condition; the King of *Sweden* ſubſiſted his Army in it, and his Temper grew daily more fierce and *Gothick*; he was reſolved to make no Peace, till *Auguſtus* was driven out; in the mean while, his own Country ſuffered much; *Livonia* was deſtroyed by the *Muſcovites*; they had taken *Narva*, and made ſome progreſſes into *Sweden*. The Pope eſpouſed the Intereſts of King *Auguſtus*; for to ſupport a new Convert of ſuch Importance, was thought a Point worthy the Zeal of that See; ſo he cited the Cardinal to appear at *Rome*, and to give an Account of the ſhare he had in all that War.

The Pope wholly in the *French* Intereſt.

The Pope was now wholly in the *French* Intereſt, and maintained the Character, they pretend to, of a common Father, with ſo much Partiality, that the Emperor himſelf, how tame and ſubmiſſive ſoever to all the Impoſitions of that See, yet could not bear it: But made loud Complaints of it. The Pope had threatned, that he would thunder out Excommunications againſt all thoſe Troops, that ſhould continue in his Dominions: the Emperor was ſo implicit in his Faith, and ſo ready in his Obedience, that he ordered his Troops to retire out of the Eccleſiaſtical State; but all the Effect that this had, was to leave that State entirely in the hands of the *French*, againſt whom the Pope did not think fit to fulminate; yet the Pope ſtill pretended that he would maintain a Neutrality, and both the *Venetians* and the great Duke adhered to him in that Reſolution, and continued neutral during the War.

Having

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The Affairs of *Scotland.*

Having now given a View of the State of Affairs abroad; I return back to profecute the Relation of thoſe at home, and begin with *Scotland.* A Seſſion of Parliament was held there this Summer: The Duke of *Queensbury*'s Management of the Plot was ſo liable to Exception, that it was not thought fit to imploy him, and it ſeems he had likewiſe brought himſelf under the Queen's Diſpleaſure; for it was propoſed by ſome of his Friends in the Houſe of Lords, to deſire the Queen to communicate to them a Letter, which he had wrote to her of ſuch a Date: This looked like an Examination of the Queen herſelf, to whom it ought to have been left, to ſend what Letters ſhe thought fit to the Houſe, and they ought not to call for any one in particular: The Matter of that Letter made him liable to a very ſevere Cenſure in *Scotland*: For in plain Words he charged the Majority of the Parliament, as determined in their Proceedings, by an Influence from St. *Germains*: This expoſed him in *Scotland* to the Fury of a Parliament; for how true ſoever this might be, by the Laws of that Kingdom, ſuch a Repreſentation of a Parliament to the Queen, eſpecially in Matters which could not be proved, was *Leaſing-making*, and was capital.

The chief Deſign of the Court in this Seſſion, was to get the Succeſſion of the Crown to be declared, and a Supply to be given for the Army, which was run into a great Arrear. In the Debates of the former Seſſion, thoſe who oppoſed every thing, more particularly the declaring the Succeſſion, had inſiſted chiefly on Motions to bring their own Conſtitution to ſuch a Settlement, that they might ſuffer no Prejudice, by their Kings living in *England*. Mr. *Johnſtoun* was now taken in by the Miniſters into a new Management; It was propoſed by him, in concert with the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, and ſome others in *Scotland*, that the Queen ſhould impower her Commiſſioner to conſent to a Revival of the whole Settlement, made by King *Charles* the Firſt, in the Year 1641.

By that, the King named a Privy Council and his Miniſters of State in Parliament, who had a power to accept of, or to except to the Nomination, without being bound to give the Reaſon for excepting to it: In the Intervals of Parliament, the King was to give all Imployments, with the Conſent of the Privy Council: This was the main Point of that Settlement, which was looked on by the wiſeſt Men of that time, as a full Security to all their Laws and Liberties: It did indeed diveſt the Crown of a great part of the Prerogative; and it brought the Parliament into ſome Equality with the Crown.

The Queen, upon the Repreſentation made to her by her Miniſters, offered this as a Limitation on the Succeſſor, in caſe they would ſettle the Succeſſion, as *England* had done; and for doing this, the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* was named her Commiſſioner. The Queen did alſo ſignify her Pleaſure very poſitively to all who were imployed by her, that ſhe expected they ſhould concur in ſettling the Succeſſion, as they deſired the Continuance of her Favour. Both the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Godolphin* expreſſed themſelves very fully and poſitively to the ſame purpoſe; yet it was dextrouſly ſurmized, and induſtriouſly ſet about by the *Jacobites*, and too eaſily believed by jealous and cautious People, that the Court was not ſincere in this Matter; and that at beſt they were indifferent as to the Succeſs. Some went further, and ſaid, that thoſe who were in a particular Confidence at Court, did ſecretly oppoſe it, and entred into a Management on deſign to obſtruct it: I could never ſee any good ground for this Suggeſtion; yet there was Matter enough for Jealouſy to work on, and this was carefully improved by the *Jacobites*, in order to defeat the Deſign. Mr. *Johnſtoun* was made Lord Regiſter, and was ſent down to promote the Deſign; the *Jacobites* were put in hopes, in caſe of a Rupture, to have a conſiderable Force ſent to ſupport them from *Dunkirk*.

A Seſſion of Parliament being opened, and the Speeches made, and the Queen's Letter read, all which tended to the ſettling the Succeſſion, that was the firſt Debate: A great Party was now wrought on, when they underſtood the Security, that was to be offered to them: For the wiſeſt Patriots in that Kingdom had always magnified that Conſtitution, as the beſt contrived Scheme that could be deſired: So they went in with great Zeal, to the accepting of it. But thoſe who, in the former Seſſion, had rejected all the Motions of treating with *England* with ſome Scorn, and had made this their conſtant Topick, that they muſt

1704 in the first place secure their own Constitution at home, and then they might trust the rest to Time, and to such Accidents, as Time might bring forth; now when they saw that every thing, that could be desired, was offered with relation to their own Government; they (being resolved to oppose any Declaration of the Succession, what Terms soever might be granted to obtain it) turned the Argument wholly another way; to shew the necessity of a previous Treaty with *England*. They were upon that told, that the Queen was ready to grant them every thing, that was reasonable, with relation to their own Constitution, yet without the Concurrence of the Parliament of *England*, she could grant nothing in which *England* was concerned; for they were for demanding a share of the Plantation-Trade, and that their Ships might be comprehended within the Act of Navigation.

Debates about the Succession.

After a long Debate, the main Question was put, whether they should then enter upon the Consideration of the Limitations of the Government, in order to the fixing the Succession of the Crown, or if that should be postponed till they had obtained such a Security, by a Treaty with *England*, as they should judge necessary. It was carried by a Majority of forty, to begin with a Treaty with *England*: Of these, about thirty were in immediate Dependence on the Court, and were determined according to the Directions given them. So, notwithstanding a long and idle Speech of the Earl of *Cromarty's*, which was printed, running into a Distinction among Divines, between the Revealed and Secret Will of God, shewing, that no such Distinction could be applied to the Queen; She had but one Will, and that was Revealed; yet it was still suspected, that at least her Ministers had a secret Will in the Case. They went no further in this Vote for a Treaty with *England*; for they could not agree among themselves, who should be the Commissioners, and those who opposed the declaring the Succession, were concerned for no more, when that Question was once set aside: So it was postponed, as a Matter about which they took no further care.

The settling it put off for that Session.

A Money-Bill with a Tack to it.

They offered to the Court six Months *Cesse*, for the Pay of the Army; but they tacked to this a great part of a Bill which passed the former Session of Parliament, but was refused by the Throne: By that it was provided, that if the Queen should die without Issue, a Parliament should presently meet, and they were to declare the Successor to the Crown, who should not be the same Person, that was possessed of the Crown of *England*, unless before that time there should be a Settlement made in Parliament, of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, independent on *English* Councils. By another Clause in the Act, it was made lawful to arm the Subjects, and to train them and put them in a Posture of Defence. This was chiefly pressed, in behalf of the best-affected in the Kingdom, who were not armed; for the Highlanders, who were the worst-affected, were well armed; so to ballance that, it was moved, that Leave should be given to arm the rest. All was carried with great Heat and much Vehemence; for a national Humour, of being independent on *England*, fermented so strongly, among all sorts of People without doors, that those, who went not into every hot Motion, that was made, were looked on as the Betrayers of their Country: And they were so exposed to a popular Fury, that some of those, who studied to stop this Tide, were thought to be in danger of their Lives. The Presbyterians were so over-awed with this, that tho' they wished well to the settling the Succession, they dust not openly declare it. The Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol* led all those violent Motions, and the whole Nation was strangely inflamed.

The Ministers were put to a great difficulty with the Supply-Bill, and the Tack that was joined to it: If it was denied, the Army could be no longer kept up: They had run so far in Arrear, that considering the Poverty of the Country, that could not be carried on much longer. Some suggested, that it should be proposed to the *English* Ministry, to advance the Subsistence Money, till better Measures could be taken; but none of the *Scotch* Ministry would consent to that. An Army is reckoned to belong to those who pay it: So an Army paid from *England*, would be called an *English* Army: Nor was it possible to manage such a thing secretly. It was well known, that there was no Money in the *Scotch* Treasury to pay them, so if Money were once brought into the

the Treaſury, how ſecretly ſoever, all Men muſt conclude, that it came from *England*: And Men's Minds were then ſo full of the Conceit of Independency, that if a Suſpicion aroſe of any ſuch Practice, probably it would have occaſioned Tumults: Even the Army was ſo kindled with this, that it was believed, that neither Officers nor Soldiers would have taken their Pay, if they had believed it came from *England*. It came then to this, that either the Army muſt be diſbanded, or the Bill muſt paſs: It is true, the Army was a very ſmall one, not above 3000; but it was ſo ordered, that it was double or treble officer'd; ſo that it could have been eaſily encreaſed to a much greater number, if there had been occaſion for it. The Officers had ſerved long, and were Men of a good Character: So, ſince they were alarmed with an Invaſion, which both ſides looked for, and the Intelligence, which the Court had from *France*, aſſured them it was intended; they thought the Inconveniences ariſing from the Tack might be remedied afterwards: but the breaking of the Army was ſuch a pernicious thing, and might end ſo fatally, that it was not to be ventured on. Therefore by common conſent, a Letter was wrote to the Queen, which was ſigned by all the Miniſters there, in which they laid the whole Matter before her, every thing was ſtated and ballanced: All concluded in an humble Advice to paſs the Bill. This was very heavy on the Lord *Godolphin*, on whoſe Advice the Queen chiefly relied: He ſaw the ill Conſequences of breaking the Army, and laying that Kingdom open to an Invaſion, would fall on him, if he ſhould, in contradiction to the Advice given by the Miniſtry of *Scotland*, have adviſed the Queen to reject the Bill. This was under Conſultation in the end of *July*, when our Matters abroad were yet in a great Uncertainty; for tho' the Victory at *Schellemberg* was a good ſtep, yet the great Deciſion was not then come: So he thought, conſidering the State of Affairs, and the Accidents that might happen, that it was the ſafeſt thing for the Queen to comply with the Advices of thoſe, to whom ſhe truſted the Affairs of that Kingdom.

1704

The Miniſters there adviſe the Queen to paſs it.

The Queen ſent Orders to paſs the Bill: It paſs'd on the 6th of *Auguſt*, after the great Battle was over, but ſeveral Days before the News of it came to us. When the Act paſſed, Copies of it were ſent to *England*; where it was ſoon printed, by thoſe who were uneaſy at the Lord *Godolphin*'s holding the White Staff, and reſolved to make uſe of this againſt him; for the whole Blame of paſſing it was caſt on him. It was not poſſible to prove, that he had adviſed the Queen to it: So ſome took it by another Handle, and reſolved to urge it againſt him, that he had not perſuaded the Queen to reject it: Tho' that ſeemed a great Stretch, for he being a Stranger to that Kingdom, it might have been liable to more objection, if he had preſumed to adviſe the Queen, to refuſe a Bill, paſs'd in the Parliament of *Scotland*, which all the Miniſtry there adviſed her to paſs.

It was paſs'd.

Severe Cenſures paſſed on this. It was ſaid, that the two Kingdoms were now divided by Law, and that the *Scotch* were putting themſelves in a Poſture to defend it; and all ſaw by whoſe Advices this was done: One thing, that contributed to keep up an ill humour in the Parliament of *Scotland*, was more juſtly imputed to him: The Queen had promiſed to ſend down to them all the Examinations relating to the Plot: If theſe had been ſent down, probably in the firſt Heat the Matter might have been carried far againſt the Duke of *Queensbury*. But he, who ſtaid all the while at *London*, got it to be repreſented to the Queen, that the ſending down theſe Examinations, with the Perſons concerned in them, would run the Seſſion into ſo much Heat, and into ſuch a Length, that it would divert them quite from conſidering the Succeſſion, and it might produce a tragical Scene. Upon theſe Suggeſtions, the Queen altered her Reſolution of ſending them down; tho' repeated Applications were made to her, both by the Parliament and by her Miniſters, to have them ſent; yet no Anſwer was made to theſe, nor was ſo much as an Excuſe made, for not ſending them. The Duke of *Queensbury* having gained this Point, got all his Friends to join with the Party that oppoſed the new Miniſtry: This both defeated all their Projects, and ſoftened the Spirits of thoſe, who were ſo ſet againſt him, that in their firſt Fury no ſtop could have been put to their Proceedings: But now, the Party that had

Cenſures paſs'd upon it.

1704 designed to ruin him, was ſo much wrought on, by the Aſſiſtance that his Friends gave them in this Seſſion, that they reſolved to preſerve him.

This was the State of that Nation, which was aggravated very odiouſly all *England* over: It was confidently, tho', as was afterwards known, very falſely reported, that great Quantities of Arms were brought over, and diſperſed thro' the whole Kingdom: and it being well known how poor the Nation was at that time, it was ſaid, that thoſe Arms were paid for by other hands, in imitation of what it was believed Cardinal *Richelieu* did, in the Year 1638. Another thing was given out very maliciouſly, by the Lord Treaſurer's Enemies, that he had given Directions under-hand, to hinder the declaring the Succeſſion, and that the Secret of this was truſted to *Johnſtoun*, who they ſaid talked openly one way, and acted ſecretly another; tho' I could never ſee a colour of Truth in thoſe Reports. Great uſe was to be made of the Affairs of *Scotland*; becauſe there was no ground of Complaint of any thing in the Adminiſtration at home: All the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Enemies ſaw his chief Strength lay in the Credit that the Lord *Godolphin* was in at home, while he was ſo ſucceſsful abroad: So it being impoſſible to attack him, in ſuch a Courſe of Glory, they laid their Aims againſt the Lord Treaſurer. The Tories reſolved to attack him, and that diſpoſed the Whigs to preſerve him; and this was ſo managed by them, that it gave a great Turn to all our Councils at home.

A Seſſion of Parliament in *England*.

In the beginning of *November*, the Seſſion of Parliament was opened: it might well be expected, that after ſuch a ſummer, the Addreſſes of both Houſes would run in a very high ſtrain: the Houſe of Commons in their Addreſs put the ſucceſſes by Sea and Land on a level, and magnified both in the ſame expreſſions: But the Houſe of Lords in their Addreſs took no notice of *Rook* nor of the Sea: The Lower Houſe of Convocation were reſolved to follow the Example of the Houſe of Commons, and would have the Sea and Land both mentioned in the ſame terms; but the Biſhops would not vary from the pattern ſet them by the Houſe of Lords; ſo no Addreſs was made by the Convocation. The Commons agreed to every thing that the Court propoſed, for ſupporting the War another year; this was carried through with great diſpatch and unanimity: So that the main buſineſs of the Seſſion was ſoon over; all the Money-Bills were prepared and carried on in the regular method, without any obſtruction: Thoſe who intended to embroil matters, ſaw it was not adviſeable to act above board, but to proceed more covertly.

1705 The Act againſt Occaſional Conformity was again brought in, but moderated in ſeveral Clauſes: For thoſe who preſt it, were now reſolved to bring the terms as low as was poſſible, in order once to carry a Bill upon that head. The Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons made to it, was become ſo conſiderable (for the deſign was now more clearly diſcerned) that it was carried in that Houſe only by a majority of fifty. When the Bill was to be committed, it was moved, that it ſhould be committed to the ſame Committee, which was preparing the Bill for the Land-Tax: The deſign of this was, that the one ſhould be tack'd to the other, and then the Lords would have been put upon a great difficulty. If they ſhould untack the Bill, and ſeparate one from the other; then the Houſe of Commons would have inſiſted on a maxim, that was now ſettled among them, as a fundamental principle never to be departed from, that the Lords cannot alter a Money-Bill, but muſt either paſs it or reject it, as it is ſent to them: On the other hand, the Lords could not agree to any ſuch Tack, without departing from that ſolemn Reſolution, which was in their Books, ſigned by moſt of them, never to admit of a Tack to a Money-Bill: If they yielded now, they taught the Houſe of Commons the way to impoſe any thing on them at their pleaſure.

The Occaſional Bill is again brought in; and endeavour'd to be tack'd to a Money-Bill.

The party in the Houſe of Commons put their whole ſtrength to the carrying this point: They went further in their deſign: That which was truly aimed at, by thoſe in the Secret, was to break the War, and to force a Peace: They knew a Bill with this Tack could not paſs in the Houſe of Peers: Some Lords of their party told my ſelf that they would never paſs the Bill with this Tack, ſo by this means Money would be ſtopped: This would put all matters in great con-

confuſion both at home and abroad; and diſpoſe our Allies, as deſpairing of any help from us, to accept of ſuch terms as *France* would offer them: So here was an artful deſign formed to break, at leaſt to ſhake, the whole Alliance. The Court was very apprehenſive of this, and the Lord *Godolphin* oppoſed it with much zeal: The Party diſowned the deſign for ſome time, 'till they had brought up their whole ſtrength, and thought they were ſure of a Majority. 1705

The Debate held long: Thoſe who oppoſed it ſaid, this now aimed at was a change of the whole Conſtitution; and was in effect turning it into a Commonwealth: for it imported the denying, not only to the Lords, but to the Crown, the free uſe of their Negative in the Legiſlature; if this was once ſettled, then as often as the publick occaſions made a Money-Bill neceſſary, every thing that the Majority in their Houſe had a mind to, would be tacked to it. It is true ſome Tacks had been made to Money-Bills in King *Charles*'s time; but even theſe had ſtill ſome relation to the Money that was given: But here a Bill, whoſe operation was only for one year, and which determined as ſoon as the four ſhillings in the pound was paid, was to have a perpetual Law tacked to it, that muſt continue ſtill in force, after the greateſt part of the Act was expired and dead: To all this, in anſwer, ſome precedents were oppoſed, and the neceſſity of the Bill for the preſervation of the Church was urged, which they ſaw was not like to paſs, unleſs ſent to the Lords ſo accompanied; which ſome thought was very wittily preſſed, by calling it a portion annexed to the Church, as in a Marriage; and they ſaid they did not doubt but thoſe of the Court would beſtir themſelves to get it paſs'd, when it was accompanied with two Millions as its Price.

Upon the Diviſion 134 were for the Tack, and 250 were againſt it: So that deſign was loſt by thoſe, who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with ſome of their own party, who had by their oppoſition wrought themſelves into good places, and forſook that Intereſt, to which they owed their advancement: Theſe, to redeem themſelves with their old friends, ſeemed ſtill zealous for the Bill, which after went on coldly and ſlowly in the Houſe of Commons, for they loſt all hopes of carrying it in the Houſe of Lords, now that the Mine they had laid was ſprung. The Tack was rejected.

While this was going on in the Houſe of Commons, the Debate about the *Scotch* Act was taken up with great heat in the Houſe of Lords: The ill effects that were like to follow upon it were opened, in very tragical ſtrains: It was after much declaiming moved, that the Lords might paſs ſome Votes upon it. The Tories who preſſed this, intended to add a ſevere Vote againſt all thoſe who had adviſed it; and it was viſible at whom this was aimed. The Whigs diverted this: They ſaid the putting a Vote againſt an Act paſſed in *Scotland*, looked like the claiming ſome Superiority over them, which ſeemed very improper at that time, ſince that Kingdom was poſſeſſed with a National jealouſy on this head; that would be much encreaſed by ſuch a Proceeding: More moderate methods were therefore propoſed and agreed to, in order to the making up of a breach in this Iſland, with which they ſeemed to be then threatned. So an Act was brought in, impowering the Queen to name Commiſſioners to treat of a full Union of both Kingdoms, as ſoon as the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould paſs an Act to the ſame purpoſe: but if no ſuch Union ſhould be agreed on, or if the ſame Succeſſion to the Crown, with that of *England*, ſhould not be enacted by a day prefixed, then it was enacted that after that day no *Scotchman*, that was not Reſident in *England* or *Ireland*, or employed in the Queen's ſervice by ſea or land, ſhould be eſteem'd a natural-born Subject of *England*: They added to this, a Prohibition of the Importation of *Scotch* Cattle, and the Manufacture of *Scotland*: All this fell in the Houſe of Commons, when ſent down to them, becauſe of the Money-Penalties, which were put in the ſeveral Clauſes of the Bill. The Commons were reſolved to adhere to a notion, that had now taken ſuch root among them, that it could not be ſhaken, that the Lords could not put any ſuch Clauſe in a Bill begun with them: This was wholly new; Penalties upon tranſgreſſions could not be conſtrued to be a giving of Money: The Lords were clearly in poſſeſſion of proceeding thus; ſo that the calling it in queſtion was an attempt on the ſhare which the Lords had in the Legiſlature: The Commons let this Bill lie on the table, and began a new one to the ſame purpoſe; it paſſed: And the following Debates concerning *Scotland*.

1705 *Chriſtmas* was the day prefixed for the *Scotch* to enact the Succeſſion, or on failure thereof, then this Act was to have its effect. A great coldneſs appeared in many of the Commons, who uſed to be hot on leſs important occaſions: they ſeemed not to deſire that the *Scotch* ſhould ſettle the Succeſſion: And it was viſible, that ſome of them hoped, that the Lords would have uſed their Bill, as they had uſed that ſent down by the Lords: Many of them were leſs concerned in the fate of the Bill, becauſe it diverted the cenſure, which they had intended to fix on the Lord-Treaſurer. The Lords were aware of this, and paſs'd the Bill.

Thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Union, were afraid that the Prohibition, and the declaring the *Scots* Aliens after the Day prefixed, would be looked on as threatnings: And they ſaw cauſe to apprehend, that ill-temper'd men in that Kingdom, would uſe this as a handle to divert that Nation, which was already much ſoured, from hearkning to any motion, that might tend to promote the Union, or the declaring the Succeſſion: It was given out by theſe, that this was an Indignity done their Kingdom, and that they ought not ſo much as to treat with a Nation, that threatned them in ſuch a manner. The Marquiſs of *Tweedale* excuſed himſelf from ſerving longer; ſo the Duke of *Argyle*, whoſe father was lately dead, was named to be ſent down Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*: He was then very young, and was very brave.

Complaints of the Admiralty.

This being diſpatched eaſier than was expected, the Parliament went on to other buſineſs; Complaints of an ill management both at the board of the Prince's Council, and at Sea roſe very high: This Houſe of Commons, during the whole continuance of the Parliament, never appointed a Committee to look into thoſe Matters, which had been formerly a main part of their Care: They ſaw things were ill conducted, but the chief managers of ſea-affairs were men of their Party, and that attoned for all faults, and made them unwilling to find them out, or to cenſure them: The truth was, the Prince was prevailed on to continue ſtill in the Admiralty, by thoſe who ſheltered themſelves under his name: tho' this brought a great Load on the Government. The Lords went on as they had done the former Seſſion, examining into all complaints: They named two Committees, the one to examine the books of the Admiralty, the other to conſider the proceedings at ſea: No progreſs was made in the firſt of theſe; for tho' there was a great deal ſuggeſted in private, yet ſince this ſeemed to be complaining of the Prince, none would appear directly againſt him: But the other afforded matter enough, both for enquiry and cenſure: The moſt important, and that which had the worſt conſequences was, that tho' there were 22 ſhips appointed for cruiſing, yet they had followed that ſervice ſo remiſsly, and the orders ſent them were ſo languid, and ſo little urgent, that three diligent cruiſing Ships could have performed all the ſervices done by that numerous fleet: This was made out in a ſcheme, in which all the days of their being out at ſea were reckoned up, which did not exceed what three Cruiſers might have performed. It did not appear whether this was only the effect of ſloth or ignorance, or if there lay any deſigned treachery at bottom: It ſeemed very plain, that there was treachery ſomewhere, at leaſt among the Under-Officers: For a *French* Privateer being taken, they found among his Papers Inſtructions ſent him by his Owners, in which he was directed to lie in ſome ſtations, and to avoid others: and it happened that this agreed ſo exactly with the orders ſent from the Admiralty, that it ſeemed that could not be by chance, but that the directions were ſent, upon ſight of the orders. The Queen began this winter to come to the Houſe of Lords upon great occaſions to hear their debates, which as it was of good uſe for her better Information, ſo it was very ſerviceable in bringing the Houſe into better Order. The firſt time She came, was when the Debate was taken up concerning the *Scotch* Act: She knew the Lord-Treaſurer was aimed at by it, and ſhe diverted the ſtorm by her Endeavours, as well as ſhe reſtrained it by her preſence.

The Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity debated and rejected by the Lords.

She came likewiſe thither to hear the debates upon the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity, which was ſent up by the Commons; if it had not been for the Queen's being preſent, there would have been no long debate on that head, for it was ſcarce poſſible to ſay much, that had not been formerly ſaid; but to give the Queen full information, ſince it was ſuppoſed, that ſhe had heard that matter only on one ſide, it was reſolved to open the whole matter in her hearing:

earing: The topicks most insisted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed by the Tole- 1705
ation, on which head the severities of former Reigns were laid open, both in their injustice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance Popery, and other ad designs: The peaceable behaviour of the Dissenters, and the zeal they expressed for the Queen, and her Government, was also copiously set forth; while the shewed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new Law made in the matter, altered the state of things, from what it was, when the Act for Toleration first passed; this gave the Dissenters an alarm, they might from thence justly conclude, that one step would be made after another, till the whole Effect of that Act should be overturned. It did not appear from the behaviour of any among them, that they were not contented with the Toleration they enjoyed, or that they were carrying on designs against the Church: in that case it might be reasonable to look for a further security, but nothing tending that way, was so much as pretended: All went on jealousies and fears, the common topicks of Sedition. On the other hand, to support the Bill, all stories were brought up to shew, how restless and unquiet that sort of men had been in former times. When it came to the Question, whether the Bill should be read a second time or not, it went for the negative by a majority of 20 Lords.

Another debate, that brought the Queen to the House, was concerning *Watson*, late Lord Bishop of St. *David's*: His business had been kept long on foot in the Courts below, by all the methods of delay that Lawyers could invent: after five years pleading the concluding judgment was given in the Exchequer, that he had no right to the Temporalities of that Bishoprick: And that being confirmed in the Exchequer-Chamber, it was now by a Writ of Error, brought before the Lords, in the last Resort: But as the House seemed now to be set, he had no mind to let it go to a final decision: So he delayed the assigning the Errors of the judgment, till the days were lapsed, in which, according to a standing order, Errors ought to be assigned, upon a Writ of Error: in default of which, the Record was to be sent back. He suffered the time to lapse, tho' particular notice was ordered to be given him, on the last day, in which, according to the standing order, he might have assigned his Errors: And the House sate that day some hours on purpose waiting for it. Some weeks after that, when the Session was so near an end, that he thought his Cause could not be heard during the Session, and so must in course have been put off to another Session; he petitioned for leave to assign his Errors. This was one of the most solemn orders, that related to the judicature of the Lords, and had been the most constantly stood to: It was not therefore thought reasonable to break through it, in favour of so bad a man, of whom they were all ashamed, if parties could have any shame: He had affected, in every step he had made, to seek out all possible delays, for keeping the See still void, which by reason of a bad Bishop and a long vacancy, was fallen into great disorder: Yet after all this, he had still by law the benefit of a Writ of Error, which he might bring in any subsequent Session of Parliament.

Bishop *Watson's* practices.

Upon this the Queen resolved to fill that See: And she promoted to it, the celebrated Dr. *Bull*, who had writ the learnedest Treatise, that this Age had produced, of the Doctrine of the Primitive Church concerning the Trinity: This had been so well received all *Europe* over, that in an Assembly General of the Clergy of *France*, the Bishop of *Meaux* was desired to write over to a Correspondent he had in *London*, that they had such a sense of the service he had done their common Faith, that upon it they sent him their particular thanks: I read the Letter, and so I can deliver it for a certain truth, how uncommon soever it may seem to be. The Queen had a little before this promoted Dr. *Beveridge* to the See of St *Asaph*, who had shewed himself very learned in the Ecclesiastical knowledge. They were both pious and devout Men, but were now declining; both of them being old, and not like to hold out long. Soon after this the See of *Lincoln* became vacant by that Bishop's death: Dr. *Wake* was after some time promoted to it: A man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and, which is above all, a man of an exemplary life.

Some promotions in the Church.

1705

Designs with relation to the Electoreſs of *Hanover.*

A deſign was formed in this Seſſion of Parliament, but there was not ſtrength enough to carry it on at this time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* gave a hint of it in the Houſe of Lords, by ſaying that he had a motion of great conſequence to the ſecurity of the nation, which he would not make at this time, but would do it when next they ſhould meet together. He ſaid no more to the Houſe, but in private diſcourſe he owned it was for bringing over the Electoreſs of *Hanover* to live in *England:* Upon this I will digreſs a little, to open the deſign and the views, which he and ſome others might have in this motion.

It ſeemed not natural to believe that a Party, which had been all along backward at beſt, and cold in every ſtep that was made in ſettling the Succeſſion in that Family, ſhould become all on the ſudden, ſuch Converts as to be zealous for it; ſo it was not an unreaſonable jealouſy to ſuſpect, that ſomewhat lay hid under it: It was thought that they either knew, or did apprehend, that this would not be acceptable to the Queen; and they, being highly diſpleaſed with the meaſures ſhe took, went into this deſign both to vex her, and in hopes that a Faction might ariſe out of it, which might breed a diſtraction in our Councils, and ſome of them might hope thereby to revive the Prince of *Wales*'s Pretenſions. They reckoned ſuch a motion would be popular: And if either the Court or the Whigs, on whom the Court was now beginning to look more favourably, ſhould oppoſe it, this would caſt a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had expreſſed for that Succeſſion, did now, upon the hopes of favour at Court, throw it up: And thoſe who had been hitherto conſidered as the Enemies of that Houſe, might hope by this Motion to overcome all the prejudices that the nation had taken up againſt them; and they might create a merit to themſelves in the minds of that Family, by this early zeal, which they reſolved now to expreſs for it.

This was ſet on foot among all the party: But the more ſincere among them could not be prevailed on to act ſo falſe a part, tho' they were told this was the likelieſt way, to advance the Pretended Prince of *Wales*'s Intereſts.

The Houſe of Commons committed to priſon ſome of the men of *Ailesbury.*

I now come to give an account of the laſt buſineſs of this Seſſion, with which the Parliament ended; it was formerly told what proceedings had been at Law upon the Election at *Ailesbury*; the judgment that the Lords gave in that matter was executed, and upon that five others of the Inhabitants brought their actions againſt the Conſtables, upon the ſame grounds. The Houſe of Commons looked on this as a great contempt of their Votes, and they voted this a Breach of Privilege, to which they added a new, and 'till then unheard-of Crime, that it was contrary to the Declaration that they had made; upon that they ſent their Meſſenger for theſe five men, and committed them to *Newgate*, where they lay three months priſoners; they were all the while well-ſupplied and much viſited; ſo they lay without making any application to the Houſe of Commons: It was not thought adviſable to move in ſuch a matter, till all the Money-Bills were paſſed; then motions were made, in the Interval between the Terms, upon the Statute for a *Habeas Corpus*; but the Statute relating only to commitments by the Royal Authority, this did not lie within it.

When the Term came, a motion was made in the Queen's Bench upon the Common-Law, in behalf of the Priſoners for a *Habeas Corpus*; the Lawyers who moved it, produced the Commitment, in which their offence was ſet forth, that they had claimed the benefit of the law in oppoſition to a Vote of the Houſe of Commons to the contrary; they ſaid the ſubjects were governed by the Laws, which they might, and were bound to know, and not by the Votes of a Houſe of Parliament, which they were neither bound to know, nor to obey: Three of the Judges were of opinion, that the Court could take no cognizance of that matter; the Chief-Juſtice was of another mind; he thought a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and ſince the ground of the commitment was ſpecified in the warrant, he thought it plainly appeared, that the priſoners had been guilty of no legal offence, and that therefore they ought to be diſcharged: He was but one againſt three, ſo the Priſoners were remanded.

Upon

Upon that they moved for a Writ of Error, to bring the matter before the Lords; that was only to be come at, by petitioning the Queen to order it: The Commons were alarmed at this, and made an Addreſs to the Queen, ſetting forth, that they had paſſed all the Money-Bills, therefore they hoped her Majeſty would not grant this. Ten Judges agreed, that in civil matters a petition for a Writ of Error was a petition of right, and not of grace; two of them only were of another mind; it was therefore thought a very ſtrange thing, which might have moſt pernicious conſequences, for a Houſe of Commons to deſire the Queen, not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of Law and of her Coronation-Oath; they alſo took on them to affirm, that the Writ did not lie; tho' that was clearly the work of the Judicature to declare, whether it lay or not, and that was unqueſtionably the Right of the Lords; They only could determine that; the ſupplying the publick occaſions was a ſtrange conſideration to be offered the Queen, as an argument to perſuade her to act againſt Law: as if they had pretended that they had bribed her to infringe the Law; and to deny Juſtice: Money given for publick ſervice was given to the Country, and to themſelves, as properly as to the Queen. 1705

The Queen anſwered their Addreſs, and in it ſaid, that the ſtopping Proceedings at Law, was a matter of ſuch conſequence, that ſhe muſt conſider well of it: This was thought ſo cold, that they returned her no thanks for it; tho' a well-compoſed Houſe of Commons would certainly have thanked her, for that tender regard to Law and Juſtice. The Houſe of Commons carried their anger farther; they ordered the Priſoners to be taken out of *Newgate*, and to be kept by their Serjeant; they alſo ordered the Lawyers and the Sollicitors to be taken into cuſtody, for appearing in behalf of the Priſoners: Theſe were ſuch ſtrange and unheard-of Proceedings, that by them the minds of all people were much alienated from the Houſe of Commons. But the Priſoners were under ſuch management, and ſo well ſupported, that they would not ſubmit nor ask pardon of the Houſe; it was generally believed, that they were ſupplied and managed by the Lord *Wharton*; they petitioned the Houſe of Lords for relief; and the Lords reſolved to proceed in the matter, by ſure and regular ſteps: They firſt came to ſome general Reſolutions; That neither Houſe of Parliament could aſſume or create any new Privilege, that they had not been formerly poſſeſſed of; That Subjects claiming their Rights in a Courſe of Law, againſt thoſe who had no Privilege, could not be a Breach of Privilege of either Houſe; That the impriſoning the men of *Ailesbury*, for acting contrary to a Declaration made by the Houſe of Commons, was againſt Law; That the committing their Friends and their Counſel for aſſiſting them, in order to the procuring their Liberty in a legal way, was contrary to Law; and that the Writ of Error could not be denied without breaking the *Magna Charta* and the Laws of *England*. Theſe Reſolutions were communicated to the Houſe of Commons at a Conference.

They made a long Anſwer to them: In it they ſet forth, that the right of determining Elections was lodged only with them, and that therefore they only could judge who had a Right to elect; they only were the judges of their own Privileges, the Lords could not intermeddle in it; they quoted very copiouſly the Proceedings in the year 1675, upon an Appeal brought againſt a Member of their Houſe; they ſaid their Priſoners ought only to apply themſelves to them for their liberty; and that no motion had ever been made for a Writ of Error in ſuch a caſe. Upon this ſecond Conference according to form, the matter was brought to a free Conference, where the point was fully argued on both ſides; the City and the Body of the Nation were on the Lords ſide in the matter. Upon this, the Lords drew up a full repreſentation of the whole thing, and laid it before the Queen, with an earneſt prayer to her Majeſty, to give order for the Writ of Error; this was thought ſo well drawn, that ſome preferred it to thoſe of the former Seſſions; it contained a long and clear deduction of the whole affair with great decency of ſtyle, but with many heavy reflections on the Houſe of Commons.

By this time the whole buſineſs of the Seſſion was brought to a concluſion; for the Lords, who had the Money-Bills, would not paſs them, till this was ended: They carried their Repreſentation to the Queen, who in anſwer to it told

1705 told them, that ſhe would have granted the Writ of Error, but ſhe ſaw it was neceſſary to put a preſent concluſion to the Seſſion. This being reported to the Houſe, was looked on by them as a clear deciſion in their favour; therefore they ordered their humble thanks to be immediately returned to her Majeſty for it: An hour after that, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed all the Bills, and ended the Seſſion, with a Speech full of Thanks for the Supplies ſo readily granted; ſhe took notice with regret of the Effects of the ill-humour and animoſity, that had appeared; and ſpoke of the narrow eſcape we had made, which ſhe hoped would teach all perſons to avoid ſuch dangerous Experiments for the future; this was univerſally underſtood to be meant of the *Tack*, as indeed it could be meant of nothing elſe.

The end of the Parliament.

Thus this Seſſion, and with it this Parliament came to an end: it was no ſmall bleſſing to the Queen, and to the Nation, that they got well out of ſuch hands: They had diſcovered, on many occaſions, and very manifeſtly, what lay at bottom with moſt of them; but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make uſe of their numbers; the conſtant Succeſſes, with which God had bleſſed the Queen's Reign, put it out of their power to compaſs that, which was aimed at by them; the forcing a Peace, and of conſequence the delivering all up to *France*. Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, the wiſeſt Man of the Party, died before the laſt Seſſion; and by their conduct after his death, it appeared, that they wanted his Direction: He had been at the head of the oppoſition, that was made in the laſt Reign from the beginning to the end; but he gave up many points of great importance in the critical minute, for which I had good reaſon to believe, that he had 12000 pounds from the late King, at different times: At his death it appeared, that he was much richer, than by any viſible computation he could be valued at: Which made ſome caſt an Imputation on his memory, as if he had received great ſums even from *France*.

Bills that were not paſſed.

I ſhall conclude the relation of this Parliament with an account of ſome things, that were begun, but not perfected by them: There was a Bill offered for the Naturalization of ſome Hundreds of *Frenchmen*, to which the Commons added a Clauſe, diſabling the perſons ſo naturalized, from voting in Elections of Parliament; the true reaſon of this was, becauſe it was obſerved that the *French* among us gave in all Elections their Votes, for thoſe who were moſt zealous againſt *France*: and yet, with an apparent diſingenuity, ſome gave it as a reaſon for ſuch a Clauſe, that they muſt be ſuppoſed ſo partial to the Intereſts of their own Country, that it was not fit to give them any ſhare in our Government. The Lords looked on this as a new attempt, and the Clauſe added was a plain contradiction to the body of the Bill, which gave them all the Rights of natural-born Subjects; and this took from them the chief of them all, the chuſing their Repreſentatives in Parliament: They would not agree to it, and the Commons reſolved not to depart from it; ſo without coming to a free Conference, the Bill fell with the Seſſion.

Another Bill was begun by the Lords againſt the Papiſts: It was occaſioned by ſeveral complaints brought from many parts of the Kingdom, chiefly from *Cheſhire*, of the practices and inſolence of thoſe of that Religion: So a Bill was ordered to be brought in, with Clauſes in it, that would have made the Act, paſſed againſt them four years before, prove effectual; which for want of theſe, has hitherto been of no effect at all: This paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent to the Commons. They had no mind to paſs it; but to avoid the ill effects of their refuſing ſuch a Bill, they added a Clauſe to it, containing ſevere Penalties on Papiſts who ſhould once take the Oaths, and come into the Communion of our Church, if they ſhould be guilty of any occaſional Conformity with Popery afterwards: They fancied that this of Occaſional Conformity was ſo odious to the Lords, that every Clauſe that condemned it, would be rejected by them: But when they came to underſtand that the Lords were reſolved to agree to the Clauſe, they would not put it to that hazard: So the Bill lay on their table, and ſlept 'till the Prorogation.

A General Self-denying Bill was offered in the Houſe of Commons, by thoſe very Men, who in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, when they hoped for Places themſelves, had oppoſed the motion of ſuch a Bill with great indignation: Now

the ſcene was a little altered, they ſaw they were not like to be Favourites, ſo they pretended to be Patriots. This looked ſo ſtrangely in them, that it was rejected: But another Bill of a more reſtrained nature paſſed, diſabling ſome Officers, particularly thoſe that were concerned in the Prize-Office, from ſerving in Parliament: To this a general Clauſe was added, that diſabled all who held any Office, that had been created ſince the year 1684, or any Office that ſhould be created for the future, from ſitting in Parliament: This paſſed among them, and was ſent to the Lords; who did not think fit to agree to ſo general a Clauſe, but conſented to a particular diſability, put on ſome Offices by name: The Commons did not agree to this Alteration; they would have all or nothing: So the Bill fell. 1705

The concluſion of the Parliament ſet the whole Nation in a general ferment; both ſides ſtudied how to diſpoſe people's minds in the new Elections, with great induſtry and zeal: All people looked on the Affairs of *France*, as reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that the War could not run beyond the period of the next Parliament: A well-choſen one muſt prove a publick bleſſing, not only to *England*, but to all *Europe*; as a bad one would be fatal to us at home, as well as to our Allies abroad: The Affairs of *France* were run very low: All methods of raiſing money were now exhauſted, and could afford no great ſupplies: So, in imitation of our Exchequer-Bills, they began to give out Mint-Bills; but they could not create that confidence, which is juſtly put in Parliamentary Credit. The *French* had hopes from their Party here in *England*, and there was a disjointing in the ſeveral Provinces of the *United Netherlands*: But as long as we were firm and united, we had a great influence on the States, at leaſt to keep things entire during the War: So it was viſible that a good Election in *England*, muſt give ſuch a proſpect for three years, as would have a great Influence on all the Affairs of *Europe*.

Proceedings in the Convocation.

I muſt, before I end the relation of the Parliament, ſay ſomewhat of the Convocation, that attended upon it, tho' it was then ſo little conſidered, that ſcarce any notice was taken of them, and they deſerved that no mention ſhould be made of them. The Lower Houſe continued to proceed with much indecent violence: They ſtill held their intermediate Seſſions, and brought up injurious and reflecting Addreſſes to the Upper Houſe, which gave a very large exerciſe to the patience and forbearance of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops; the Archbiſhop, after he had born long with their perverſeneſs, and ſaw no good effect of it, proceeded to an Eccleſiaſtical Monition againſt their intermediate meetings: This put a ſtop to that, for they would not venture on the Cenſures, that muſt in courſe follow, if no regard was had to the Monition. At the final Prorogation, the Archbiſhop diſmiſſed them with a wiſe well-compoſed Speech; he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong ſteps they had made; to this he added a ſevere, but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headſtrong and factious, and deſigned to force themſelves into Preferments, by the noiſe they made, and by this ill humour that they endeavoured to ſpread among the Clergy, who were generally ſoured, even with relation to the Queen herſelf, beyond what could be imagined poſſible.

Now having given a full relation of our Counſels and other Affairs at home, I ſhall next conſider the Progreſs of thoſe abroad. The firſt operation of the Campaign was before *Gibraltar*: *Lake* was ſailing from *Lisbon* thither, and as he went out he met *Dilks*, who was ſent from *England* to encreaſe his Force; by this Addition he had a ſtrong Fleet of 30 Men of War, ſo he held on his courſe with all expedition, hoping to find *Pointy* in the Bay of *Gibraltar*; but a great Storm had blown all, but five Ships, up the *Mediterranean*. *Pointy* remained only with theſe, when he was ſurpriſed by *Lake*, who did quickly overpower him, and took three Capital Ships; the other two, that were the greateſt of them, were run aſhore, and burnt near *Marbella*. *Lake* ſailed to the *Levant*, to ſee if he could overtake thoſe Ships, that the Wind had driven from the reſt; but after a fruitleſs purſuit for ſome days, he returned back to *Gibraltar*: That Garriſon was now ſo well ſupplied, that the *Spaniards* loſt all hopes of being able to take it; ſo they raiſed the Siege, turning it into a very feeble Blockade. This advantage came at the ſame time, that *Verue* was loſt, to ballance that.

The Siege of *Gibraltar* raiſed.

1705

The Duke of *Marlborough* marched to *Triers*.

Now the Campaign was to be opened, the Duke of *Marlborough* deſigned that the *Moſelle* ſhould be the Scene of Action, and care had been taken to lay up Magazines of all ſorts in *Triers*: The States conſented, that he ſhould carry the greateſt part of their Army to the *Moſelle*, and reſolved to lie on the Defenſive upon their own Frontiers; for they reckoned that how ſtrong ſoever the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Army was at that time, yet whenſoever *France* ſhould be preſſed with ſo great a Force as they reckoned would be on the *Moſelle*, he would be ordered to ſend ſuch Detachments thither, that his Army would be quickly diminiſhed, and ſo would not have the ſuperior ſtrength long. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ſeemed to like this Scheme of the Campaign ſo well, and had concurred ſo cordially in the concert of it, during the Winter, that no doubt was made of his being both able and willing, to enter upon this new Scene of the War: But as the Duke of *Marlborough* was ſetting out, depending on his Concurrence, he received an Expreſs from him, excuſing himſelf both on his own want of Health, and becauſe the Force he had about him was not conſiderable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him ſo ſoon as might be wiſhed for. This could not ſtop the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had ſet his heart on opening the Campaign in thoſe Parts, and had great hopes of Succeſs: ſo he reſolved to puſh the matter as far as he could. He went to the Prince of *Baden* to concert Matters with him; whoſe ill Health ſeemed only to be a Pretence: It was true, that the Princes and Circles of the Empire had not ſent in their Quotas, but it appeared that there was already ſtrength enough, in conjunction with the Army, that the Duke of *Marlborough* was to bring, to advance, and open the Campaign with great advantage, at leaſt 'till Detachments ſhould come from other Parts: The Prince of *Baden* at laſt conſented to this, and promiſed to follow, with all the Forces he could bring.

Expecting the Prince of *Baden*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* was ſo ſatisfied with theſe Aſſurances, that he came back to his Army, and quickened their March, ſo that he brought them to *Triers*; and he advanced eight Leagues further, through ſo many Defilés, that the *French* might eaſily have made his March both dangerous and difficult. He poſted himſelf very near Mareſchal *Villars*'s Camp, not doubting but that the Prince of *Baden* would quickly follow him: Inſtead of that, he repeated his former excuſe of want of Health and Force. That which gave the worſt ſuſpicions of him was, that it appeared plainly, that the *French* knew what he intended to do, and their Management ſhewed they depended on it; for they ordered no Detachments to encreaſe M. *Villars*'s Army: On the contrary, the Elector of *Bavaria*, having the ſuperior Force, preſſed the States on their Frontier. *Huy* was beſieged and taken, after it had beyond all expectation held out ten days: *Liege* was attacked next; the Town was taken, but the Citadel held out. Upon this the States ſent to the Duke of *Marlborough* to march back with all poſſible haſte; he had then eat up the Forage round about him, and was out of all hope, of the Prince of *Baden*'s coming to join him; ſo he ſaw the neceſſity of marching back after he had loſt ſome weeks in a fruitleſs Attempt: He made ſuch haſte in his March, that he loſt many of his Men in the way, by fatigue and deſertion; the *French* gave him no trouble, neither while he lay ſo near their Camp, nor when he drew off, to march away with ſo much haſte. To compleat the ill Conduct

Who failed him.

of the *Germans*, thoſe who were left with the Magazines at *Triers*, pretending danger, deſtroyed them all, and abandoning *Triers*, retired back to the *Rhine*.

The Prince of *Baden*'s Conduct through this whole matter was liable to great Cenſure: The worſt ſuſpicion was, that he was corrupted by the *French*. Thoſe who did not carry their Cenſure ſo far, attributed his acting as he did to his Pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of *Marlborough*, and apprehending that the whole Glory of the Campaign would be aſcribed to him, ſince he had the ſtronger Army, choſe rather to defeat the whole Deſign, than ſee another carry away the chief Honour of any Succeſſes, that might have happened. The Duke of *Marlborough* came back in good time to raiſe the Siege of the Citadel of *Liege*; and he retook *Huy* in three days: After that, in conjunction with the *Dutch* Army, he advanced towards the *French* Lines: He for ſome days amuſed them with feints; at laſt he made the Attack, where he had deſigned it, and broke through the Lines, and gave a great Defeat to the Body of the *French* that

The Duke of *Marlborough* broke thro' the *French* Lines.

that defended them, with the Loſs only of ſeven Men on his ſide; and ſo without more oppoſition he came very near *Louvain*, the *Dyle* running between his Camp and the Town: A Deluge of Rain fell that Night, and ſwelled the *Dyle* ſo, that it was not poſſible to paſs it. This gave the *French* time to recover themſelves out of the firſt Conſternation, that the Advantages he had gained put them in: After a few days, when the paſſing the *Dyle* was practicable, the Duke of *Marlborough* gave orders for it: But the *French* were poſted with ſo much advantage on the other ſide, that the *Dutch* Generals perſuaded the Deputies of the *States*, that they muſt run a great riſque, if they ſhould venture to force the Paſſage. The Duke of *Marlborough* was not a little mortified with this, but he bore it calmly, and moved another way. After ſome few Motions, another occaſion was offered, which he intended to lay hold on: Orders were given to force the Paſſage; but a motion through a Wood, that was thought neceſſary to ſupport that, was not believed practicable: ſo the Deputies of the *States* were again poſſeſſed with the Danger of the Attempt; and they thought their Affairs were in ſo good a Condition, that ſuch a deſperate Undertaking, as that ſeemed to be, was not to be ventured on. 1705

The *Dutch* would not venture a Battle.

This was very uneaſy to the Duke, but he was forced to ſubmit to it, tho' very unwillingly: All agreed that the Enterprize was bold and doubtful; ſome thought it muſt have ſucceeded, though with ſome Loſs at firſt; and that if it had ſucceeded, it might have proved a deciſive Action; others indeed looked on it as too deſperate. A great Breach was like to ariſe upon this, both in the Army, and among the *States* at the *Hague*, and in the Towns of *Holland*, in *Amſterdam* in particular; where the Burghers came in a body to the *Stadthouſe*, complaining of the Deputies, and that the Duke of *Marlborough* had not fuller Powers.

I can give no judgment in ſo nice a point, in which Military Men were of very different opinions, ſome juſtifying the Duke of *Marlborough*, as much as others cenſured him: He ſhewed great temper on this occaſion, and though it gave him a very ſenſible trouble, yet he ſet himſelf to calm all the heat, that was raiſed upon it. The Campaign in *Flanders* produced nothing after this, but fruitleſs Marches, while our Troops were ſubſiſted in the Enemy's Country, 'till the time came of going into Winter-Quarters. Prince *Lewis*'s Backwardneſs, and the Caution of the Deputies of the *States*, made this Campaign leſs Glorious than was expected; for I never knew the Duke of *Marlborough* go out ſo full of hopes, as in the beginning of it: But things had not anſwered his expectation.

The Emperor's Death and Character

This Summer the Emperor *Leopold* died: He was the moſt knowing and the moſt virtuous Prince of his Communion; only he wanted the Judgment that was neceſſary for conducting great Affairs, in ſuch critical Times: He was almoſt always betrayed, and yet he was ſo firm to thoſe, who had the Addreſs to inſinuate themſelves into his good Opinion and Confidence, that it was not poſſible to let him ſee thoſe Miſcarriages, that ruined his Affairs ſo often, and brought them ſometimes near the laſt Extremities: Of theſe every body elſe ſeemed more ſenſible than he himſelf. He was devout and ſtrict in his Religion, and was ſo implicit in his ſubmiſſion to thoſe Prieſts, who had credit with him, the Jeſuits in particular, that he owed all his Troubles to their Counſels. The Perſecution they began in *Hungary* raiſed one great War; which gave the *Turks* occaſion to beſiege *Vienna*, by which he was almoſt entirely ſwallowed up: This danger did not produce more Caution; after the Peace of *Carlowitz*, there was ſo much Violence and Oppreſſion in the Government of *Hungary*, both of Papiſts and Proteſtants, that this raiſed a ſecond War there, which, in conjunction with the Revolt of the Elector of *Bavaria*, brought him a ſecond time very near utter Ruin: Yet he could never be prevailed on, either to puniſh, or ſo much as to ſuſpect thoſe, who had ſo fatally entangled his Affairs, that without Foreign Aid nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the Puniſhment of Criminals was uneaſy to him: Yet all the Cruelty in the Perſecution of Hereticks ſeemed to raiſe no relentings in him. It could not but be obſerved by all Proteſtants, how much the ill influence of the Popiſh Religion appeared in him, who was one of the mildeſt and moſt virtuous Princes of the Age, ſince Cruelty in the Matters of Religion had a full courſe

1705 under him, tho' it was as contrary to his natural Temper, as it was to his Interest, and proved oftner than once almoſt fatal to all his Affairs. His Son *Joſeph*, elected King of the *Romans*, ſucceeded him both in his Hereditary and Elective Dignities: It was given out, that he would apply himſelf much to buſineſs, and would avoid thoſe Rocks on which his Father had ſtruck, and almoſt ſplit; and correct thoſe Errors to which his Father's eaſineſs had expoſed him: He promiſed to thoſe Miniſters, that the Queen and the States had in his Court, that he would offer all reaſonable Terms to the *Hungarians*: And he conſented to their ſetting a Treaty on foot, in which they were to be the Mediators, and become the Guarantees for the obſervance of ſuch Articles, as ſhould be agreed on; and he gave great hopes, that he would not continue in that ſubjection to the Prieſts, to which his Father had been captivated.

He deſired to confer with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to concert all Affairs with him: The Queen conſented to this, and the Duke went to *Vienna*, where he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all aſſurances given him, that could be given in words: He found, that the Emperor was highly diſſatisfied with the Prince of *Baden*, but he had ſuch credit in the Empire, eſpecially with the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, that it was neceſſary to bear with that, which could not be helped. The Duke of *Marlborough* returned thro' the Hereditary Dominions to *Berlin*, where he had learned ſo perfectly to accomodate himſelf to that King's Temper, that he ſucceeded in every thing he propoſed, and renewed all Treaties for one Year longer. He came from thence to the Court of *Hannover*, and there he gave them full Aſſurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their Intereſts, in maintaining the Succeſſion to the Crown in their Family, with which the Elector was fully ſatisfied: But it appeared that the Electoreſs had a mind, to be invited over to *England*. From thence he came back to *Holland*, and it was near the end of the year before he came over to *England*. Thus I have caſt all that relates to him, in one continued ſeries, though it ran out into a courſe of many Months.

Affairs in *Germany*.

The *German* Army was not brought together before *Auguſt*: It was a very brave one, yet it did not much; the *French* gave way, and retired before them. *Hagenau* and ſome other Places were left by the *French*, and poſſeſſed by the Imperialiſts: a Blockade was laid to Fort *Lewis*. But nothing was done by this noble Army, equal either to their Numbers and Strength, or to the Reputation that the Prince of *Baden* had formerly acquired. This was contrary to the general expectation; for it was thought, that being at the head of ſo great an Army, he would have ſtudied to have ſignalized himſelf, if it had been but to rival the Glory, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* had acquired.

And in *Italy*.

Prince *Eugene* had a hard time in *Italy*: He had a weak Army, and it was both ill-provided, and ill-paid; he was long ſhut up within the Country of *Bergamo*, at laſt he broke through to *Cuſano*; where there was a very hot Action between him and the Duke of *Vendoſme*; both Sides pretended they had the Victory, yet the Duke of *Vendoſme* repaſſed the River, and the Imperialiſts kept the Field of Battel. The *French* threatned *Turin* with a Siege, but they began with *Civas*, which held out ſome Months, and was at laſt abandoned; the Duke of *Feuillade* commanded the Army near *Turin*, and ſeemed to diſpoſe every thing in order to a Siege; but the Deſign was turned upon *Nice*, tho' late in the year. They made a brave reſiſtance for many weeks; in *December* they were forced to capitulate, and the Place was demoliſhed by the *French*.

The Firmneſs, that the Duke of *Savoy* expreſſed in all theſe Loſſes, was the wonder of all *Europe*; he had now but a ſmall Army of 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, and had ſcarce Territory enough to ſupport theſe; he had no conſiderable Places left him but *Turin* and *Coni*: But he ſeemed reſolved to be driven out of all, rather than to abandon the Alliance. His Dutcheſs with all the Clergy, and indeed all his Subjects, prayed him to ſubmit to the neceſſity of his Affairs; nothing could ſhake him; he admitted none of his Biſhops nor Clergy into his Councils, and as his Envoy the Count *Briancon* told me, he had no certain Father-Confeſſor, but ſent ſometimes to the *Dominicans*, and ſometimes to the *Franciſcans* for a Prieſt, when he intended to go to Confeſſion.

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I turn next to *Spain*, which was this year a Scene of most important Transactions: The first Campaign in *Portugal* before the hot Season, produced nothing: The second Campaign seemed to promise somewhat, but the Conduct was so feeble, that tho' the Earl of *Gallway* did all that was possible, to put things in a good posture, yet he saw a disposition in the Ministers, and in their whole Management, that made him often despair, and wish himself out of the Service. *Fagel*, that commanded the *Dutch* Forces, acted in every thing in opposition to him, and it was visible that the Ministers did secretly encourage that, by which they excused themselves. 1705 Affairs in *Spain*.

King *Charles* was so disgusted with these Proceedings, that he was become quite weary of staying in *Portugal*: So when the Fleet of the Allies came to *Lisbon* with an Army on board, of above 5000 Men, commanded by the Earl of *Peterborough*, he resolved to go aboard, and to try his Fortune with them. The Almirante of *Castile* died about that time; some thought that was a great Loss; tho' others did not set so high a value upon him, nor in any of the Intrigues that were among the Grandees at *Madrid*: They were indeed offended with several small matters in King *Philip*'s Conduct, and with the Ascendant, that the *French* had in all their Councils; for they saw every thing was directed by Orders sent from *Versailles*, and that their King was really but a Viceroy: They were also highly provoked by some Innovations made in the Ceremonial, which they valued above more important Matters; many seemed disgusted at that Conduct, and withdrew from the Court. The Marquis of *Leganes* was considered, as most active in infusing Jealousies and a Dislike of the Government into the other Grandees, so he was seized on, and sent Prisoner to *Navarre*; the Grandees, in all their Conduct, shewed more of a haughty Sullenness in maintaining their own Privileges, than of a generous Resolution to free their Country from the Slavery, under which it was fallen; they seemed neither to have Heads capable of laying any solid Designs, for shaking off the yoke, nor Hearts brave enough to undertake it. A Fleet and Army sent to *Spain*.

Our Fleet sailed from *Lisbon* with King *Charles*; they stopt at *Gibraltar*; and carried along with them the Prince of *Hesse*, who had been so long Governour of *Barcelona*, that he knew both the Tempers, and the Strength, and Importance of the Place. The first Design of this Expedition was concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*; and the Forces they had on board, were either to join him, or to make an attempt on *Naples* or *Sicily*, as should be found most advisable: There were Agents employed in different Parts of *Spain*, to give an account of the disposition People were in, and of what seemed most practicable. A Body of Men rose in *Catalonia* about *Vick*: upon the Knowledge King *Charles* had of this, and upon other Advertisements that were sent to our Court, of the dispositions of those of that Principality, the Orders which King *Charles* desired were sent; and brought by a Runner, that was dispatched from the Queen to the Fleet: So the Fleet steered to the Coast of *Catalonia*, to try what could be done there. The Earl of *Peterborough*, who had set his heart on *Italy*, and on Prince *Eugene*, was not a little displeased with this, as appeared in a long Letter from him, which the Lord-Treasurer shewed me.

They landed not far from *Barcelona*, and where joined with many *Miquelets* and others of the Country; these were good at plundering, but could not submit to a regular Discipline, nor were they willing to expose themselves to dangerous Services. *Barcelona* had a Garrison of 5000 Men in it; these were commanded by Officers, who were entirely in the Interests of King *Philip*; it seemed a very unreasonable thing to undertake the Siege of such a Place, with so small a Force; they could not depend on the raw and undisciplined Multitudes, that came in to join them, who if things succeeded not in their hands, would soon abandon them, or perhaps study to merit a pardon, by cutting their throats. A Council of War was called, to consult on what could be proposed and done; *Stanhope*, who was one of them, told me, that both *English* and *Dutch* were all of opinion, that the Siege could not be undertaken, with so small a Force; those within being as strong as they were, nor did they see any thing else worth the attempting: They therefore thought that no time was to be lost, but that they were all to go again on board, and to consider what Course was next to be taken, They landed near *Barcelona*.

1705 before the Seaſon were ſpent, when the Fleet would be obliged to return back again, and if they could not fix themſelves any where before that time, they muſt ſail back with the Fleet. The Prince of *Heſſe* only was of opinion, that they ought to ſit down before *Barcelona*; he ſaid, he had ſecret intelligence of the good affections of many in the Town, who were well-known to him, and on whom he relied, and he undertook to anſwer for their Succeſs: This could not ſatisfy thoſe who knew nothing of his Secrets, and ſo could only judge of things by what appeared to them.

The King preſſed the Siege.

The Debate laſted ſome hours: In concluſion, the King himſelf ſpoke near half an hour; he reſumed the whole Debate, he anſwered all the Objections that were made againſt the Siege; and treated every one of thoſe who had made them, as he anſwered them, with particular Civilities; he ſupported the truth of what the Prince of *Heſſe* had aſſerted, as being known to himſelf; he ſaid, in the State in which his Affairs then ſtood, nothing could be propoſed that had not great difficulties in it, all was doubtful, and much muſt be put to hazard; but this ſeemed leſs dangerous than any other thing that was propoſed: Many of his Subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their Lives; it became him therefore to let them ſee, that he would run the ſame hazard with them; he deſired that they would ſtay ſo long with him, till ſuch attempts ſhould be made, that all the World might be convinced, that nothing could be done, and he hoped that till that appeared, they would not leave him; he added, that if their Orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own Subjects: upon this they reſolved to ſit down before *Barcelona*. They were all amazed to ſee ſo young a Prince, ſo little practiſed in Buſineſs, argue in ſo nice a point, with ſo much force, and conclude with ſuch heroical Reſolutions. This proved happy in many Reſpects; It came to be known afterwards, that the *Catalans* and *Miquelets*, who had joined them, hearing that they were reſolved to abandon them, and go back to their Ships, had reſolved, either out of reſentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this ſmall Army ſate down before *Barcelona*, they found they were too weak to beſiege it; they could ſcarce mount their Cannon: When they came to examine their Stores, they found them very defective; and far ſhort of the Quantities that by their Liſts they expected to find; whether this flowed from Treachery or Careleſſneſs, I will not determine; there is much of both in all our Offices. It ſoon appeared that the Intelligence was true, concerning the Inclinations of thoſe in the Town, their Affections were entire for King *Charles*: but they were over-awed by the Garriſon, and by *Velaſco*, who as well as the Duke of *Popoli*, who had the chief command, was devoted to the Intereſts of King *Philip*. Deſerters came daily from the Town and brought them Intelligence: the moſt conſiderable thing was, that Fort *Montjuy* was very ill guarded, it being thought above their Strength to make an attempt on it; ſo it was concluded, that all the hopes of reducing *Barcelona* lay in the Succeſs of their Deſign on that Fort. Two Bodies were ordered to march ſecretly that night, and to move towards the other ſide of *Barcelona*, that the true Deſign might not be ſuſpected, for all the hopes of Succeſs lay in the Secrecy of the March. The firſt Body conſiſted of 800, and both the Prince of *Heſſe* and the Earl of *Peterborough* led them: The other Body conſiſted of 600, who were to follow theſe at ſome diſtance; and were not to come above half way up the Hill, till further Order: *Stanhope* led this Body, from whom I had this Account. They drew up with them ſome ſmall Field-pieces and Mortars; they had taken a great compaſs, and had marched all night, and were much fatigued by the time that they had gained the Top of the Hill; 300 of them, being commanded to another ſide of the Fort, were ſeparated from the reſt, and miſtaking their way, fell into the hands of a Body of Men, ſent up from the Town to reinforce the Garriſon in the Fort; before they were ſeparated, the whole Body had attacked the Outworks, and carried them; but while the Prince of *Heſſe* was leading on his Men he received a Shot in his Body, upon which he fell; yet he would not be carried off, but continued too long in the place giving Orders, and died in a few hours, much and juſtly lamented. The Governor of the Fort, ſeeing a ſmall Body in poſſeſſion of the Out-works, reſolved to ſally out upon them, and drew up 400 Men in

Fort *Montjuy* attacked.

in order to it; theſe would ſoon have maſter'd a ſmall and wearied Body, diſ- 1705
hearten'd by ſo great a loſs; ſo that if he had followed his reſolution all was
loſt, for all that *Stanhope* could have done, was, to receive, and bring off ſuch as
could get to him; but one of thoſe newly taken, happening to cry out, *O poor Prince of* Heſſe, the Governour hearing this, called for him, and examined him, and when he learned that both the Prince of *Heſſe* and the Earl of *Peterborough* were with that Body, he concluded that the whole Army was certainly coming up after them; and reflecting on that, he thought it was not fit for him to expoſe his Men, ſince he believed the Body they were to attack would be ſoon much ſuperiour to him; ſo he reſolved not to riſque a Sally, but to keep within and maintain the Fort againſt them. Thus the Earl of *Peterborough* continued quiet in the Out-works, and being reinforced with more Men, he attacked the Fort, but with no great hopes of ſucceeding: he threw a few Bombs into it, one of theſe fell happily into the Magazine of Powder, and blew it up: by this the Governour and ſome of the beſt Officers were killed, which ſtruck the reſt with ſuch a Conſternation, that they delivered up the Place. This Succeſs gave them great hopes, the Town lying juſt under the Hill, which the Fort ſtood on: Upon this the Party in *Barcelona*, that was well affected to King *Charles*, began to take heart, and to ſhew themſelves: And after a few days Siege, another happy Bomb fell with ſo good an effect, that the Garriſon was forced to capitulate. And taken.

King *Charles* was received into *Barcelona*, with great expreſſions of joy. In the firſt tranſport, they ſeemed reſolved to break through the Articles granted to the Garriſon, and to make ſacrifices of the chief Officers at leaſt. Upon that the Earl of *Peterborough*, with *Stanhope* and other Officers, rode about the Streets, to ſtop this fury, and to prevail with the People to maintain their Articles religiouſly; and in doing this, *Stanhope* ſaid to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the ſhooting and fire, that was flying about in that diſorder, than they had done during the whole Siege: They at laſt quieted the People, and the Articles of Capitulation were punctually obſerved. Upon this unexpected Succeſs, the whole Principality of *Catalonia* declared for King *Charles*: I will not proſecute this Relation ſo minutely in other Parts of it, having ſet down ſo particularly, that which I had from ſo good a Hand, chiefly to ſet forth the ſignal Steps of Providence, that did appear in this matter. *Barcelona* capitulated.

Soon after, our Fleet ſailed back to *England*, and *Stanhope* was ſent over in it, to give a full Relation of this great Tranſaction: By him King *Charles* wrote to the Queen a long and clear acccount of all his Affairs; full of great Acknowledgments of her aſſiſtance, with a high Commendation of all her Subjects, more particularly of the Earl of *Peterborough*: The Queen was pleaſed to ſhew me the Letter; it was all writ in his own hand, and the *French* of it was ſo little correct, that it was not like what a Secretary would have drawn for him: ſo from that I concluded he penned it himſelf. The Lord-Treaſurer had likewiſe another long Letter from him, which he ſhewed me: It was all in his own hand: One Correction ſeemed to make it evident, that He himſelf compoſed it. He wrote towards the end of the Letter, that he muſt depend on *his Protection*; upon reflection, that word ſeemed not fit for him to uſe to a Subject, ſo it was daſhed out, but the Letters were ſtill plain, and inſtead of it *Application* was writ over head: Theſe Letters gave a great Idea of ſo young and unexperienced a Prince, who was able to write with ſo much Clearneſs, Judgment, and Force. By all that is reported of the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, that King could not receive any great Aſſiſtance from him: He was ſpoken of, as a Man of a low Genius, who thought of nothing but the ways of enriching himſelf, even at the hazard of ruining his Maſter's Buſineſs. K. *Charles's* Letters.

Our Affairs at Sea were more proſperous this year, than they had been formerly: In the beginning of the Seaſon our Cruizers took ſo many of the *French* Privateers, that we had ſome thouſands of their Seamen in our hands: We kept ſuch a Squadron before *Breſt*, that the *French* Fleet did not think fit to venture out, and their *Toulon* Squadron had ſuffered ſo much in the Action of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: By this means our Navigation was ſafe, and our Trade was proſperous. Affairs at Sea.

1705

The Siege of *Badajos* raiſed.

The ſecond Campaign in *Portugal* ended worſe than the firſt: *Badajos* was beſieged, and the Earl of *Gallway* hoped he ſhould have been quickly Maſter of it: but his hopes were not well grounded, for the Siege was raiſed: In one Action the Earl of *Gallway*'s Arm was broke by a Cannon-Ball: It was cut off, and for ſome days his Life was in great danger; the Miſcarriage of the Deſign heightening the Fever that followed his Wound, by the vexation that it gave him. But

The Councils of *Portugal.*

now upon the news from *Catalonia*, the Councils of *Portugal* were quite changed: They had a better proſpect than formerly, of the Reduction of *Spain*: The War was now divided, which lay wholly upon them before: And the *French* Party in that Court had no more the old pretence, to excuſe their Councils by, which was, that it was not fit for them to engage themſelves too deep in that War, nor to provoke the *Spaniards* too much, and ſo expoſe themſelves to Revenges, if the Allies ſhould deſpair and grow weary of the War, and recall their Troops and Fleets. But now that they ſaw the War carried on ſo far, in the remoteſt Corner of *Spain*, which muſt give a great Diverſion to King *Philip*'s Forces, it ſeemed a much ſafer, as well as it was an eaſier thing to carry on the War, with more Vigour for the future. Upon this all poſſible Aſſurances were given the Earl of *Gallway*, that things ſhould be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his Diſpatches, which the Lord-Treaſurer ſhewed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the Sincerity of their Intentions, of which he was in great doubt, or rather deſpairing formerly.

Affairs in *Hungary.*

In *Hungary* matters went on very doubtfully: *Tranſylvania* was almoſt entirely reduced; *Ragotzi* had great Misfortunes there, as the Court of *Vienna* publiſhed the Progreſs of the new Emperor's Arms, but this was not to be much depended on: They could not conceal on the other hand the great Ravages, that the Malecontents made in other places: So that *Hungary* continued to be a Scene of Confuſion and Plunder.

And in *Poland.*

Poland was no better: King *Auguſtus*'s Party continued firm to him, tho' his long ſtay in *Saxony*, gave credit to a Report ſpread about, that he was reſolved to abandon that Kingdom, and to return to it no more: This Summer paſt over in Motions, and Actions of no great conſequence: what was gained in one place, was loſt in another. *Staniſlaus* got himſelf to be crowned: The old Cardinal, tho' ſummoned to *Rome*, would not go thither: He ſuffered himſelf to be forced to own *Staniſlaus*, but died before his Coronation, and that Ceremony was performed by the Biſhop of *Cujavia*: The *Muſcovites* made as great ravages in *Lithuania*, as they had done formerly in *Livonia*: The King of *Sweden* was in perpetual motion: But tho' he endeavoured it much, he could not bring things to a deciſive action. In the beginning of Winter, King *Auguſtus*, with two Perſons only, broke thro' *Poland* in diſguiſe, and got to the *Muſcovite* Army, which was put under his Command. The Campaign went on all the Winter-ſeaſon, which, conſidering the extream Cold in thoſe Parts, was thought a thing impracticable before. In the Spring after, *Reinſchild* a *Swediſh* General, fell upon the *Saxon* Army, that was far ſuperior to his in number: He had not above 10000 Men, and the *Saxons* were about 18000: He gave them a total Defeat, killed about 7000, and took 8000 Priſoners, and their Camp, Baggage, and Artillery: Numbers upon ſuch Occaſions are often ſwelled, but it is certain this was an entire Victory: The *Swedes* gave it out, that they had not loſt a thouſand Men in the Action; and yet even this great advantage was not like to put an end to the War, nor to the Diſtractions, into which that miſerable Kingdom was caſt. In it the World ſaw the Miſchiefs of an Elective Government, eſpecially when the Electors have loſt their Virtue, and ſet themſelves to ſale. The King of *Sweden* continued in an obſtinate Averſion to all Terms of Peace: His Temper, his Courage, and his military Conduct were much commended; only all ſaid he grew too ſavage, and was ſo poſitive and peremptory in his Reſolutions, that no Applications could ſoften him: He would ſcarce admit them to be made: He was ſaid to be devout almoſt to Enthuſiaſm, and he was ſeverely engaged in the *Lutheran* Rigidity, almoſt equally againſt Papiſts and Calviniſts: Only his Education was ſo much neglected, that he had not an equal meaſure of Knowledge to direct his Zeal.

This is ſuch a general View of the State of *Europe* this Summer, as may ſerve to ſhew how things went on in every Part of it. I now return to *England*. The Election of the Members of the Houſe of Commons was managed with Zeal and Induſtry on both ſides: The Clergy took great pains to infuſe, into all People, tragical Apprehenſions of the Danger the Church was in: The Univerſities were inflamed with this, and they took all means to ſpread it over the Nation, with much Vehemence: The Danger the Church of *England* was in, grew to be as the Word given in an Army; Men were known as they anſwered it: None carried this higher than the Jacobites, tho' they had made a Schiſm in the Church: At laſt, even the Papiſts, both at home and abroad, ſeemed to be diſturbed, with the Fears that the Danger our Church was in, put them under: and this was ſupported by the *Paris* Gazette, tho' the Party ſeemed concerned and aſhamed of that. Books were writ and diſperſed over the Nation with great Induſtry, to poſſeſs all People with the Apprehenſions that the Church was to be given up, that the Biſhops were betraying it, and that the Court would ſell it to the Diſſenters. They alſo hoped, that this Campaign, proving leſs proſperous than had been expected, might put the Nation into ill humour, which might furniſh them with ſome Advantages. In oppoſition to all this, the Court acted with ſuch caution and coldneſs, that the Whigs had very little Strength given them by the Miniſters, in managing Elections: They ſeemed rather to look on, as indifferent Spectators, but the Whigs exerted themſelves with great Activity and Zeal. The Diſſenters, who had been formerly much divided, were now united, entirely in the Intereſts of the Government, and joined with the Whigs every where.

1705 A Parliament choſen in *England*.

When the Elections were all over, the Court took more heart: for it appeared, that they were ſure of a great Majority, and the Lord *Godolphin* declared himſelf more openly, than he had done formerly, in favour of the Whigs: The firſt inſtance given of this, was the diſmiſſing of *Wright*, who had continued ſo long Lord-Keeper, that he was fallen under a high degree of Contempt with all ſides; even the Tories, tho' he was wholly theirs, deſpiſing him: He was ſordidly covetous, and did not at all live ſuitably to that High Poſt: He became extream rich, yet I never heard him charged with Bribery in his Court, but there was a foul Rumour, with relation to the Livings of the Crown, that were given by the Great Seal, as if they were ſet to ſale, by the Officers under him.

Cowper Lord-Keeper.

The Seals being ſent for, they were given to *Cowper*, a Gentleman of a good Family, of excellent Parts and of an engaging Deportment, very eminent in his Profeſſion; and who had for many years been conſidered, as the Man who ſpoke the beſt of any in the Houſe of Commons: He was a very acceptable Man to the Whig Party: They had been much diſguſted with the Lord-Treaſurer, for the Coldneſs he expreſſed, as if he would have maintained a Neutrality between the two Parties; tho' the one ſupported him, while the other deſigned to ruin him: But this Step went a great way towards the reconciling the Whigs to him.

A Seſſion of Parliament met this Summer in *Scotland*: There was a Change made in the Miniſtry there: Thoſe who were employed in the former Seſſion, could not undertake to carry a Majority: So all the Duke of *Queensbury*'s Friends were again brought into Employment. The Duke of *Argyle*'s Inſtructions were, that he ſhould endeavour to procure an Act, ſettling the Succeſſion as it was in *England*, or to ſet on foot a Treaty for the Union of the two Kingdoms: When he came to *Scotland*, and laid his Inſtructions before the reſt of the Miniſters there; the Marquiſs of *Anandale* preſſed, that they ſhould firſt try that, which was firſt named in the Inſtructions, and he ſeemed confident, that if all who were in Imployments would concur in it, they ſhould be able to carry it. Thoſe of another mind, who were in their hearts for the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, put this by with great Zeal: They ſaid they muſt not begin with that, which would meet with great Oppoſition, and be perhaps rejected: That would beget ſuch an Union of Parties, that if they miſcarried in the one, they would not be able to carry the other; therefore they thought, that the firſt Propoſition ſhould be for the Union: that was popular, and ſeemed to be a remote thing; ſo there would be no great Oppoſition made to a general Act about it. Thoſe who intended

1705

An Act for a Treaty of Union paſt.

tended ſtill to oppoſe it, would reckon they would find matter enough in the Particulars, to raiſe a great Oppoſition, and ſo to defeat it. This courſe was agreed on, at which the Marquiſs of *Anandale* was ſo highly offended, that he concurred no more in the Councils of thoſe, who gave the other Advice. Some did ſincerely deſire the Union, as that which would render the whole Iſland happy: others were in their Hearts againſt it; they thought it was a plauſible ſtep, which they believed would run, by a long Treaty, into a courſe of ſome years; that during that time, they would be continued in their Imployments, and they ſeemed to think it was impoſſible ſo to adjuſt all Matters, as to frame ſuch a Treaty, as would paſs in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The Jacobites concurred all heartily in this: It kept the ſettling the Succeſſion at a diſtance, and very few looked on the Motion for the Union, as any thing but a Pretence, to keep Matters yet longer in ſuſpence: So this being propoſed in Parliament, it was ſoon and readily agreed to, with little or no Oppoſition. But that being over, Complaints were made of the Acts paſſed, in the Parliament of *England*: which carried ſuch an appearance of Threatning, that many thought it became them not to enter on a Treaty, till theſe ſhould be repealed. It was carried, but not without difficulty, that no Clauſe relating to that ſhould be in the Act, that empowered the Queen to name the Commiſſioners; but that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, praying her that no Proceedings ſhould be made in the Treaty, till the Act, that declared the *Scotch* Aliens by ſuch a Day, ſhould be repealed: They alſo voted, that none of that Nation ſhould enter upon any ſuch Treaty, till that were firſt done. This was popular, and no Oppoſition was made to it: But thoſe who had ill Intentions, hoped that all would be defeated by it. The Seſſion run out into a great length, and in the Harveſt-time, which put the Country to a great Charge.

The State of *Ireland*.

In *Ireland*, the new Heat among the Proteſtants there, raiſed in the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s time, and connived at, if not encouraged by the Duke of *Ormond*, went on ſtill: A Body of hot Clergymen ſent from *England*, began to form Meetings in *Dublin*, and to have Emiſſaries and a Correſpondence over *Ireland*, on deſign to raiſe the ſame Fury in the Clergy of that Kingdom againſt the Diſſenters, that they had raiſed here in *England*: Whether this was only the effect of an unthinking and ill-govern'd heat among them, or if it was ſet on by foreign Practices, was not yet viſible. It did certainly ſerve their ends, ſo that it was not to be doubted, that they were not wanting in their Endeavours to keep it up, and to promote it, whether they were the original Contrivers of it or not; for indeed hot Men, not practiſed in Affairs, are apt enough of their own accord, to run into wild and unreaſonable Extravagances.

A Parliament in *England*.

The Parliament of *England* met in the end of *October*: The firſt Struggle was about the choice of a Speaker, by which a Judgment was to be made of the Temper and Inclinations of the Members. The Court declared for Mr. *Smith*: He was a Man of clear Parts, and of a good Expreſſion: He was then in no Employment, but he had gone thro' great Poſts in the former Reign, with Reputation and Honour. He had been a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: He had, from his firſt ſetting out into the World, been thoroughly in the Principles and Intereſts of the Whigs, yet with a due Temper in all perſonal things, with relation to the Tories: But they all declared againſt him for Mr. *Bromley*, a Man of a grave Deportment, and good Morals, but looked on as a violent Tory, and as a great Favourer of Jacobites; which appeared evidently in a Relation he printed of his Travels. No Matter of that ſort had ever been carried with ſuch a Heat on both ſides, as this was: So that it was juſt to form a Judgment upon it of the Temper of the Houſe, it went for Mr. *Smith* by a Majority of four and forty.

A Speaker choſen.

The Queen, after ſhe had confirmed this choice, made a Speech, in which ſhe recommended Union to them, in a very particular manner: She complained of the Reports, that were ſpread by ill-deſigning Men, of the Danger the Church was in, who under theſe Inſinuations covered that, which they durſt not own: She recommended the Care of the publick Supplies to the Commons, and ſpoke of the Duke of *Savoy* in high and very obliging Terms. This produced Addreſſes from both Houſes, in which they expreſſed a Deteſtation of thoſe Practices,

of infuſing into her Subjects groundleſs Fears, concerning the Church: This went eaſily, for ſome kept out of the way, from whom it was expected, that they would afterwards open more copiouſly on the Subject. The Chairmen of the ſeveral Committees of the Houſe of Commons, were Men of whom the Court was well aſſured. 1705

The firſt Matter, with which they commonly begin, is to receive Petitions againſt the Members returned, ſo that gave a further diſcovery of the Inclinations of the Majority: The Corruption of the Nation was grown to ſuch a height, and there was ſo much foul practice on all hands, that there was, no doubt, great cauſe of complaint. The firſt Election that was judged, was that of St. *Albans*, where the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* had a Houſe: She recommended Admiral *Killigrew* to thoſe in the Town; which was done all *England* over, by Perſons of Quality, who had any Intereſt in the Burghers: yet, tho' much foul practice was proved on the other hand, and there was not the leaſt colour of Evidence, to fix any ill practice on her, ſome reflected very indecently upon her: *Bromley* compared her to *Alice Piers*, in King *Edward* the Third's time, and ſaid many other virulent things againſt her; for indeed ſhe was looked upon, by the whole Party, as the Perſon who had reconciled the Whigs to the Queen, from whom ſhe was naturally very averſe. Moſt of the controverted Elections were carried in favour of the Whigs: In ſome few they failed, more by reaſon of private Animoſities, than by the Strength of the other ſide. The Houſe of Commons came readily in to vote all the Supplies that were asked, and went on to provide proper Funds for them.

The moſt important Debates that were in this Seſſion, began in the Houſe of Lords; the Queen being preſent at them all. The Lord *Haverſham* opened the Motions of the Tory ſide: He arraigned the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Conduct, both on the *Moſelle* and in *Brabant*, and reflected ſeverely on the *Dutch*, which he carried ſo far as to ſay, that the War coſt them nothing; and after he had wandred long in a rambling Diſcourſe, he came at laſt to the Point which was ſaid, to be the Debate of the Day: He ſaid we had declared a Succeſſor to the Crown, who was at a great diſtance from us: While the Pretender was much nearer; and *Scotland* was armed and ready to receive him; and ſeemed reſolved not to have the ſame Succeſſor, for whom *England* had declared: Theſe were threatning Dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded, that he did not ſee how they could be prevented, and the Nation made ſafe, by any other way, but by inviting the next Succeſſor to come and live among us. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Rocheſter*, *Nottingham*, and *Angleſey* carried on the Debate, with great Earneſtneſs: It was urged, that they had ſworn to maintain the Succeſſion, and by that they were bound to inſiſt on this Motion, ſince there was no means ſo ſure to maintain it, as to have the Succeſſor upon the Place, ready to aſſume and maintain his Right: It appeared, thro' our whole Hiſtory, that whoſoever came firſt into *England*, had always carried it: The pretending Succeſſor might be in *England* within three Days, whereas it might be three Weeks before the declared Succeſſor could come: From thence it was inferred, that the Danger was apparent and dreadful, if the Succeſſor ſhould not be brought over: If King *Charles* had been in *Spain*, when the late King died, probably that would have prevented all this War, in which we were now engaged. With theſe Lords, by a ſtrange reverſe, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as ſtrange a reverſe, all the Whigs joined in oppoſing it. They thought this matter was to be left wholly to the Queen; that it was neither proper nor ſafe either for the Crown, or for the Nation, that the Heir ſhould not be in an entire Dependance on the Queen; a Rivalry between two Courts might throw us into great Diſtractions, and be attended with very ill Conſequences: The next Succeſſor had expreſſed a full ſatisfaction, and reſted on the Aſſurances the Queen had given her, of her firm adherence to her Title, and to the maintaining of it: The Nation was prepared for it, by the Orders the Queen had given to name Her in the daily Prayers of the Church: great Endeavours had been uſed, to bring the *Scotch* Nation to declare the ſame Succeſſor. It was true, we ſtill wanted one great Security, we had not yet made any Proviſion, for carrying on the Government, for maintaining the publick Quiet, for

Debates about the next Succeſſor.

1705 proclaiming and ſending for the Succeſſor; and for keeping things in order, till the Succeſſor ſhould come: It ſeemed therefore neceſſary, to make an effectual Proviſion againſt the Diſorders, that might happen in ſuch an Interval. This was propoſed firſt by my ſelf, and it was ſeconded by the Lord *Godolphin*, and all the Whigs went into it; and ſo the Queſtion was put upon the other Motion, as firſt made, by a previous Diviſion, whether that ſhould be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one.

The Queen heard the Debate, and ſeemed amazed at the Behaviour of ſome who when they had credit with her, and apprehended that ſuch a Motion might be made by the Whigs, had poſſeſſed her with deep Prejudices againſt it: For they made her apprehend, that when the next Succeſſor ſhould be brought over, ſhe herſelf would be ſo eclipſed by it, that ſhe would be much in the Succeſſor's power, and reign only at her or his Courteſy: Yet theſe very Perſons, having now loſt their Intereſt in her, and their Poſts, were driving on that very Motion, which they had made her apprehend was the moſt fatal thing that could befall. This the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* told me, but ſhe named no Perſon: And upon it a very black Suſpicion was taken up, by ſome, that the Propoſers of this matter knew, or at leaſt believed, that the Queen would not agree to the Motion, which way ſoever it might be brought to her; whether in an Addreſs, or in a Bill; and then they might reckon, that this would give ſuch a Jealouſy, and create ſuch a Miſunderſtanding between her and the Parliament, or rather the whole Nation, as would unſettle her whole Government, and put all things in diſorder. But this was only a Suſpicion, and more cannot be made of it.

A Bill for a Regency.

The Lords were now engaged to go on in the Debate for a Regency: It was opened by the Lord *Wharton* in a manner, that charmed the whole Houſe: He had not been preſent at the former Debate, but he ſaid he was much delighted with what he had heard concerning it; he ſaid, he had ever looked on the ſecuring a Proteſtant Succeſſion to the Crown, as that which ſecured all our Happineſs: He had heard the Queen recommend from the Throne, Union and Agreement to all her Subjects, with a great Emotion in his own Mind: It was now evident, there was a Divinity about her, when ſhe ſpoke; the Cauſe was certainly ſupernatural, for we ſaw the Miracle that was wrought by it; now all were for the Proteſtant Succeſſion; it had not been always ſo: He rejoiced in their Converſion, and confeſſed it was a Miracle: He would not, he could not, he ought not to ſuſpect the Sincerity of thoſe, who moved for inviting the next Succeſſor over; yet he could not hinder himſelf from remembring what had paſſed, in a courſe of many Years: and how Men had argued, voted and proteſted all that while. This confirmed his Opinion that a Miracle was now wrought; and that might oblige ſome to ſhew their change, by an exceſs of Zeal, which he could not but commend, tho' he did not fully agree to it. After this Preamble, he opened the Propoſition for the Regency, in all the branches of it; That Regents ſhould be empowered to act, in the name of the Succeſſor, till he ſhould ſend over Orders: That beſides thoſe, whom the Parliament ſhould name, the next Succeſſor ſhould ſend over a Nomination ſealed up, and to be opened, when that Accident ſhould happen, of Perſons who ſhould act in the ſame capacity, with thoſe who ſhould be named by Parliament: So the Motion being thus digeſted was agreed to by all the Whigs, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in, purſuant to theſe Propoſitions. But upon the Debate on the Heads of the Bill, it did appear that the Converſion, which the Lord *Wharton* had ſo pleaſantly magnified, was not ſo entire as he ſeemed to ſuppoſe: There was ſome cauſe given to doubt of the Miracle; for when a Security, that was real and viſible, was thus offered, thoſe who made the other Motion, flew off from it. They pretended, that it was, becauſe they could not go off from their firſt Motion; but they were told, that the immediate Succeſſor might indeed, during her Life, continue in *England*, yet it was not to be ſuppoſed, that her Son the *Elector* could be always abſent from his own Dominions, and throw off all care of them, and of the Concerns of the Empire, in which he bore ſo great a ſhare. If he ſhould go over, for ever ſo ſhort a time, the Accident might happen, in which it was certainly neceſſary to provide ſuch an Expedient, as was now offered. This laid them open to much Cenſure, but Men engaged in Parties are not eaſily

ly put out of Countenance. It was reſolved, that the Regents ſhould be ſeven 1705
and no more; and they were fixed by the Poſts they were in: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Keeper*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, Lord *Preſident*, Lord *Privy-Seal*, Lord *High Admiral*, and the Lord *Chief Juſtice* for the time being, were named for that high Truſt. The Tories ſtruggled hard, that the Lord *Treaſurer* ſhould not be one, only to ſhew their Spite to the Lord *Godolphin*, but the Motion was rejected with ſcorn; for it ſeemed ridiculous, in a time, when there might be much occaſion for Money, to exclude an Officer from that high Truſt, who alone could furniſh them with it, or direct them how to be furniſhed. The Tories moved, that the Lord *Mayor* of *London* ſhould be one, but that was likewiſe rejected: for the Deſign of the Act was, that the Government ſhould be carried on, by thoſe who ſhould be at that time in the conduct and ſecret of Affairs, and were Perſons nominated by the Queen; whereas the Lord *Mayor* was choſen by the City, and had no practice in buſineſs. Theſe Regents were required to proclaim the next Succeſſor, and to give orders for the like Proclamation over *England* and *Ireland*: The next Succeſſor might ſend a Triplicate of the Perſons, named by Her or Him; One of theſe was to be depoſited with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, another with the Lord *Keeper*, and a third with his own Miniſter, reſiding at this Court; upon the producing whereof, the Perſons nominated were to join with the Regents, and to act in equality with them: The laſt Parliament, even tho' diſſolved, was to be preſently brought together, and empowered to continue ſitting for ſix Months; and thus things were to be kept in order, till the Succeſſor ſhould either come in Perſon, or ſend over his Orders.

Great Oppoſition made to it.

The Tories made ſome oppoſition to every Branch of the Act, but in that of the Parliament's ſitting, the Oppoſition was more remarkable: The Earl of *Rocheſter* moved, that the Parliament and the Regents ſhould be limited, to paſs no Act of Repeal, of any part of the Act of *Uniformity*, and in his poſitive way ſaid, if this was not agreed to, he ſhould ſtill think the Church was in danger, notwithſtanding what they had heard from the Throne, in the beginning of the Seſſion. It was objected to this, that if the Regal Power was in the Regents, and if the Parliament was likewiſe a legal one, then by the Conſtitution the whole Legiſlature was in them, and that could not be limited: for they could repeal any Law that limited them; but the Judges were of opinion, that the Power of Regents might be limited: ſo that, as the deſign of moving this might be, to have a new colour to poſſeſs the Clergy, that there was a ſecret Deſign againſt the Church, which might break out at ſuch a time, the Lords gave way to it, tho' they thought it unreaſonable, and propoſed with no good Deſign. The Tories, upon the yielding this to them, propoſed a great many more Limitations, ſuch as the reſtraining the Regents from conſenting to a Repeal of the Act for Triennial Parliaments, the Acts for Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, and ſome others: and ſo extravagant were they, in their Deſign of making the Act appear ridiculous, that they propoſed as a Limitation, that they ſhould not have Power to repeal the Acts of Succeſſion: All theſe were rejected with Scorn and Indignation; the Lords ſeeing by this their Error in yielding to that, propoſed by the Earl of *Rocheſter*. The Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, but the Tories proteſted againſt it.

I never knew any thing, in the management of the Tories, by which they ſuffered more in their Reputation, than by this: They hoped, that the Motion or the Invitation would have cleared them of all Suſpicions, of Inclinations towards the Prince of *Wales*, and would have reconciled the Body of the Nation to them, and turned them againſt all, who ſhould oppoſe it: But the Progreſs of the Matter produced a contrary effect: The Management was ſo ill diſguiſed, that it was viſible they intended only to provoke the Queen by it, hoping that the Provocation might go ſo far, that in the Sequel all their Deſigns might be brought about, tho' by a method that ſeemed quite contrary to them, and deſtructive of them.

A ſecret Management in the Houſe of Commons.

The Bill lay long in the Houſe of Commons, by a ſecret Management, that was againſt it: The Tories there likewiſe propoſed, that the next Succeſſor ſhould be brought over; which was oppoſed by the Whigs, not by any Vote againſt it, but by reſolving to go thro' the Lord's Bill firſt: The ſecret

1705 Management was from *Hanover*. Some indigent Perſons, and others imployed by the Tories, had ſtudied to infuſe Jealouſies of the Queen and her Miniſters into the old *Electoreſs*. She was then Seventy-five; but had ſtill ſo much Vivacity, that as ſhe was the moſt knowing, and the moſt entertaining Woman of the Age, ſo ſhe ſeemed willing to change her Scene, and to come and ſhine among us here in *England*; they prevailed with Her to write a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, intimating Her readineſs to come over, if the Queen and Parliament ſhould deſire it: This was made publick by the intriguing Perſons in that Court: And a colour was ſoon found, to keep ſome Whigs from agreeing to the Act. In the Act that firſt ſettled the Succeſſion, One Limitation (as was told in its proper place) had been, that when the Crown ſhould paſs into that Houſe, no Man who had either Place or Penſion ſhould be capable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons: The Clauſe in this Bill, that empowered either the Parliament, that ſhould be current at the Queen's Death, or that which had ſate laſt (tho' diſſolved) to ſit for ſix Months, or till the Succeſſor ſhould diſſolve it, ſeemed contrary to this incapacitating Clauſe, in the former Act. Great Exceptions were taken to this by ſome zealous Whigs, who were ſo poſſeſſed with the Notion of a ſelf-denying Bill, as neceſſary to preſerve Publick Liberty, from the Practices of a deſigning Court, that for ſome Weeks there was cauſe to fear, not only the loſs of the Bill, but a Breach among the Whigs upon this head: Much Pains were taken, and with very good effect, to heal this: It was at laſt ſettled; a great many Offices were enumerated, and it was declared that every Man, who held any of theſe, was thereby incapacitated from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons; and every Member of the Houſe, who did accept of any other Office, was upon that excluded the Houſe, and a new Writ was to go out, to thoſe whom he repreſented, to chooſe again; but it was left free to them to chooſe him, or any other as they pleaſed. It was deſired by thoſe, who preſſed this Matter moſt, that it ſhould take place only in the next Reign: But to remove all Jealouſy, the Miniſters were content, that theſe Clauſes ſhould take place immediately, upon the Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament. And when the Houſe of Commons ſent up theſe ſelf-denying Clauſes to the Lords, they added to them a Repeal of that Clauſe, in the firſt Act of Succeſſion, by which the ſucceeding Princes were limited to govern by the Advice of their Council, and by which all the Privy Counſellors were to be obliged to ſign their Advices; which was impracticable, ſince it was viſible that no Man would be a Privy-Counſellor on thoſe Terms: The Lords added the Repeal of this Clauſe, to the Amendments ſent up by the Commons; and the Commons readily agreed to it.

The Act of the Regency paſt.

After this Act had paſſed, the Lord *Halifax* remembring what the Earl of *Rocheſter* had ſaid, concerning the Danger the Church might be in, moved that a Day might be appointed, to enquire into thoſe Dangers, about which ſo many tragical Stories had been publiſhed of late: A Day was appointed for this, and we were all made believe, that we ſhould hear many frightful things: But our Expectations were not anſwered: ſome ſpoke of Danger from the Presbytery, that was ſettled in *Scotland*: Some ſpoke of the Abſence of the next Succeſſor: Some reflected on the Occaſional Bill, that was rejected in that Houſe: Some complained of the Schools of the Diſſenters: And others reflected on the Principles, that many had drank in, that were different from thoſe formerly received, and that ſeemed deſtructive of the Church.

The Dangers of the Church enquired into.

In oppoſition to all this, it was ſaid, that the Church was ſafer now, than ever it had been: At the Revolution, Proviſion was made, that our King muſt be of the Reformed Religion, nor was this all; in the late Act of Succeſſion it was enacted, that he ſhould be of the Communion of the Church of *England*: It was not reaſonable to object to the Houſe the rejecting a Bill, which was done by the Majority, of whom it became not the leſſer number to complain: We had all our former Laws left to us, not only entire, but fortified by late Additions and Explanations: So that we were ſafer in all theſe, than we had been at any time formerly: The Diſſenters gained no new Strength, they were viſibly decreaſing: The Toleration had ſoftened their Tempers, and they concurred zealouſly in ſerving all the Ends of the Government: Nor was there any particular Complaint brought againſt them: They ſeemed quiet and content with their To-

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leration; if they could be but ſecure of enjoying it: The Queen was taking the moſt effectual means poſſible, to deliver the Clergy from the Depreſſions of Poverty, that brought them under much Contempt, and denied them the neceſſary means and helps of Study: The Biſhops looked after their Dioceſes with a care, that had not been known in the Memory of Man: Great Sums were yearly raiſed, by their care and zeal, for ſerving the Plantations, better than had ever yet been done: A Spirit of Zeal and Piety appeared in our Churches, and at Sacrament beyond the example of former Times. In one reſpect it was acknowledged the Church was in danger; there was an evil Spirit and a virulent Temper ſpread among the Clergy; there were many indecent Sermons preached on publick Occaſions, and thoſe hot Clergy-men, who were not the moſt regular in their Lives, had raiſed Factions in many Dioceſes againſt their Biſhops: Theſe were Dangers created by thoſe very Men, who filled the Nation with this Outcry, againſt imaginary ones, while their own Conduct produced real and threatning Dangers. Many ſevere Reflections were thrown out on both ſides, in the Progreſs of this Debate. 1705

A Vote and an Addreſs to the Queen about that.

It ended in a Vote carried by a great Majority: That the Church of *England*, under the Queen's happy Adminiſtration, was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and to this a ſevere Cenſure was added, on the Spreaders of theſe Reports of Dangers; that they were the Enemies of the Queen and of her Government. They alſo reſolved to make an Addreſs to the Queen, in which, after this was ſet forth, they prayed Her to order a Proſecution according to Law, of all who ſhould be found guilty of this Offence: They ſent this down to the Houſe of Commons, where the Debate was brought over again, but it was run down with great force: The Commons agreed with the Lords, and both Houſes went together to the Queen with this Addreſs. Such a Concurrence of both Houſes had not been ſeen for ſome Years: And indeed there was in both ſo great a Majority, for carrying on all the Intereſts of the Government; that the Men of ill Intentions had no hopes, during the whole Seſſion, of embroyling Matters, but in the Debates concerning the ſelf-denying Clauſe above-mentioned.

1706

Complaints of the Allies rejected.

But tho' the main Deſigns and Hopes of the Party had thus not only failed them, but turned againſt them; yet they reſolved to make another attempt: It was on the Duke of *Marlborough*, tho' they ſpoke of him with great reſpect. They complained of the Errors committed this Year, in the Conduct of the War: They indeed laid the blame, of the Miſcarriage of the Deſign on the *Moſelle*, on the Prince of *Baden*, and the Errors committed in *Brabant*, on the *States* and their Deputies; but they ſaid they could not judge of theſe things, nor be able to lay before the Queen thoſe Advices, that might be fit for them to offer to Her, unleſs they were made acquainted with the whole Series of thoſe Affairs: therefore they propoſed, that by an Addreſs, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all that ſhe knew concerning thoſe Tranſactions, during the laſt Campaign: for they reckoned, that if all particulars ſhould be laid before them, they would find ſomewhat in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Conduct, on which a Cenſure might be fixed. To this it was anſwered, that if any Complaint was brought, againſt any of the Queen's Subjects, it would be reaſonable for them to enquire into it, by all proper ways: but the Houſe of Lords could not pretend to examine or to cenſure the Conduct of the Queen's Allies; they were not ſubject to them, nor could they be heard to juſtify themſelves: and it was ſomewhat extraordinary, if they ſhould paſs a Cenſure or make a Complaint of them. It was one of the Truſts that was lodged with the Government, to manage all Treaties and Alliances: So that our Commerce with our Allies was wholly in the Crown: Allies might ſometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook; They are ſubject both to Errors and Accidents, and are ſometimes ill ſerved: The entring into that Matter was not at all proper for the Houſe, unleſs it was intended to run into raſh and indiſcreet Cenſures, on deſign to provoke the Allies, and by that means to weaken, if not break the Alliance: The Queen would no doubt endeavour to redreſs whatſoever was amiſs, and that muſt be truſted to her Conduct.

1706 So this Attempt not only failed, but it happened upon this, as upon other occaſions, that it was turned againſt thoſe who made it: An Addreſs was made to the Queen, praying her to go on in her Alliances, and in particular to cultivate a perfect Union and Correſpondence, with the *States* of the *United Provinces*: This had a very good effect in *Holland*, for the Agents of *France* were, at the ſame time, both ſpreading Reports among us, that the *Dutch* were inclined to a Peace; and among them, that the *Engliſh* had very unkind Thoughts of them: The deſign was, to alienate us from one another, that ſo both might be thereby the better diſpoſed to hearken to a Project of Peace; which in the ſtate in which Matters were at that time, was the moſt deſtructive thing that could be thought on. And all Motions that look'd that way, gave very evident Diſcoveries of the bad Intentions of thoſe, who made them.

The Acts againſt the *Scots* repealed.

The next Buſineſs, of a Publick Nature, that came before the Parliament, was carried very unanimouſly: The Queen laid before the Two Houſes the Addreſſes of the *Scotch* Parliament, againſt any Progreſs in the Treaty of Union, till the Act, which declared them Aliens by ſuch a Day, ſhould be repealed: The Tories, upon this occaſion, to make themſelves popular, after they had failed in many Attempts, reſolved to promote this; apprehending that the Whigs, who had firſt moved for that Act, would be for maintaining their own Work: but they ſeemed to be much ſurprized, when after they had prefaced their Motions in this matter, with ſuch Declarations of their Intentions for the publick Good, that ſhewed they expected Oppoſition and a Debate, the Whigs not only agreed to this, but carried the Motion further to the other Act relating to their Manufacture and Trade. This paſſed very unanimouſly in both Houſes; and by this means way was made, for opening a Treaty, as ſoon as the Seſſion ſhould come to an end. All the Northern Parts of *England*, which had been diſturbed for ſome years, with Apprehenſions of a War with *Scotland*, that would certainly be miſchievous to them, whatſoever the End of it might prove, were much delighted with the proſpect of Peace and Union with their Neighbours.

Theſe were the moſt important Debates during this Seſſion; at all which the Queen was preſent: She ſtaid all the while, and hearkned to every thing with great Attention. The Debates were managed on the one ſide, by the Lords *Godolphin*, *Wharton*, *Sommers*, *Halifax*, *Sunderland*, and *Townſhend*; on the other ſide by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lords *Rocheſter*, *Nottingham*, *Angleſey*, *Guernſey*, and *Haverſham*. There was ſo much Strength and Clearneſs on the one ſide, and ſo much Heat and Artifice on the other, that nothing but obſtinate Partiality could reſiſt ſo evident a Conviction.

The Publick Credit very high.

The Houſe of Commons went on in creating Funds, for the Supplies they had voted, for the next year: And the Nation was ſo well ſatisfied with the Government, and the Conduct of Affairs, that a Fund being created for Two Millions and a half, by way of Annuities for Ninety-nine Years, at Six and a half *per Cent.* at the end of which the Capital was to ſink; the whole Sum was ſubſcribed, in a very few days: At the ſame time the Duke of *Marlborough* propoſed the Advance of a Sum of 500,000 *l.* to the Emperor, for the uſe of Prince *Eugene*, and the Service of *Italy*, upon a Branch of the Emperor's Revenue in *Sileſia*, at Eight *per Cent.* and the Capital to be repaid in eight Years: The Nation did ſo abound, both in Money and Zeal, that this was likewiſe advanced in a very few days: Our Armies, as well as our Allies, were every where punctually paid: The Credit of the Nation was never raiſed ſo high in any Age, nor ſo ſacredly maintained: The Treaſury was as exact and as regular in all Payments, as any private Banker could be. It is true, a great deal of Money went out of the Kingdom in Specie: That which maintained the War in *Spain*, was to be ſent thither in that manner, the way by Bills of Exchange not being yet opened: Our Trade with *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, which formerly brought us great Returns of Money, was now ſtopt: by this means there grew to be a ſenſible Want of Money over the Nation. This was in a great meaſure ſupplied by the Currency of Exchequer-Bills and Bank-Notes: And this lay ſo obvious to the diſaffected Party, that they were often attempting to blaſt, at leaſt to diſparage this Paper Credit: But it was ſtill kept up. It bred a juſt Indignation

in all, who had a true Love to their Country, to ſee ſome uſing all poſſible methods to ſhake the Adminiſtration, which, notwithſtanding the Difficulties at home and abroad, was much the beſt that had been in the memory of Man: And was certainly not only eaſy to the Subjects in general, but gentle even towards thoſe, who were endeavouring to undermine it. 1706

The Lord *Sommers* made a Motion in the Houſe of Lords, to correct ſome of the Proceedings in the Common Law, and in Chancery, that were both dilatory and very chargeable: He began the Motion with ſome Inſtances, that were more conſpicuous and groſs; and he managed the Matter ſo, that both the Lord *Keeper* and *Judges* concurred with him; tho' it paſſes generally for a Maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge, than contract their Juriſdiction. A Bill paſſed the Houſe, that began a Reformation of Proceedings at Law, which, as Things now ſtand, are certainly among the greateſt Grievances of the Nation: When this went thro' the Houſe of Commons, it was viſible that the Intereſt of Under-Officers, Clerks, and Attorneys, whoſe Gains were to be leſſened by this Bill, was more conſidered, than the Intereſt of the Nation it ſelf: Several Clauſes, how beneficial ſoever to the Subject, which touched on their Profit, were left out by the Commons. But what Fault ſoever the Lords might have found with theſe Alterations, yet to avoid all Diſputes with the Commons, they agreed to their Amendments. A Bill to regulate Proceedings at Law.

There was another general Complaint made of the private Acts of Parliament that paſſed thro' both Houſes too eaſily, and in ſo great a number, that it took up a great part of the Seſſion to examine them, even in that curſory way, that was ſubject to many Inconveniencies: The Fees that were paid for theſe, to the Speakers and Clerks of both Houſes, inclined them to favour and promote them: So the Lord *Sommers* propoſed ſuch a Regulation in that matter, as will probably have a good effect for the future. The preſent Lord *Keeper* did indeed very generouſly obſtruct thoſe private Bills, as much as his Predeceſſor had promoted them: He did another thing of a great Example; On the firſt day of the year, it was become a Cuſtom, for all thoſe who practiſed in *Chancery*, to offer a New-year's Gift to the Lord, who had the Great Seal: theſe grew to be ſo conſiderable, that they amounted to 1500 *l.* a year: On this New-year's day, which was his firſt, he ſignified to all who, according to Cuſtom, were expected to come with their Preſents, that he would receive none, but would break that Cuſtom. He thought it looked, like the inſinuating themſelves into the favour of the Court; and that if it was not Bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it: This contributed not a little to the raiſing his Character: He managed the Court of Chancery with impartial Juſtice, and great Diſpatch; and was very uſeful to the Houſe of Lords, in the promoting of Buſineſs.

When the Seſſion was near an end, great Complaints were made in both Houſes of the Progreſs of Popery in *Lancaſhire*, and of many Inſolencies committed there, both by the Laity and Prieſts of that Religion: Upon this a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, with Clauſes that would have rendred the Bill, paſt againſt Papiſts in the end of the laſt Reign, effectual: This alarmed all of that Religion: ſo that they made very powerful (or to follow the Raillery of that Time) very weighty Interceſſions with the conſiderable Men of that Houſe. The Court look'd on, and ſeem'd indifferent in the Matter, yet it was given out that ſo ſevere a Law would be very unreaſonable; when we were in Alliance with ſo many Princes of that Religion, and that it muſt leſſen the Force of the Queen's Interceſſion, in favour of the Proteſtants, that liv'd in the Dominions of thoſe Princes: The Proceeding ſeem'd rigorous, and not ſuited to the Gentleneſs, that the Chriſtian Religion did ſo particularly recommend, and was contrary to the Maxims of Liberty of Conſcience and Toleration, that were then in great vogue. It was anſwered, that the Dependance of thoſe of that Religion, on a foreign Juriſdiction, and at preſent on a foreign Pretender to the Crown, put them out of the caſe of other Subjects, who might differ from the eſtabliſhed Religion; ſince there ſeemed to be good reaſon to conſider them as Enemies, rather than as Subjects. But the Application was made in ſo effectual a manner, that the Bill was let fall: And tho' the Lords had made ſome Steps towards ſuch a Bill, yet ſince they ſaw what Fate it was like to have in the Houſe Complaints of the Progreſs of Popery.

1706 House of Commons, instead of proceeding farther in it, they dismissed that matter with an Address to the Queen, that she would give Orders, both to the Justices of Peace, and to the Clergy, that a Return might be made to the next Session of Parliament, of all the Papists in *England*.

A Design for a publick Library.

There was another Project set on foot at this time by the Lord *Halifax*, for putting the Records and the publick Offices of the Kingdom in better order: He had, in a former Session, moved the Lords to send some of their number to view the Records in the *Tower*, which were in great disorder, and in a visible decay for want of some more Officers, and by the neglect of those we had. These Lords in their Report proposed some Regulations for the future, which have been since followed so effectually, though at a considerable Charge, by creating several new Officers, that the Nation will reap the Benefit of all this very sensibly: But Lord *Halifax* carried his Project much further. The famous Library, collected by Sir *Robert Cotton*, and continued down in his Family, was the greatest Collection of Manuscripts relating to the Publick, that perhaps any Nation in *Europe* could shew: The late Owner of it, Sir *John Cotton*, had by his Will, left it to the Publick, but in such Words, that it was rather shut up, than made any way useful: And, indeed it was to be so carefully preserved, that none could be the better for it: So that Lord moved the House to intreat the Queen, that she would be pleased to buy *Cotton-House*, which stood just between the two Houses of Parliament; so that some part of that Ground would furnish them with many useful Rooms, and there would be enough left, for building a noble Structure for a Library: To which, besides the *Cotton* Library and the Queen's Library, the Royal Society, who had a very good Library at *Gresham*-College, would remove and keep their Assemblies there, as soon as it was made convenient for them. This was a great Design, which the Lord *Halifax*, who set it first on foot, seemed resolved to carry on till it were finished: It will set Learning again on foot among us, and be a great honour to the Queen's Reign.

Thus this Session of Parliament came to a very happy conclusion: There was in it the best Harmony within both Houses, and between Them, as well as with the Crown, and it was the best applauded in the City of *London*, over the whole Nation, and indeed over all *Europe*, of any Session that I had ever seen: And when it was considered, that this was the first of the three, so that we were to have two other Sessions of the same Members, it gave an universal Satisfaction, both to our own People at home, and our Allies abroad, and afforded a prospect of a happy End, that should be put to this devouring War, which in all probability must come to a period before the conclusion of the present Parliament. This gave an unspeakable Satisfaction to all who loved their Country and their Religion, who now hoped that we had in view a good and a safe Peace.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The Convocation sate at the same time; it was chosen as the former had been, and the Members, that were ill-affected, were still prevailed on to come up, and to continue in an expensive but useless Attendance in Town. The Bishops drew up an Address to the Queen, in which, as the two Houses of Parliament had done, they expressed a just Indignation at the Jealousies, that had been spread about the Nation, of the Danger of the Church: When this was communicated to the Lower-House, they refused to join in it, but would give no reason for their Refusal: They drew an Address of their own, in which no notice was taken of these Aspersions: The Bishops, according to antient Precedents, required them either to agree to their Address, or to offer their Objections against it; they would do neither; so the Address was let fall: And upon that a stop was put to all further Communication between the two Houses. The Lower House, upon this, went on in their former practice of intermediate Sessions, in which they began to enter upon Business, to approve of some Books and to censure others; and they resolved to proceed upon the same Grounds that factious Men among them had before set up, tho' the Falshood of their pretensions had been evidently made to appear. The Archbishop had prorogued them to the first of *March*: When that day came, the Lower House was surprized with a Protestation, that was brought to the Upper House, by a great part of their Body, who, being dissatisfied with the Proceedings of the Majori-

ty,

ty, and having long ſtruggled againſt them, tho' in vain, at laſt drew up a Proteſtation againſt them: They ſent it up and down, thro' the whole Province, that they might get as many Hands to it as they could; but the matter was managed with ſuch caution, that tho' it was in many Hands, yet it was not known to the other ſide, till they heard it was preſented to the Preſident of the Upper Houſe: In it, all the irregular Motions of the Lower Houſe were reckoned up, inſiſting more particularly on that of holding intermediate Seſſions, againſt all which they proteſted, and prayed that their Proteſtation might be entered in the Books of the Upper Houſe, that ſo they might not be involved in the Guilt of the reſt: This was ſigned by above Fifty, and the whole Body was but an Hundred and Forty-five: Some were neutral: So that hereby very near one half broke off from the reſt, and left them, and ſate no more with them. The Lower Houſe was deliberating how to vent their Indignation againſt theſe, when a more ſenſible Mortification followed: The Archbiſhop ſent for them, and when they came up; He read a Letter to them, that was wrote to him by the Queen, in which ſhe took notice that the Differences between the two Houſes were ſtill kept up; ſhe was much concerned, to ſee that they were rather encreaſed than abated: She was the more ſurprized at this, becauſe it had been her conſtant Care, as it ſhould continue always to be, to preſerve the Conſtitution of the Church, as it was by Law eſtabliſhed, and to diſcountenance all Diviſions and Innovations whatſoever: She was reſolved to maintain her Supremacy, and the due Subordination of Presbyters to Biſhops, as fundamental Parts of it: She expected, that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops would act conformable to this Reſolution, and in ſo doing they ſhould be ſure of the continuance of her Protection and Favour, which ſhould not be wanting to any of the Clergy, as long as they were true to the Conſtitution, and dutiful to her, and their Eccleſiaſtical Superiors, and preſerved ſuch a Temper, as became thoſe, who were in Holy Orders. The Archbiſhop, as he was required to read this to them, ſo he was directed to prorogue them, for ſuch a time as ſhould appear convenient to him: They were ſtruck with this, for it had been carried ſo ſecretly, that it was a Surprize to them all. When they ſaw they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the Door, and with ſome difficulty were kept in the Room, till the Prorogation was intimated to them: They went next to their own Houſe, where, tho' prorogued, they ſate ſtill in form, as if they had been a Houſe, but they did not venture on paſſing any Vote: So factious were they, and ſo implicitly led by thoſe, who had got an Aſcendant over them, that tho' they had formerly ſubmitted the Matters in debate to the Queen, yet now, when ſhe declared her Pleaſure, they would not acquieſce in it. 1706

Preparations for the Campaign.

The Seſſion of Parliament being now at an end, the Preparations for the Campaign were carried on with all poſſible diſpatch: That which was moſt preſſing was firſt done. Upon *Stanhope*'s firſt coming over, in the beginning of *January*, Orders were immediately iſſued out for ſending over 5000 Men, with all neceſſary Stores to *Spain*: The Orders were given in very preſſing Terms; yet ſo many Offices were concerned in the Execution, that many Delays were made, ſome of theſe were much cenſured; at laſt they ſailed in *March*. The Fleet that had gone into the *Mediterranean* with King *Charles*, and was to return and winter at *Lisbon*, was detained by Weſterly Winds longer in thoſe Seas, than had been expected.

A Revolt in *Valencia*.

The People of *Valencia* ſeemed to hope, that they were to winter in thoſe Seas; and by this they were encouraged to declare for King *Charles*: But they were much expoſed to thoſe, who commanded in King *Philip*'s name. All *Catalonia* had ſubmitted to King *Charles* except *Roſes*; Garriſons were put in *Gironne*, *Lerida*, and *Tortoſa*: and the States of that Principality prepared themſelves, with great Zeal and Reſolution, for the next Campaign, which, they had reaſon to expect, would come both early and ſeverely upon them. There was a Breach, between the Earl of *Peterborough* and the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, whom he charged very heavily, in the King's own preſence, with Corruption and Injuſtice: The Matter went far, and the King blamed the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had not much of a forbearing or forgiving temper in him. There was no method of Communication with *England* yet ſettled: We did not hear

1706 from them, nor they from us, in five Months: This put them out of all hope: Our Men wanted every thing, and could be ſupplied there with nothing. The Revolt in *Valencia* made it neceſſary to ſend ſuch a Supply to them from *Barcelona*, as could be ſpared from thence: The Diſguſt that was taken, made it adviſable to ſend the Earl of *Peterborough* thither, and he willingly undertook the Service: He marched towards that Kingdom with about Fifteen Hundred *Engliſh*, and a Thouſand *Spaniards*: They were all ill equipped and ill furniſhed, without Artillery, and with very little Ammunition: But as they marched, all the Country either came in to them, or fled before them. He got to *Valencia* without any Oppoſition, and was received there with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy: This gave a great diſturbance to the *Spaniſh* Councils at *Madrid*: They adviſed the King, to begin with the Reduction of *Valencia*: It lay nearer, and was eaſier come at: And by this the Diſpoſition to revolt would be checked, which might otherwiſe go further: But this was over-ruled from *France*, where little regard was had to the *Spaniards*: They reſolved to begin with *Barcelona*: In it King *Charles* himſelf lay; and on taking it, they reckoned all the reſt would fall.

The Siege of *Barcelona*.

The *French* reſolved to ſend every thing, that was neceſſary for the Siege by Sea, and the Count of *Toulouſe* was ordered to lie with the Fleet before the Place, whilſt it was beſieged by Land: It was concerted, to begin the Siege in *March*, for they knew that if they begun it ſo early, our Fleet could not come in time to relieve it: But two great Storms, that came ſoon one after another, did ſo ſcatter their Tartanes, and diſable their Ships of War, that as ſome were caſt away, and others were much ſhattered, ſo they all loſt a Month's time, and the Siege could not be formed before the beginning of *April*: King *Charles* ſhut himſelf up in *Barcelona*, by which the People were both animated and kept in order: This gave all the Allies very ſad Apprehenſions, they feared not only the Loſs of the Place, but of his Perſon. *Leak* ſailed from *Lisbon* in the end of *March*: He miſſed the Galleons very narrowly, but he could not purſue them; for he was to loſe no time, but haſte to *Barcelona*: His Fleet was encreaſed to Thirty Ships of the Line, by the time he got to *Gibraltar*; but tho' Twenty more were following him, he would not ſtay, but haſted on to the Relief of the Place, as faſt as the Wind ſerved.

Alcantara taken.

At the ſame time the Campaign was opened on the ſide of *Portugal*: The Earl of *Gallway* had full Powers and a brave Army of about 20000 Men, well furniſhed in all reſpects: He left *Badajos* behind him, and marched on to *Alcantara*. The Duke of *Berwick* had a very ſmall Force left him, to defend that Frontier: It ſeems the *French* truſted to the Intereſt they had in the Court of *Portugal*: His Troops were ſo bad, that he ſaw in one ſmall Action, that he could not depend on them: He put a good Garriſon in *Alcantara*; where their beſt Magazine was laid in. But when the Earl of *Gallway* came before the Town, within three Days the Garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 Men, delivered up the Place and themſelves as Priſoners of War: The *Portugueſe* would have ſtopt there, and thought they had made a good Campaign, tho' they had done no more: But the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Lisbon* went to the King of *Portugal*, and preſſed him, that Orders might be immediately ſent to the Earl of *Gallway* to march on: And when he ſaw great Coldneſs in ſome of the Miniſters, he threatned a preſent Rupture, if it was not done: And he continued waiting on the King, till the Orders were ſigned, and ſent away. Upon Receipt of theſe, the Earl of *Gallway* advanced towards *Placentia*, all the Country declaring for him, as ſoon as he appeared; and the Duke of *Berwick* ſtill retiring before him, not being able to give the leaſt Interruption to his March.

The *Germans* are defeated in *Italy*.

The Campaign was opened in *Italy* with great advantage to the *French*: The Duke of *Vendoſme* marched into the *Breſcian*, to attack the Imperialiſts, before Prince *Eugene* could join them, who was now come very near: He fell on a Body of about 12000 of them, being double their number; he drove them from their Poſts, with the Loſs of about 3000 Men killed and taken; but it was believed there were as many of the *French* killed, as of the Imperialiſts. Prince *Eugene* came up within two Days, and put all in order again: He retired to a ſurer Poſt, waiting till the Troops from *Germany* ſhould come up: The Slow-

neſs

neſs of the *Germans* was always fatal, in the beginning of the Campaign: The Duke of *Savoy* was now reduced to great Extremities: He ſaw the Siege of *Turin* was deſigned; he fortified ſo many Out-Poſts, and put ſo good a Garriſon in it, that he prepared well for a long Siege, and a great Reſiſtance: He wrote to the Queen, for a further Supply of 50000 Pounds, aſſuring her, that by that means the Place ſhould be put in ſo good a State, that he would undertake that all ſhould be done, which could be expected from brave and reſolute Men: And ſo careful was the Lord Treaſurer to encourage him, that the Courier was ſent back the next Day, after he came, with credit for the Money. There was ſome Hopes of a Peace, as there was an actual Ceſſation of War in *Hungary*: The Malecontents had been put in hopes, of a great Diverſion of the Emperor's Forces, on the ſide of *Bavaria*, where there was a great Inſurrection, provoked, as was ſaid, by the Oppreſſion of the Imperial Officers, who were ſo accuſtomed to be heavy in their Quarters, that when they had the Pretence, that they were among Enemies, it may be eaſily believed, there was much juſt occaſion of complaint; and that they were guilty of great Exactions and Rapine. This looked formidably at firſt, and ſeemed to threaten a new War in thoſe Parts; but all was ſoon ſuppreſſed: The Peaſants had no Officers among them, no Diſcipline, nor Magazines, and no Place of Strength: So they were quickly diſperſed, and ſtricter Orders were given, for the better regulating the Military Men, tho' it was not expected that theſe would be long obſerved. 1706

The Treaty for the Union of the two Kingdoms.

While Matters were in this diſpoſition abroad; the Treaty for the Union of the two Kingdoms was brought on, and managed with great Solemnity. Commiſſions were given out for Thirty-two Perſons of each Kingdom, to meet at *London* on the 18th of *April*: *Somerſet-Houſe* was appointed for the place of the Treaty; the Perſons, who were named to treat on the *Engliſh* ſide, were well choſen: They were the moſt capable of managing the Treaty, and the beſt diſpoſed to it, of any in the Kingdom. Thoſe who came from *Scotland*, were not looked on as Men ſo well affected to the Deſign: Moſt of them had ſtood out in a long and firm Oppoſition to the Revolution, and to all that had been done afterwards, purſuant to it. The Nomination of theſe was fixed on, by the Dukes of *Queensbury* and *Argyle*: It was ſaid by them, that tho' theſe Objections did indeed lie againſt them, yet they had ſuch an Intereſt in *Scotland*, that the engaging them to be cordially for the Union, would be a great means to get it agreed to, in the Parliament there: The *Scotch* had got among them the Notion of a Fœderal Union, like that of the *United Provinces*, or of the Cantons in *Switzerland*: But the *Engliſh* reſolved to loſe no time, in the examining or diſcuſſing of that Project, for this reaſon, beſides many others, that as long as the two Nations had two different Parliaments, they could break that Union whenſoever they pleaſed; for each Nation would follow their own Parliament: The Deſign was now to ſettle a laſting and indiſſoluble Union betwen the two Kingdoms, therefore they reſolved to treat only, about an incorporating Union, that ſhould put an end to all Diſtinctions, and unite all their Intereſts: ſo they at laſt entered upon the Scheme of an entire Union.

But now to look again into our Affairs abroad: The *French* ſeemed to have laid the Deſign of their Campaign ſo well, that it had every where a formidable Appearance: And if the Execution had anſwered their Scheme, it would have proved as glorious, as it was in the Concluſion fatal to them. They reckoned the taking of *Barcelona* and *Turin* ſure: And by theſe, they thought the War, both in *Spain* and *Italy*, would be ſoon brought to an end: They knew they would be ſuperiour to any Force that the Prince of *Baden* could bring together, on the Upper *Rhine*; and they intended to have a great Army in *Flanders*, where they knew our chief Strength would be, to act as occaſion or their other Affairs ſhould require. But how well ſoever this Deſign might ſeem to be laid, it appeared Providence had another: Which was brought to bear every where, in a moſt wonderful manner, and in reverſe to all their Views. The Steps of this, I intend to ſet out, rather as a Meditation on the Providence of God, than as a particular Hiſtory of this ſignal Year, for which I am no way furniſhed: Beſides that, if I were, it does not anſwer my principal Deſign in Writing.

1706 The *French* lay Thirty-seven Days before *Barcelona*: Of that time, Twenty-two were ſpent in taking *Montjuy*; they ſeemed to think there was no danger of raiſing the Siege, and that therefore they might proceed as ſlowly as they pleaſed: The Town was, under ſuch a Conſternation, that nothing but the King's Preſence could have kept them, from capitulating, the firſt Week of the Siege: There were ſome Mutinies raiſed, and ſome of the Magiſtrates were killed in them: But the King came among them on all occaſions, and both quieted and animated them. *Stanhope* wrote, after the Siege was over, (whether as a Courtier or not, I cannot tell, for he had now on him the Character of the *Queen*'s Envoy to King *Charles*) that the King went into all Places of Danger, and made all about him Examples to the reſt, to be hard at work, and conſtant upon duty. After *Montjuy* was taken, the Town was more preſſed: The Earl of *Peterborough* came from *Valencia*, and was upon the Hills, but could not give them any great Aſſiſtance: Some few from *Gironne*, and other Places, got into the Town: The *French* Engineers performed their Part, with little Skill and Succeſs; thoſe they relied moſt on, happened to be killed in the beginning of the Siege. The *Levant* Wind was all this while ſo ſtrong, that it was not poſſible for *Leak* to come up, ſo ſoon as was deſired, to their Relief.

The Siege of *Barcelona* raiſed.

But when their Strength, as well as their Patience, was almoſt quite exhauſted, the Wind turned, and *Leak* with all poſſible haſte ſailed to them: As ſoon as the Count of *Toulouſe* had Intelligence, that he was near him, he ſailed back to *Toulon*. *Teſſe*, with King *Philip* (who was in the Camp, but was not once named in any Action) continued three Days before *Barcelona*, after their Fleet ſailed away: they could then have no hopes of carrying it, unleſs a Storm at Sea had kept our Fleet at a diſtance: At laſt, on the firſt of *May* O. S. the Siege was raiſed, with great precipitation, and in much diſorder: Their Camp was left well furniſhed, and the Sick and Wounded could not be carried off.

An Eclipſe of the Sun.

On the Day of the raiſing the Siege, as the *French* Army was marching off, the Sun was eclipſed, and it was total in thoſe Parts: It is certain that there is no weight to be laid on ſuch things; yet the Vulgar being apt to look on them as ominous, it was cenſured as a great Error in *Teſſe*, not to have raiſed the Siege a Day ſooner; and that the rather, becauſe the King of *France* had made the Sun, with a Motto of *Nec pluribus Impar*, his Device. King *Philip* made all the haſte he could to *Perpignan*, but his Army was almoſt quite ruined, before he got thither: There was no manner of Communication, over Land, between *Barcelona* and *Portugal*: So the *Portugueze*, doubting the Iſſue of that Siege, had no mind to engage further, till they ſaw how it ended: Therefore they ordered their Army to march aſide to *Ciudad Roderigo*, on pretence that it was neceſſary to ſecure their Frontier, by taking that place: It was taken after a very ſhort Siege, and with ſmall Reſiſtance: From thence they advanced to *Salamanca*. But upon the News of raiſing the Siege of *Barcelona*, they went on towards *Madrid*; the Duke of *Berwick* only obſerving their Motions, and ſtill retiring before them. King *Philip* went, with great expedition, and a very ſmall Train, from *Perpignan* to *Navarre*, from thence he came Poſt to *Madrid*; but finding he had no Army, that he could truſt to, the Grandees being now retired, and looking as ſo many dead Men; and he ſeeing that the *Portugueze* were ſtill advancing, ſent his Queen to *Burgos*, and followed her in a few Days, carrying with him that which was valuable in the Palace: And it ſeems he deſpaired ever to return hither again, ſince he deſtroyed all that could not be carried away; in which he acted a very extraordinary part, for he did ſome of this with his own hands, as the Gentleman, whom the Earl of *Gallway* ſent over, told me, was univerſally believed in *Madrid*.

The Earl of *Gallway* advanced.

King *Philip* come to *Madrid*, and ſoon left it.

The Earl of *Gallway* came to it, but King *Charles* delayed too long to come thither.

The capital City being thus forſaken, the Earl of *Gallway* came to it by the end of *June*; he met with no reſiſtance indeed, but with as little welcome: An Army of *Portugueze*, with a Heretick at their head, were certainly very ſtrange ſights to the *Caſtilians*, who retained all the Pride, without any of the Courage, of their Anceſtors: They thought it below them to make their Submiſſions to any but to the King himſelf; and if King *Charles* had come thither immediately, it was believed that the entire Reduction of *Spain* would have been ſoon brought about. It is not yet certain, what made him ſtay ſo long as he did at *Barcelona*

even from the beginning of *May* till near the end of *July*. Thoſe about him pretended, it was not fit to go to *Madrid*, till he was well furniſhed with Money, to make a decent Entry: *Stanhope* offered to furniſh him with what was neceſſary for the Journey, but could not afford a magnificent Equipage for a ſolemn Entry. King *Charles* wrote a very preſſing Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſetting forth his Neceſſities, and deſiring greater Supplies; I ſaw this Letter, for the Duke ſent it over to the Lord Treaſurer: but little Regard was had to it, becauſe it was ſuggeſted from many different hands, that the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* was enriching himſelf, and keeping his King poor. Others pretended the true cauſe of the delay, was a ſecret Amour of that King's at *Barcelona*; whatſoever the Cauſe of it might be, the Effects have hitherto proved fatal: It was firſt propoſed, that King *Charles* ſhould march thro' *Valencia*, as the neareſt and much the ſafeſt way, and he came on that deſign as far as *Tarracona*: But Advice being brought him there, that the Kingdom of *Arragon* was in a good diſpoſition to declare for him, he was diverted from his firſt Intentions, and prevailed on to go to *Saragoza*; where he was acknowledged by that Kingdom: but he loſt much time, and more in the Reputation of his Arms, by delaying ſo long to move towards *Madrid*: So King *Philip* took heart, and came back from *Burgos* to *Madrid*. The Earl of *Gallway* was very uneaſy at this ſlow Motion, which King *Charles* made: King *Philip* had ſome more Troops ſent him from *France*, and the broken Bodies of his Army, being now brought together, he had an Army equal in Numbers to the Earl of *Gallway*, and ſo he marched up to him; but ſince ſo much depended on the Iſſue of an Action, the Earl of *Gallway* avoided it, becauſe he expected every day Reinforcements, to be brought up to him, both by King *Charles*, and by the Earl of *Peterborough* from *Valencia*: Therefore to facilitate this Conjunction, he moved towards *Arragon*; ſo that *Madrid* was again left to be poſſeſſed by King *Philip*. At laſt, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, King *Charles* came up, but with a very inconſiderable Force: A few days after, the Earl of *Peterborough* came alſo with an Eſcorte, rather than any Strength; for he had not with him above 500 Dragoons. He was now uneaſy, becauſe he could not have the ſupreme Command, both the Earl of *Gallway* and Count *Noyelles* being much ancienter Officers, than he was. But to deliver him from the Uneaſineſs, of being commanded by them, the Queen had ſent him the Powers of an Ambaſſador Extraordinary; and he took that Character on him for a few Days. His complaining, ſo much as he did, of the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* and the *Germans*, who were ſtill poſſeſſed of King *Charles*'s Confidence, made him very unacceptable to that King: So he, waiting for Orders from the Queen, withdrew from the Camp, and ſailed away in one of the Queen's Ships to *Genoa*. Our Fleet lay all the Summer in the *Mediterranean*; which obliged the *French* to keep theirs within *Toulon*. *Cartagena* declared for King *Charles*, and was ſecured by ſome of our Ships: The Fleet came before *Alicant*; the Seamen landed and ſtormed the Town; the Caſtle held out ſome Weeks, but then it capitulated, and the Soldiers by Articles were obliged to march to *Cadiz*. Soon after that, our Fleet ſailed out of the Streights; one Squadron was ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*; another was to lie at *Lisbon*, and the reſt were ordered home. After King *Charles* had joined Lord *Gallway*, King *Philip*'s Army and his looked on one another for ſome time, but without venturing on any Action: They were near an Equality, and both ſides expected to be reinforced; ſo in that uncertainty, neither ſide would put any thing to hazard. 1707

The Battle of *Ramellies*.

But now I turn to another and a greater Scene: The King of *France* was aſſured, that the King of *Denmark* would ſtand upon ſome high Demands, he made to the Allies, ſo that the Duke of *Marlborough* could not have the *Danes*, who were about Ten or Twelve Thouſand, to join him for ſome time; and that the *Pruſſians*, almoſt as many as the *Danes*, could not come up to the confederate Army, for ſome Weeks: So he ordered the Elector of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* to march up to them, and to venture on a Battle; ſince, without the *Danes*, they would have been much ſuperior in number. The *States* yielded to all *Denmark*'s Demands, and the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who commanded their Troops, being very well affected, reckoned that all being granted, he needed not ſtay, till he ſent to *Denmark*, nor wait for their expreſs Orders: But marched and joined the

1706 Army, the Day before the Engagement. Some thought, that the King of *France*, upon the News of the Disgrace before *Barcelona*, that he might cover that, resolved to put all to venture, hoping that a Victory would have set all to rights; this passed generally in the World. But the Duke of *Marlborough* told me, that there being only twelve Days, between the raising of the Siege of *Barcelona* and this Battle, the one being on the first of *May*, and the other on the twelfth, eight of which must be allowed for the Courier to *Paris*, and from thence to *Brabant*, it seemed not possible to put things in the Order, in which he saw them, in so short a time. The *French* left their Baggage and heavy Cannon at *Judoign*; and marched up to the Duke of *Marlborough*: He was marching towards them, on the same Design, for if they had not offered him Battle on the twelfth, he was resolved to have attacked them on the thirteenth of *May*. They met near a Village called *Ramellies* (not far from the *Mehaigne*) from whence the Battle takes its Name.

A great Victory gained.

The Engagement was an entire one; and the Action was hot for two Hours; both the *French Mousquetaires* and the *Curiassiers* were there; the Elector of *Bavaria* said, it was the best Army he ever beheld: But after two Hours, the *French* gave way every where, so it ended in an entire Defeat. They lost both their Camp, Baggage and Artillery, as well as all that they had left in *Judoign*; and in all possible Confusion, they passed the *Dyle*; our Men pursuing, till it was dark. The Duke of *Marlborough* said to me, the *French* Army look'd the best of any he had ever seen: But that their Officers did not do their part, nor shew the Courage, that had appeared among them on other Occasions. And when I asked him the difference, between the Actions at *Hockstedt* and at *Ramellies*; he said, the first Battle lasted between seven and eight Hours, and we lost above 12,000 Men in it; whereas the second lasted not above two Hours, and we lost not above 2500 Men. Orders were presently sent to the great Cities, to draw the Garrisons out of them, that so the *French* might have again the Face of an Army: For their Killed, their Deserters, and their Prisoners, on this great Day, were above 20,000 Men. The Duke of *Marlborough* lost no Time, but followed them close: *Louvain*, *Mechlin*, and *Brussels* submitted, besides many lesser Places; *Antwerp* made a shew of standing out, but soon followed the Example of the rest; *Ghendt* and *Bruges* did the same: in all these King *Charles* was proclaimed. Upon this unexpected Rapidity of Success, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to the *Hague*, to concert Measures with the *States*, where he staid but few Days; for they agreed to every thing he proposed, and sent him back with full Powers: The first thing he undertook was the Siege of *Ostend*, a Place famous for its long Siege in the last Age: The Natives of the Place were disposed to return to the *Austrian* Family, and the *French*, that were in it, had so lost all Heart and Spirit, that they made not the Resistance, that was looked for: In ten Days, after they sate down before it, and within four Days after the Batteries were finished, they capitulated. From thence the Confederates went to *Menin*, which was esteemed the best finished Fortification, in all those Parts: It was built after the Peace of *Nimeguen*; nothing that Art could contrive was wanting, to render it impregnable; and it was defended by a Garrison of 6000 Men, so that many thought it was too bold an Undertaking, to sit down before it. The *French* Army was become considerable, by great Detachments brought from the *Upper Rhine*; where Mareschal *Villars* was so far superior to the *Germans*, that, if it had not been for this Revulsion of his Forces, the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia* would have been much exposed to Pillage and Contribution.

Flanders and *Brabant* reduced.

Ostend and *Menin* taken.

The Duke of *Vendosme* commanded in *Flanders*.

The Duke of *Vendosme*'s Conduct in *Italy* had so raised his Character, that he was thought the only Man, fit to be at the Head of the Army in *Flanders*: so he was sent for, and had that Command given him, with a very high Compliment, which was very injurious to the other Officers, since he was declared to be the single Man, on whom *France* could depend, and by whom it could be protected, in that Extremity. The Duke of *Orleans* was sent to command in *Italy*, and Mareschal *Marsin* was sent with him to assist, or rather in reality to govern him: And so obstinately was the King of *France* set, on pursuing his first Designs, that notwithstanding his Disgraces both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, yet (since he had ordered all the Preparations for the Siege of *Turin*) he would not

not deſiſt from that Attempt, but ordered it to be purſued, with all poſſible Vigour. The Siege of *Menin* was, in the mean while, carried on ſo ſucceſsfully, that the Trenches were open'd on the 24th of *July*, and the Batteries were finiſhed on the 29th: and they preſſed the Place ſo warmly, that they capitulated on the 11th of *Auguſt*, and march'd out on the 14th, being St. *Lewis*'s Day; 4000 Men march'd out of the Place. 1706

It ſeemed ſtrange, that a Garriſon, which was ſtill ſo numerous, ſhould give up, in ſo ſhort a time, a Place that was both ſo ſtrong and ſo well furniſhed: But as the *French* were much ſunk, ſo the Allies were now become very expert at carrying on of Sieges; and ſpared no Coſt that was neceſſary for Diſpatch. *Dendermonde* had been, for ſome Weeks, under a Blockade: this, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered to be turned into a formal Siege. The Place was ſo ſurrounded with Water, that the King of *France*, having once begun a Siege there, was forced to raiſe it; yet it was now ſo preſſed, that the Garriſon offered to capitulate, but the Duke of *Marlborough* would give them no other Terms, but thoſe of being Priſoners of War, to which they were forced to ſubmit. *Aeth* was next inveſted, it lay ſo inconveniently between *Flanders* and *Brabant*, that it was neceſſary to clear that Communication, and to deliver *Bruſſels* from the Danger of that Neighbourhood: In a fortnight's time, it was alſo obliged to capitulate, and the Garriſon were made Priſoners of War. *Dendermonde* and *Aeth* taken.

During thoſe Sieges, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, having fixed himſelf in a Camp, that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the Duke of *Marlborough* any Diſturbance; while he lay with his Army covering the Sieges: The *French* were jealous of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Heat, and though he deſired to command an Army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide their Forces, tho' now grown to be very numerous. Deſerters ſaid, the Pannick was ſtill ſo great in the Army, that there was no Appearance of their venturing on any Action: *Paris* itſelf was under a high Conſternation; and tho' the King carried his Misfortunes with an appearance of Calmneſs and Compoſure, yet he was often let Blood, which was thought an Indication of a great Commotion within; and this was no doubt the greater, becauſe it was ſo much diſguiſed. No News was talked of at that Court; all was ſilent and ſolemn; ſo that even the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Orleans* knew not the true State of their Affairs; which made her write to her Aunt, the Electoreſs of *Hanover*, to learn knews of her.

There was another Alarm given them, which heighten'd the Diſorder they were in: The *Queen* and the *States* formed a Deſign of a Deſcent in *France*, with an Army of about 10000 Foot and 1200 Horſe. The Earl of *Rivers* commanded the Land-Army, as *Shovell* did a Royal Fleet, that was to convoy them, and to ſecure their Landing; it was to be near *Bourdeaux*: but the Secret was then ſo well kept, that the *French* could not penetrate into it; ſo the Alarm was general. It put all the maritime Counties of *France* to a vaſt charge, and under diſmal apprehenſions: Officers were ſent from the Court to exerciſe them; but they ſaw what their Militia was, and that was all their defence. I have one of the Manifeſto's, that the Earl of *Rivers* was ordered to publiſh, upon his landing: He declared by it, that he was come neither to pillage the Country, nor to conquer any part of it: He came only to reſtore the People to their Liberties, and to have Aſſemblies of the *States*, as they had anciently, and to reſtore the *Edicts* to the Proteſtants; He promiſed protection to all that ſhould come in to him. The Troops were all put aboard at *Portſmouth*, in the beginning of *July*, but they were kept in our Ports by contrary Winds, till the beginning of *October*: The Deſign on *France* was then laid aſide; it was too late in the Year, for the Fleet to ſail into the Bay of *Biſcay*, and to lie there, for any conſiderable time, in that Seaſon: The Reduction of *Spain* was of the greateſt Importance to us; ſo new Orders were ſent them to ſail firſt to *Liſbon*, and there to take ſuch Meaſures, as the State of the Affairs of *Spain* ſhould require. Deſigns for a Deſcent in *France*.

The Siege of *Turin* was begun in *May*, and was continued till the beginning of *September*: There was a ſtrong Garriſon within it, and it was well furniſhed, both with Proviſions and Ammunition. The Duke of *Savoy* put all to the hazard: He ſent his Dutcheſs with his Children to *Genoa*; and himſelf, with a Body of 3000 Horſe, was moving about *Turin*, from Valley to Valley, till that The Siege of *Turin*.

1706 Body was much diminiſhed: for he was, as it were, hunted from place to place, by the Duke of *Feuillade*, who commanded in the Siege, and drove the Duke of *Savoy* before him: ſo that all hope of Relief lay in Prince *Eugene*. The Garriſon made a noble reſiſtance, and maintained their Out-works long; they blew up many Mines, and diſputed every Inch of Ground, with great Reſolution: They loſt about 6000 Men, who were either killed, or had deſerted during the Siege; and their Powder was at laſt ſo ſpent, that they muſt have capitulated within a day or two, if they had not been relieved. The Siege coſt the *French* very dear; they were often forced to change their Attacks, and loſt about 14000 Men before the Place; for they were frequently beat from the Poſts, that they had gain'd.

Prince *Eugene* marches to raiſe it.

Prince *Eugene* made all the haſte, he could to their relief: The Court of *Vienna* had not given due Orders, as they had undertaken, for the Proviſion of the Troops, that were to march thro' their Country, to join him: This occaſioned many Complaints, and ſome Delay. The truth was, that Court was ſo much ſet on the Reduction of *Hungary*, that all other things were much neglected, while that alone ſeemed to poſſeſs them. A Treaty was ſet on foot, with the Malecontents there, by the Mediation of *England* and of the *States*; a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed to, for two Months: All that belonged to that Court were very uneaſy, while that continued; they had ſhared among them the Confiſcations of all the great Eſtates in *Hungary*, and they ſaw, that if a Peace was made, all theſe would be vacated, and the Eſtates would be reſtored to their former Owners: ſo they took all poſſible means to traverſe the Negotiation, and to inflame the Emperor. There ſeemed to be ſome probability, of bringing things to a Settlement, but that could not be brought to any concluſion, during the Term of the Ceſſation; when that was lapſed, the Emperor could not be prevailed on to renew it: He recalled his Troops from the Upper *Rhine*, tho' that was contrary to all his Agreements with the Empire. Notwithſtanding all this ill Management of the Court of *Vienna*, Prince *Eugene* got together the greateſt part of thoſe Troops, that he expected in the *Veroneſe*, before the end of *June*: They were not yet all come up, but he, believing himſelf ſtrong enough, reſolved to advance; and he left the Prince of *Heſſe*, with a Body to receive the reſt, and by them to force a Diverſion, while he ſhould be going on. The Duke of *Vendoſme* had taken care of all the Fords of the *Adige*, the *Mincio*, and the *Oglio*; and had caſt up ſuch Lines and Entrenchments every where, that he had aſſured the Court of *France*, it was not poſſible for Prince *Eugene*, to break thro' all that Oppoſition, at leaſt to do it, in any time to relieve *Turin*. By this time the Duke of *Orleans* was come to take the Army, out of *Vendoſme's* hands: but before that Duke had left it, they ſaw that he had reckon'd wrong, in all thoſe Hopes, he had given the Court of *France*, of ſtopping Prince *Eugene's* March. For in the beginning of *July*, he ſent a few Battalions, over one of the Fords of the *Adige*, where the *French* were well poſted, and double their number; yet they ran away with ſuch precipitation, that they left every thing behind them: Upon that, Prince *Eugene* paſſed the *Adige*, with his whole Army, and the *French*, in a Conſternation, retired behind the *Mincio*. After this, Prince *Eugene* ſurprized the *French* with a Motion, that they had not looked for, nor prepared againſt, for he paſſed the *Po*; the Duke of *Orleans* followed him, but declined an Engagement; whereupon Prince *Eugene* wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that he felt the Effects of the Battle of *Ramellies*, even in *Italy*, the *French* ſeeming to be every where diſpirited with their Misfortunes. Prince *Eugene*, marching nearer the *Appenines*, had gained ſome Days March of the Duke of *Orleans*; upon which, that Duke repaſſed the *Po*; and advanced with ſuch haſte towards *Turin*, that he took no care of the Paſs at *Stradella*, which might have been kept and diſputed for ſome Days: Prince *Eugene* found no Oppoſition there; nor did he meet with any other difficulty, but from the length of the March, and the heat of the Seaſon; for he was in motion all the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*.

In the beginning of *September*, the Duke of *Savoy* joined him, with the ſmall Remnants of his Army, and they haſted on to *Turin*. The Duke of *Orleans* had got thither before them, and the place was now reduced to the laſt Extremities; the Duke of *Orleans*, with moſt of the chief Officers, were for marching out of the

the Trenches; *Marſin* was of another mind, and when he found it hard to maintain his Opinion, he produced poſitive Orders for it, which put an end to the Debate. The Duke of *Savoy* ſaw the neceſſity of attacking them, in their Trenches; his Army conſiſted of 28000 Men, but they were good Troops; the *French* were above 40000, and in a well fortified Camp; yet after two Hours Reſiſtance, the Duke of *Savoy* broke thro', and then there was a great deſtruction; the *French* flying in much diſorder, and leaving a vaſt Treaſure in their Camp, beſides great Stores of Proviſions, Ammunition and Artillery. It was ſo entire a Defeat, that not above 1600 Men, of that great Army, got off in a Body; and they made all the haſte they could into *Dauphiny*. The Duke of *Savoy* went into *Turin*; where it may be eaſily imagined, he was received with much Joy; the Garriſon, for want of Powder, was not in a condition to make a Sally on the *French*, while he attack'd them; the *French* were purſued as far, as Men, wearied with ſuch an Action, could follow them, and many Priſoners were taken. The Duke of *Orleans*, tho' he loſt the Day, yet gave great Demonſtrations of Courage, and received ſeveral Wounds: Mareſchal *Marſin* fell into the Enemies hands, but died of his Wounds in a few Hours; and upon him all the Errors of this diſmal Day were caſt, tho' the heavieſt part of the Load fell on *Chamillard*, who was then in the ſupreme degree of favour at Court, and was entirely poſſeſſed of Madam *Maintenon*'s Confidence. *Feuillade* had married his Daughter, and in order to the advancing him, he had the Command of this Siege given him, which was thus obſtinately purſued, till it ended in this fatal manner. The Obſtinacy continued, for the King ſent Orders, for a Month together, to the Duke of *Orleans*, to march back into *Piedmont*, when it was abſolutely impoſſible; yet repeated Orders were ſent, and the reaſon of this was underſtood afterwards: Madam *Maintenon* (it ſeems) took that care of the King's Health and Humour, that ſhe did not ſuffer the ill ſtate of his Affairs to be fully told him: He, all that while, was made believe, that the Siege was only raiſed, upon the Advance of Prince *Eugene*'s Army; and knew not that his own was defeated and ruined. I am not enough verſed in Military Affairs, to offer any Judgment upon that point, whether they did well or ill, not to go out of their Camp to fight: It is certain, that the Fight was more diſorderly, and the Loſs was much greater, by reaſon of their lying, within their Lines: In this I have known Men of the Trade of different Opinions. 1706

The *French* Army routed, and the Siege raiſed.

While this was done at *Turin*, the Prince of *Heſſe* advanced to the *Mincio*, which the *French* abandoned; but as he went to take *Caſtiglione*, *Medavi*, the *French* General, ſurprized him, and cut off about 2000 of his Men; upon which he was forced to retire to the *Adige*. The *French* magnified this exceſſively, hoping with the noiſe they made about it, to ballance their real Loſs at *Turin*. The Prince of *Vaudemont*, upon the News from *Turin*, left the City of *Milan*, and retired, with the ſmall Force he had, to *Cremona*: The Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* marched, with all haſte, into the *Milaneze*: The City of *Milan* was opened to them; but the Citadel and ſome ſtrong Places, that had Garriſons in them, ſtood out ſome time; yet Place after Place capitulated, ſo that it was viſible, all would quickly fall into their hands.

Such a Succeſſion of eminent Misfortunes, in one Campaign, and in ſo many different Places, was without example: It made all People conclude, that the time was come, in which the Perfidy, the Tyranny, and the Cruelty of that King's long and bloody Reign, was now to be repayed him, with the ſame ſevere meaſure, with which he had formerly treated others: But the Secrets of God are not to be too boldly pried into, till he is pleaſed to diſplay them to us more openly. It is certainly a Year, that deſerves to be long and much remembred.

In the end of the Campaign, in which *Poland* had been haraſſed, with the continuance of the War, but without any great Action; the King of *Sweden*, ſeeing that King *Auguſtus* ſupported his Affairs in *Poland*, by the Supplies both of Men and Money, that he drew from his Electorate, reſolved to ſtop that Reſource: So he marched thro' *Sileſia* and *Luſatia* into *Saxony*. He quickly made himſelf Maſter of an open Country, that was looking for no ſuch Invaſion, and was in no ſort prepared for it, and had few ſtrong Places in it, capable of any Reſiſ-

The King of *Sweden* marched into *Saxony*.

1706

tance: The rich Town of *Leipſick* and all the reſt of the Country was, without any oppoſition, put under Contribution. All the Empire was alarmed at this; it was at firſt apprehended, that it was ſet on by the *French* Councils, to raiſe a new War in *Germany*, and to put the North all in a flame. The King of *Sweden* gave it out, that he had no deſign to give any diſturbance to the Empire: That he intended, by this March, only to bring the War of *Poland* to a ſpeedy concluſion; and it was reaſonable to believe, that ſuch an unlooked for Incident would ſoon bring that War to a Criſis.

A Treaty of Union concluded.

This was the State of our Affairs abroad, in this glorious and ever-memorable Year. At home, another matter of great conſequence was put in a good and promiſing method: The Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms ſate cloſe in a Treaty, till about the middle of *July*; in concluſion, they prepared a compleat Scheme of an entire Union of both Nations: Some Particulars being only referred, to be ſettled by their Parliaments reſpectively. When every thing was agreed to, they preſented one Copy of the Treaty to the Queen, and each ſide had a Copy, to be preſented to their reſpective Parliament, all the three Copies being ſigned by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms: It was reſolved to lay the matter, firſt before the Parliament of *Scotland*, becauſe it was apprehended, that it would meet with the greateſt oppoſition there.

The Union of the two Kingdoms was a Work, of which many had quite deſpaired, in which number I was one; and thoſe who entertained better hopes, thought it muſt have run out into a long Negotiation for ſeveral Years: but beyond all Mens expectation, it was begun and finiſhed, within the Compaſs of One. The Commiſſioners, brought up from *Scotland*, for the Treaty, were ſo ſtrangely choſen (the far greater Number having continued in an oppoſition to the Government, ever ſince the Revolution) that from thence many concluded, that it was not ſincerely deſigned by the Miniſtry, when they ſaw ſuch a Nomination. This was a piece of the Earl of *Stair*'s Cunning, who did heartily promote the Deſign: He then thought, that if ſuch a number of thoſe, who were looked on as *Jacobites*, and were popular Men on that account, among the diſaffected there, could be ſo wrought on, as to be engaged in the Affair, the work would be much the eaſier, when laid before the Parliament of *Scotland*: And in this, the Event ſhewed, that he took right Meaſures. The Lord *Sommers* had the chief hand, in projecting the Scheme of the Union, into which, all the Commiſſioners of the *Engliſh* Nation went very eaſily: The Advantages, that were offered to *Scotland*, in the whole Frame of it, were ſo great, and ſo viſible, that nothing but the Conſideration of the Safety, that was to be procured by it to *England*, could have brought the *Engliſh* to agree to a Project, that, in every Branch of it, was much more favourable to the *Scotch* Nation.

The Articles of the Union.

They were to bear leſs, than the fortieth part of the publick Taxes: When four Shillings in the Pound was levied in *England*, which amounted to two Millions, *Scotland* was only to be taxed at 48000 Pounds, which was eight Months Aſſeſſment: They had been accuſtomed for ſome Years to pay this, and they ſaid it was all that the Nation could bear. It is held a Maxim, that in the framing of a Government, a Proportion ought to be obſerved, between the Share in the Legiſlature, and the Burden to be borne; yet in return of the fortieth part of the Burden, they offered the *Scotch* near the eleventh part of the Legiſlature: For the Peers of *Scotland* were to be repreſented, by ſixteen Peers in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons, by forty five Members in the Houſe of Commons; and theſe were to be choſen, according to the Methods, to be ſettled in the Parliament of *Scotland*. And ſince *Scotland* was to pay Cuſtoms and Exciſes, on the ſame foot with *England*, and was to bear a ſhare in paying much of the Debt, *England* had contracted during the War; 398000 Pounds was to be raiſed in *England*, and ſent into *Scotland*, as an Equivalent for that; and that was to be applied to the recoining the Money, that all might be of one Denomination and Standard, and to paying the publick Debts of *Scotland*, and repaying, to their *African* Company, all their Loſſes with Intereſt; upon which that Company was to be diſſolved; and the Over-plus of the equivalent was to be applied, to the Encouragement of Manufactures. Trade was to be free all over the Iſland, and to the Plantations; private Rights were to be preſerved; and the Judicatories

ries and Laws of *Scotland* were ſtill to be continued: But all was put, for the future, under the Regulation of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; the two Nations now were to be one Kingdom, under the ſame Succeſſion to the Crown, and united in one Parliament. There was no Proviſion made in this Treaty, with relation to Religion: For in the Acts of Parliament, in both Kingdoms, that empowered the Queen to name Commiſſioners, there was an expreſs Limitation, that they ſhould not treat of thoſe Matters. 1706

This was the Subſtance of the Articles of the Treaty, which being laid before the Parliament of *Scotland*, met with great Oppoſition there. It was viſible that the Nobility of that Kingdom ſuffered a great Diminution by it; for tho' it was agreed, that they ſhould enjoy all the other Privileges of the Peers of *England*, yet the greateſt of them all, which was the Voting in the Houſe of Lords, was reſtrained to Sixteen, to be elected by the reſt at every new Parliament; yet there was a greater Majority of the Nobility, that concurred in Voting for the Union, than in the other States of that Kingdom. The Commiſſioners from the Shires and Boroughs, were almoſt equally divided, tho' it was evident they were to be the chief Gainers by it; among theſe the Union was agreed to, by a very ſmall Majority: It was the Nobility, that in every Vote turned the Scale for the Union: They were ſeverely reflected on, by thoſe who oppoſed it; it was ſaid, many of them were bought off, to ſell their Country and their Birth-right: All thoſe, who adhered inflexibly to the *Jacobite* Intereſt, oppoſed every Step that was made, with great Vehemence; for they ſaw that the Union ſtruck at the Root of all their Views and Deſigns, for a new Revolution. Yet theſe could not have raiſed or maintained ſo great an Oppoſition, as was now made; if the *Preſbyterians* had not been poſſeſſed with a Jealouſy, that the Conſequence of this Union would be, the Change of Church-Government among them, and that they would be ſwallowed up by the Church of *England*. This took ſuch root in many, that no Aſſurances, that were offered, could remove their Fears: It was infuſed in them chiefly by the old Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, who had great credit with them: And it was ſuggeſted, that ſhe, and her Son, had particular Views, as hoping, that if *Scotland* ſhould continue a ſeparated Kingdom, the Crown might come into their Family, they being the next in Blood, after King *James*'s Poſterity. The Infuſion of ſuch apprehenſions, had a great effect on the main Body of that Party, who could ſcarce be brought to hearken, but never to accept of the Offers, that were made for ſecuring their *Preſbyterian* Government. A great Part of the Gentry of that Kingdom, who had been oft in *England*, and had obſerved the Protection, that all Men had from a Houſe of Commons, and the Security that it procured, againſt partial Judges, and a violent Miniſtry, entred into the Deſign with great Zeal. The opening a free Trade, not only with *England*, but with the Plantations, and the Protection of the Fleet of *England*, drew in thoſe who underſtood theſe Matters, and ſaw there was no other way in View, to make the Nation rich and conſiderable. Thoſe who had engaged far into the Deſign of *Darien*, and were great Loſers by it, ſaw now an honourable way to be reimburſed, which made them wiſh well to the Union, and promote it. But that which advanced the Deſign moſt effectually, and without which, it could not have ſucceeded, was, that a conſiderable Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were in no Engagements with the Court (on the contrary, they had been diſobliged, and turned out of great Poſts, and ſome very lately) declared for it. Theſe kept themſelves very cloſe and united, and ſeemed to have no other Intereſt, but that of their Country, and were for that reaſon called the *Squadrone*: The chief of theſe were, the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, the Earls of *Rothes*, *Roxburgh*, *Haddington*, and *Marchmont*; they were in great credit, becauſe they had no viſible Biaſs on their Minds; ill uſage had provoked them rather to oppoſe the Miniſtry, than to concur in any thing, where the chief Honour would be carried away by others. When they were ſpoke to by the Miniſtry, they anſwered coldly, and with great Reſerves, ſo it was expected they would have concurred in the Oppoſition, and they being between twenty and thirty in number, if they had ſet themſelves againſt the Union, the Deſign muſt have miſcarried. But they continued ſtill ſilent, till the firſt Diviſion of the Houſe obliged them to declare, and then, they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and with Zeal:

Debated long in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

1706 There were great and long Debates, managed on the ſide of the Union, by the Earls of *Seafield* and *Stair* for the Miniſtry, and of the *Squadrone* by the Earls of *Roxburgh* and *Marchmont*; and againſt it by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol* and the Marquiſs of *Annandale*. The Duke of *Athol* was believed to be in a foreign Correſpondence, and was much ſet on violent methods: Duke *Hamilton* managed the Debate with great Vehemence, but was againſt all deſperate Motions: He had much to loſe, and was reſolved not to venture all, with thoſe who ſuggeſted the neceſſity of running, in the old *Scotch* way, to Extremities. The Topicks, from which the Arguments againſt the Union were drawn, were the Antiquity and Dignity of their Kingdom, which was offered to be given up, and ſold: They were departing from an Independant State, and going to ſink into a Dependance on *England*; what Conditions ſoever might be now ſpeciouſly offered, as a Security to them, they could not expect that they ſhould be adhered to, or religiouſly maintained in a Parliament, where ſixteen Peers and forty five Commoners could not hold the ballance, againſt above an hundred Peers and five hundred and thirteen Commoners. *Scotland* would be no more conſidered as formerly by foreign Princes and States: Their Peers would be precarious and elective: They magnified their Crown, with the other Regalia ſo much, that ſince the Nation ſeemed reſolved never to ſuffer them to be carried away, it was provided, in a new Clauſe added to the Articles, that theſe ſhould ſtill remain within the Kingdom. They inſiſted moſt vehemently on the Danger, that the Conſtitution of their Church muſt be in, when all ſhould be under the power of a *Britiſh* Parliament: This was preſſed with Fury by ſome, who were known to be the moſt violent Enemies to *Presbytery*, of any in that Nation: but it was done on deſign, to inflame that Body of Men by thoſe Apprehenſions, and ſo to engage them to perſiſt in their Oppoſition. To allay that Heat, after the general Vote was carried for the Union, before they entered on the Conſideration of the particular Articles, an Act was prepared for ſecuring the *Presbyterian* Government: by which it was declared to be the only Government of that Church, unalterable in all ſucceeding Times, and the maintaining it was declared to be a fundamental and eſſential Article and Condition of the Union; and this Act was to be made a part of the Act for the Union, which, in the Conſequence of that, was to be ratified by another Act of Parliament in *England*. Thus thoſe, who were the greateſt Enemies to *Presbytery*, of any in the Nation, raiſed the Clamour of the Danger that Form of Government would be in, if the Union went on, to ſuch a heighth, that by their Means this Act was carried, as far as any human Law could go, for their Security: For by this, they had, not only all the Security that their own Parliament could give them, but they were to have the Faith and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, it being, in the Stipulation, made an eſſential Condition of the Union: The carrying this matter ſo far, was done in hopes that the Parliament of *England* would never be brought to paſs it. This Act was paſſed, and it gave an entire Satisfaction to thoſe, who were diſpoſed to receive any; but nothing could ſatisfy Men, who made uſe of this, only to inflame others. Thoſe, who oppoſed the Union, finding the Majority was againſt them, ſtudied to raiſe a Storm without doors, to frighten them: A Set of Addreſſes againſt the Union were ſent round all the Countries, in which, thoſe who oppoſed it, had any Intereſt: There came up many of theſe, in the Name of Counties and Burroughs, and at laſt, from Pariſhes: This made ſome Noiſe abroad, but was very little conſidered there, when it was known, by whoſe Arts and Practices they were procured. When this appeared to have little effect, Pains were taken to animate the Rabble to violent Attempts, both at *Edinburgh*, and at *Glaſgow*. Sir *Patrick Johnſtoun*, Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, had been one of the Commiſſioners, and had concurred heartily in the Deſign: A great Multitude gathered about his Houſe, and were forcing the Doors on Deſign, as was believed, to murder him; but Guards came and diſperſed them. Upon this Attempt, the Privy-Council ſet out a Proclamation againſt all ſuch Riots, and gave orders for quartering the Guards within the Town: But to ſhew, that this was not intended to over-awe the Parliament, the whole Matter was laid before them, and the Proceedings of the Privy-Council were approved. No other violent Attempt was made after this, but the Body of the People ſhewed ſo much Sullenneſs, that probably

probably, had any Perſon of Authority once kindled the Fire, they ſeemed to be of ſuch combuſtible Matter, that the Union might have caſt that Nation into great Convulſions. Theſe things made great Impreſſions on the Duke of *Queensbury*, and on ſome about him: He deſpaired of ſucceeding, and he apprehended his Perſon might be in danger: One about him wrote to my Lord Treaſurer, repreſenting the ill Temper the Nation was generally in, and moved for an Adjournment, that ſo with the help of ſome Time and good Management, thoſe Difficulties, which ſeemed then inſuperable, might be conquered. The Lord Treaſurer told me, his Anſwer was, that a delay was, upon the Matter, laying the whole Deſign aſide; Orders were given, both in *England* and *Ireland*, to have Troops ready upon call; and if it was neceſſary, more Forces ſhould be ordered from *Flanders*: The *French* were in no condition to ſend any Aſſiſtance to thoſe, who might break out, ſo that the Circumſtances of the Time were favourable; he deſired therefore, that they would go on, and not be alarmed at the fooliſh Behaviour of ſome, who, whatever might be given out in their Names, he believed, had more Wit than to ruin themſelves. Every Step that was made, and every Vote that was carried, was with the ſame Strength, and met with the ſame Oppoſition: Both Parties giving ſtrict Attendance during the whole Seſſion, which laſted for three Months. Many Proteſtations were printed, with every Man's Vote: In concluſion, the whole Articles of the Treaty were agreed to, with ſome ſmall Variations. The Earl of *Stair*, having maintained the Debate on the laſt Day, in which all was concluded, died the next Night ſuddenly, his Spirits being quite exhauſted by the Length and Vehemence of the Debate. The Act paſſed, and was ſent up to *London* in the beginning of *February*. 1706

The Queen laid it before the two Houſes; the Houſe of Commons agreed to it all, without any Oppoſition, ſo ſoon, that it was thought they interpoſed not Delay and Conſideration enough, ſuitable to the Importance of ſo great a Tranſaction. The Debates were longer and more ſolemn in the Houſe of Lords; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moved, that a Bill might be brought in, for ſecuring the Church of *England*; by it, all Acts, paſſed in favour of our Church, were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and eſſential Part of the Union. Some Exceptions were taken to the Words of the Bill, as not ſo ſtrong as the Act paſſed in *Scotland* ſeemed to be, ſince the Government of it was not declared to be unalterable: But they were judged more proper, ſince, where a ſupreme Legiſlature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable. After this was over, the Lords entered upon the Conſideration of the Articles, as they were amended in *Scotland*; it was pretended, that here a new Conſtitution was made, the conſequence of which, they ſaid, was the altering all the Laws of *England*. All the Judges were of opinion, that there was no weight in this; great Exceptions were taken to the ſmall Proportion, *Scotland* was rated at, in the laying on of Taxes; and their Election of Peers, to every new Parliament, was ſaid to be contrary to the Nature of Peerage. To all the Objections that were offered, this general Anſwer was made, that ſo great a thing, as the Uniting the whole Iſland into one Government, could not be compaſſed, but with ſome Inconveniences: But if the Advantage of Safety and Union, was greater than thoſe Inconveniences, then a leſſer Evil muſt be ſubmitted to. An Elective Peer was indeed a great prejudice to the Peers of *Scotland*, but ſince they had ſubmitted to it, there was no juſt occaſion given to the Peers of *England* to complain of it. But the Debate held longeſt upon the Matters, relating to the Government of the Church; it was ſaid, here was a real Danger the Church ran into, when ſo many Votes, of Perſons tied to *Presbytery*, were admitted to a ſhare in the Legiſlature. All the Rigour, with which the Epiſcopal Clergy had been treated in *Scotland*, was ſet forth, to ſhew with how implacable a Temper they were ſet againſt the Church of *England*; yet, in return to all that, it was now demanded from the Men of this Church, to enact, that the *Scotch* Form ſhould continue unalterable, and to admit thoſe to vote among us, who were ſuch declared Enemies to our Conſtitution. Here was a plauſible Subject for popular Eloquence, and a great deal of it was brought out upon this occaſion, by *Hooper*, *Beveridge*, and ſome other Biſhops, and by the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham*. But to all this it was anſwered, that the chief Dangers 1707 At laſt agreed to.

1707 the Church was in, were from *France* and from Popery: ſo that whatſoever ſecured us from theſe, delivered us from our juſteſt Fears. *Scotland* lay on the weakeſt ſide of *England*, where it could not be defended, but by an Army: The Coaleries on the *Tine* lay expoſed for ſeveral Miles, and could not be preſerved, but at a great charge, and with a great force: If a War ſhould fall out between the two Nations, and if *Scotland* ſhould be conquered, yet, even in that caſe, it muſt be united to *England*, or kept under by an Army: The Danger of keeping up a Standing Force, in the hands of any Prince, and to be modelled by him (who might engage the *Scotch* to join with that Army and turn upon *England*) was viſible: and any Union, after ſuch a Conqueſt, would look like a Force, and ſo could not be laſting; whereas all was now voluntary. As for Church-matters, there had been ſuch Violence uſed by all ſides in their turns, that none of them could reproach the others much, without having it returned upon them too juſtly. A ſofter Management would lay thoſe Heats, and bring Men to a better Temper: The *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, tho' very zealous in their different Religions, yet were united in one general Body: The Diet of *Germany* was compoſed of Men of three different Religions: ſo that ſeveral Conſtitutions of Churches might be put under one Legiſlature; and if there was a danger of either ſide, it was much more likely that 513 would be too hard for 45, than that 45 would maſter 513; eſpecially when the Crown was on their ſide: and there were twenty ſix Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords, to outweigh the ſixteen Votes from *Scotland*. It was indeed ſaid, that all in *England* were not zealous for the Church; to which it was anſwered, that by the ſame reaſon it might be concluded, that all thoſe of *Scotland* were not zealous for their Way, eſpecially when the Favour of the Court lay in the *Engliſh* Scale. The matter was argued, for the Union, by the Biſhops of *Oxford*, *Norwich* and my ſelf, by the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Wharton*, and the Lords *Townſhend* and *Halifax*; but above all, by the Lord *Sommers*. Every Diviſion of the Houſe was made, with ſo great an inequality, that they were but 20, againſt 50 that were for the Union. When all was agreed to, in both Houſes, a Bill was ordered to be brought in to enact it; which was prepared by *Harcourt*, with ſo particular a Contrivance, that it cut off all Debates. The Preamble was a Recital of the Articles, as they were paſſed in *Scotland*, together with the Acts made in both Parliaments, for the Security of their ſeveral Churches; and in concluſion, there came one Enacting Clauſe, ratifying all. This put thoſe, upon great Difficulties, who had reſolved to object to ſeveral Articles, and to inſiſt on demanding ſome Alterations in them; for they could not come at any Debate about them; they could not object to the Recital, it being merely Matter of Fact; and they had not Strength enough, to oppoſe the general Enacting Clauſe, nor was it eaſy to come at particulars, and to offer Proviſo's relating to them. The Matter was carried on with ſuch Zeal, that it paſſed thro' the Houſe of Commons, before thoſe, who intended to oppoſe it, had recovered themſelves out of the Surprize, under which the Form, it was drawn in, had put them. It did not ſtick long in the Houſe of Lords, for all the Articles had been copiouſly debated there for ſeveral Days, before the Bill was ſent up to them: And thus this great Deſign, ſo long wiſhed and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, within the Compaſs of Nine Months. The Union was to commence on the Firſt of *May*, and 'till that time, the two Kingdoms were ſtill diſtinct, and their two Parliaments continued ſtill to ſit.

The Equivalent diſpoſed of.

In *Scotland*, they proceeded to diſpoſe of the Sum, provided to be the Equivalent: In this, great Partialities appeared, which were much complained of; but there was not Strength to oppoſe them. The Miniſtry, and thoſe who depended on them, moved for very extravagant Allowances to thoſe, who had been employed in this laſt, and in the former Treaty; and they made large Allotments, of ſome Publick Debts, that were complained of as unreaſonable and unjuſt; by which, a great parr of the Sum was diverted, from anſwering the End, for which it was given. This was much oppoſed by the *Squadrone*; but as the Miniſters promoted it, and thoſe, who were to get by it, made all the Intereſt they could to obtain it (ſome few of them only excepted, who, as became generous Patriots, ſhewed more regard to the Publick, than to their private Ends) ſo thoſe, who had oppoſed the Union, were not ill pleaſed to ſee this Sum

um ſo miſapplied; hoping by that means, that the Averſion, which they en- 1707
eavoured to infuſe into the Nation againſt the Union, would be much encreaſ-
d; therefore they let every thing go as the Miniſters propoſed, to the great
rief of thoſe, who wiſhed well to the Publick. It was reſolved, that the Par-
ament of *England* ſhould ſit out its Period, which, by the Law for Triennial
arliaments, ran yet a Year further; it was thought neceſſary, to have another
eſſion continued of the ſame Men, who had made this Union, ſince they would
nore readily conſolidate and ſtrengthen their own Work. Upon this ground, it
eemed moſt proper, that the Members, to repreſent *Scotland*, ſhould be named
y the Parliament there: Thoſe who had oppoſed the Union, carried their A-
erſion to the *Squadrone* ſo far, that they concurred with the Miniſtry in a No-
ination, in which very few of them were included, not above three of the Peers,
nd fifteen Commoners; ſo that great and juſt Exceptions lay againſt many, who
ere nominated to repreſent that Kingdom: all this was very acceptable to
hoſe, who had oppoſed the Union. The Cuſtoms of *Scotland* were then in a
arm, and the Farmers were the Creatures of the Miniſtry, ſome of whom, as
as believed, were Sharers with them: It was viſible, that ſince there was to
e a free Trade opened, between *Scotland* and *England*, after the Firſt of *May*,
nd ſince the Duties in *Scotland*, laid on Trade, were much lower than in *Eng-*
and, that there would be a great Importation into *Scotland*, on the Proſpect of
he Advantage, that might be made by ſending it into *England*. Upon ſuch an
Emergency, it was reaſonable to break the Farm, as had been ordinarily done
upon leſs reaſon, and to take the Cuſtoms into a new Management, that ſo the
Gain, to be made in the Interval, might go to the Publick, and not be left in
private Hands: But the Leaſe was continued in favour of the Farmers. They
were Men of no Intereſt of their own, ſo it was not doubted, but that there was
ſecret practice in the Caſe. Upon the view of the Gain, to be made by ſuch
n Importation, it was underſtood, that Orders were ſent to *Holland*, and other
Places, to buy up Wine, Brandy, and other Merchandize. And another noto-
rious Fraud was deſigned by ſome in *England*; who, becauſe of the great Draw-
back, that was allowed for Tobacco and other Plantation Commodities, when
exported, were ſending great Quantities to *Scotland*, on deſign to bring them
back after the firſt of *May*, that ſo they might ſell them free of that Duty: So
a Bill was offered to the Houſe of Commons, for preventing this. While this
was going on, *Harley* propoſed the joining another Clauſe, to this effect; That
all Goods, that were carried to *Scotland*, after the Firſt of *February* (unleſs it
were by the natural-born Subjects of that Kingdom, inhabiting in it) in caſe
they were imported into *England* after the Firſt of *May*, ſhould be liable to the
Engliſh Duties; and of this the Proof was to lie on the Importer. This angred
all the *Scotch*, who raiſed a high Clamour upon it, and ſaid the Union was broke
by it; and that ſuch a Proceeding would have very ill Effects in *Scotland*. But
the Houſe of Commons were ſo alarmed, with the News of a vaſt Importation,
which was aggravated far beyond the truth, and by which they concluded the
Trade of *England* would greatly ſuffer, at leaſt for a Year or two, that they paſ-
ſed the Bill, and ſent it to the Lords, where it was rejected; for it appeared
plainly to them, that this was an Infraction of ſome of the Articles of the Treaty.
It was ſuggeſted, that a Receſs for ſome days was neceſſary, that ſo the Commons
might have an opportunity to prepare a Bill, prohibiting all Goods from being
brought to *England*, that had been ſent out, only in order that the Merchants
might have the Draw-back allowed. With this view, the Parliament was proro-
gued for a few days; but at their next meeting, the Commons were more inflamed
than before: So they prepared a new Bill, to the ſame effect, only in ſome Clau-
ſes it was more ſevere than the former had been: But the Lords did not agree
to it, and ſo it fell.

Thus far I have carried on the Recital of this great Tranſaction, rather
in ſuch a general view, as may tranſmit it right to Poſterity, than in ſo copious
a Narration, as an Affair of ſuch conſequence might ſeem to deſerve: It is very
probable, that a particular Journal, of the Debates in the Parliament of
Scotland, which were long and fierce, may at ſome time or other be made pub-
lick: But I hope this may ſuffice for a Hiſtory. I cannot, upon ſuch a ſignal

1707 Reflections on the Union.

Occaſion, reſtrain myſelf from making ſome Reflections, on the Directions of Providence in this matter. It is certain the Deſign on *Darien*, the great Charge it put the Nation to, and the total Miſcarriage of that Project, made the trading Part of that Kingdom ſee the Impoſſibility of undertaking any great Deſigns in Trade; and that made them the more readily concur, in carrying on the Union. The wiſer Men of that Nation had obſerved long, that *Scotland* lay at the mercy of the Miniſtry, and that every new Set of Miniſters made uſe of their Power, to enrich themſelves and their Creatures, at the Coſt of the Publick; that the Judges, being made by them, were in ſuch a Dependance, that ſince there are no Juries allowed in *Scotland* in Civil Matters, the whole Property of the Kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the Miniſters: They had alſo obſerved, how ineffectual it had been to complain of them at Court: It put thoſe, who ventured on it, to a vaſt Charge, to no other purpoſe, but to expoſe them the more to the Fury of the Miniſtry. The poor Noblemen, and the poor Burroughs made a great Majority in their Parliament, and were eaſily to be purchaſed by the Court: So they ſaw no hopes of a Remedy to ſuch a Miſchief, but by an incorporating Union with *England*. Theſe Thoughts were much quickned, by the Proſpect of recovering, what they had loſt in that ill-concerted Undertaking of *Darien*; and this was ſo univerſal and ſo operative, that the Deſign on *Darien*, which the *Jacobites* had ſet on foot and proſecuted with ſo much fury, and with bad Intentions, did now engage many to promote the Union, who, without that Conſideration, would have been at leaſt neutral, if not backward in it. The Court was engaged to promote the Union, on account of the Act of Security, paſt in the Year 1704, which was imputed chiefly to the Lord Treaſurer: Threatnings, of Impeaching him for adviſing it, had been often let fall, and upon that, his Enemies had ſet their chief hopes of pulling him down: for tho' no proof could be brought of his Council in it, yet it was not doubted, but that his advice had determined the Queen to paſs it. An Impeachment was a word of an odious ſound, which would engage a Party againſt him, and diſorder a Seſſion of Parliament; and the leaſt ill effect it might have, would be to oblige him to withdraw from Buſineſs, which was chiefly aimed at. The Queen was very ſenſible, that his managing the great Truſt he was in, in the manner he did, made all the reſt of her Government both ſafe and eaſy to her; ſo ſhe ſpared no pains to bring this about, and it was believed ſhe was at no ſmall Coſt to compaſs it, for thoſe of *Scotland* had learned from *England*, to ſet a Price on their Votes, and they expected to be well paid for them: The Lord Treaſurer did alſo beſtir himſelf in this matter, with an Activity and Zeal, that ſeemed not to be in his nature: and indeed, all the application, with which the Court ſet on this Affair, was neceſſary to maſter the Oppoſition and Difficulties, that ſprang up in the progreſs of it. That which compleated all was, the low State to which the Affairs of *France* were reduced: They could neither ſpare Men, nor Money, to ſupport their Party, which otherwiſe they would undoubtedly have done: They had, in imitation of the Exchequer-Notes here in *England*, given out *Mint-Bills*, to a great Value; ſome ſaid two hundred Millions of Livres: Theſe were ordered to be taken, by the Subjects in all Payments, as Money to the full Value, but were not to be received in payments of the King's Taxes: This put them under a great Diſcredit, and the Fund created, for repaying them, not being thought a good one, they had ſunk 70 *per Cent.* This created an unexpreſſible Diſorder in all Payments, and in the whole Commerce of *France*: All the Methods, that were propoſed for raiſing their Credit, had proved ineffectual; for they remained after all, at the Diſcount of 58 *per Cent.* A Court, in this diſtreſs, was not in a condition to ſpare much, to ſupport ſuch an inconſiderable Intereſt, as they eſteemed their Party in *Scotland*: ſo they had not the aſſiſtance, which they promiſed themſelves from thence. The conjuncture, of all theſe things meeting together, which brought this great Work to a happy concluſion, was ſo remarkable, that I hope my laying it all in one view, will be thought no impertinent Digreſſion.

This was the chief Buſineſs of the Seſſion of Parliament: and it was brought about, here in *England*, both ſooner, and with leſs Difficulty, than was expected. The

The Grant of the Supplies went on quicker, than was uſual. There was only one Particular, to which great Objections were made: Upon the great and early Succeſs of the former Campaign, it was thought neceſſary to follow that, with other Projects, that drew on a great Expence, beyond what had been eſtimated, and laid before the Parliament. An Imbarkation, firſt deſigned againſt *France*, and afterwards ſent to *Portugal*; and the extraordinary Supplies, that the Duke of *Savoy*'s Affairs called for, amounted to about 800,000 *l.* more, than had been provided for by Parliament. Some complained of this, and ſaid, that if a Miniſtry could thus run the Nation into a great Charge, and expect that the Parliament muſt pay the Reckoning, this might have very ill Conſequences. But to this it was anſwered, that a Miniſtry deſerved publick Thanks, that had followed our Advantages, with ſuch Vigour: If any thing was raiſed without neceſſity, or ill applied, under the pretence of ſerving the Publick, it was very reaſonable to enquire into it, and to let it fall heavy on thoſe, who were in fault: But if no other Exception lay to it, than becauſe the matter could not be foreſeen, nor communicated to the Parliament, before thoſe Accidents happened, that occaſioned the Expence, it was a very unjuſt Diſcouragement, if Miniſters were to be quarrelled with, for their Care and Zeal: So it was carried by a great Majority, to diſcharge this Debt. All the other Supplies, and among them the Equivalent for *Scotland*, were given, and lodged on good Funds: So that no Seſſion of Parliament had ever raiſed ſo much, and ſecured it ſo well, as this had done. The Seſſion came to a happy concluſion, and the Parliament to an end. But the Queen, by virtue of a Clauſe in the Act of Union, revived it by Proclamation. Upon this, many of the *Scotch* Lords came up, and were very well received; two of them, *Montroſe* and *Roxburgh*, were made Dukes in *Scotland*; ſome of them were made Privy Counſellors in *England*; and a Commiſſion, for a new Council, was ſent to *Scotland*: There appeared ſoon two different Parties, among the *Scotch*; ſome of them moved that there ſhould neither be a diſtinct Government, nor a Privy Council continued there, but that all ſhould be brought under one Adminiſtration, as the ſeveral Counties in *England* were; They ſaid, the ſooner all were conſolidated, in all reſpects, into one Body, the Poſſibility of ſeparating and diſuniting them, would be the ſooner extinguiſhed; this was preſſed with the moſt Earneſtneſs by thoſe, who were weary of the preſent Miniſtry, and longed to ſee their Power at an end: But the Miniſtry, who had a mind to keep up their Authority, ſaid, there was a neceſſity of preſerving a ſhew of Greatneſs, and a form of Government in thoſe Parts, both for ſubduing the *Jacobites*, and that the Nation might not be diſguſted, by too ſudden an Alteration of outward Appearances. The Court reſolved to maintain the Miniſtry there, till the next Seſſion of Parliament, in which new Meaſures might be taken. Thus our Affairs were happily ſettled at home, and the Firſt of *May* was celebrated, with a decent Solemnity, for then the Union took place.

1707 The Supplies were granted.

The Convocation ſat this Winter; and the ſame Temper, that had for ſome Years poſſeſſed the Lower Houſe, did ſtill prevail among them: When the Debates concerning the Union were before the Parliament, ſome in the Lower Houſe ſpoke very tragically on that Subject: A Committee was named to conſider of the preſent Danger of the Church, tho' but a little while before, they had concurred with the Biſhops, in a very reſpectful Addreſs to the Queen, in which it was acknowledged, that the Church was, under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, in a ſafe and flouriſhing Condition: This was carried, by the private Management of ſome aſpiring Men amongſt them, who hoped by a piece of skill to ſhew what they could do, that it might recommend them to farther Preferment; they were much cried out on, as Betrayers of their Party, for carrying that Addreſs; ſo to recover their Credit, and becauſe their hopes from the Court were not ſo promiſing, they reſolved now to act another part. It was given out, that they intended to make an Application to the Houſe of Commons, againſt the Union; to prevent that, the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop, ordering him to prorogue them for three Weeks: by this means that Deſign was defeated, for before the end of the three Weeks, the Union had paſſed both Houſes. But, when one factious Deſign failed, they found out another; they ordered a Repreſentation, to be made to the Biſhops, which ſet forth, that ever ſince the

Proceedings in Convocation.

1707

Submiſſion of the Clergy in *Henry* the VIII's time, which was for a courſe of 173 Years, no ſuch Prorogation had ever been ordered, during the ſitting of Parliament: and they beſought the Biſhops, that from the conſcientious Regard which they doubted not they had, for the welfare of this Church, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that they might ſtill enjoy thoſe Uſages, of which they were poſſeſſed, and which they had never miſemployed: With this, they brought up a Schedule, containing, as they ſaid, all the Dates of the Prorogations, both of Parliament and Convocation, thereby to make good their Aſſertion: And to cover this ſeeming Complaint of the Queen's Proceedings, they paſſed a Vote, that they did not intend to enter into any Debate, concerning the Validity of the late Prorogation, to which they had humbly ſubmitted. It was found to be a ſtrange and a bold Aſſertion, that this Prorogation was without a Precedent: Their Charge, in the preſerving their Uſages, on the Conſciences of the Biſhops, inſinuated that this was a Breach made on them: The Biſhops ſaw this was plainly an Attempt on the Queen's Supremacy; ſo they ordered it to be laid before her Majeſty: and they ordered alſo a Search to be made into the Records. For tho' it was an undoubted Maxim, that nothing but a poſitive Law could limit the Prerogative, which a Non-uſage could not do; yet they ordered the Schedule, offered by the Lower Houſe, to be compared with the Records: they found that ſeven or eight Prorogations had been ordered, during the ſitting of Parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more, by which it appeared, that the Convocation ſat ſometimes before, and ſometimes after a Seſſion of Parliament, and ſat ſometimes, even when the Parliament was diſſolved. Upon all this, the Queen wrote another more ſevere Letter to the Archbiſhop, complaining of the Clergy, for not only continuing their illegal Practices, but reflecting on her late Order, as without a Precedent, and contrary to ancient Uſages; which as it was untrue in fact, ſo it was an Invaſion of her Supremacy: She had ſhewed much Tenderneſs to the Clergy, but if any thing of this nature ſhould be attempted for the future, ſhe would uſe means warranted by Law, for puniſhing Offenders, how unwilling ſoever ſhe might be to proceed to ſuch meaſures. When the day came, on which this was to be communicated to the Lower Houſe, the *Prolocutor* had gone out of Town, without ſo much as asking the Archbiſhop's leave, ſo a very ſmall number of the Clergy appeared: Upon this ſignal Contempt, the Archbiſhop pronounced him contumacious, and referred the further cenſuring him to the day, he ſet for their next meeting: The Prolocutor's Party preſſed him to ſtand it out, and to make no Submiſſion; but he had ſounder Advice given him, by ſome who underſtood the Law better; ſo he made a full Submiſſion, with which the Archbiſhop was ſatisfied: Yet a Party continued, with great Impudence to aſſert, that their Schedule was true, and that the Queen was miſinformed, tho' the Lord Chancellor, made now a Peer of *England*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, had, upon peruſal of the Records, affirmed to the Queen, that their Aſſertion was falſe, and that there were many Precedents, for ſuch Prorogations.

Affairs in *Italy*.

And now I muſt look abroad into foreign Affairs. The *French* were loſing place after place in *Lombardy*: *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and the Citadel of *Milan*, were the only places, that were left in their hands: It was not poſſible to maintain theſe long, without a greater force, nor was it eaſy to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing thoſe Fortreſſes was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue the Troops, and would bring a great Charge with it; ſo a Capitulation was propoſed, for delivering up thoſe places, and for allowing the *French* Troops a free March to *Dauphiny*. As ſoon as this was ſent to *Vienna*, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the Allies, which gave juſt cauſe of offence: It was ſaid in excuſe, that every General had a power to agree to a Capitulation; ſo the Emperor, in this caſe, was not bound to ſtay, for the Conſent of the Allies. This was true, if the Capitulation had been for one ſingle place, but this was of the nature of a Treaty, being of a greater extent: By this, the *French* ſaved ten or 12000 Men, who muſt all have been, in a little time, made Priſoners of War: They were veterane Troops, and were ſent into *Spain*, of which we quickly felt the ill Effects.

The

The Deſign was formed, for the following Campaign, after this manner: The Duke of *Savoy* undertook to march an Army into *France*, and to act there, as ſhould be concerted by the Allies: Some propoſed the marching through *Dauphiny*, to the River of the *Rhone*, and ſo up to *Lyons*: But an Attempt upon *Toulon* was thought the moſt important thing, that could be deſigned; ſo that was ſettled on. Mareſchal *Teſſe* was ſent to ſecure the Paſſes, and to cover *France* on that ſide. This Winter the Prince of *Baden* died, little eſteemed, and little lamented; the Marquiſs of *Bareith* had the Command of the Army, on the Upper *Rhine*, from whom leſs was expected; he was ſo ill ſupported, that he could do nothing. The Court of *Vienna* was ſo ſet on the Reduction of *Hungary*, that they thought of nothing elſe: The *Hungarians* were very numerous, but they wanted both Officers and Diſcipline: *Ragotski* had poſſeſſed himſelf of almoſt all *Tranſilvania*, and the *Hungarians* were ſo alienated from the Emperor, that they were conſulting about chuſing a new King. 1707

The Eyes of all *Europe* were upon the King of *Sweden*, who having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Saxony*, made King *Auguſtus* ſoon feel, that now, that his Hereditary Dominions were in his Enemies hands, he could no longer maintain the War in *Poland*: So a Treaty was ſet on foot, with ſuch ſecrecy, that it was concluded, before it was apprehended to be in agitation. King *Auguſtus* was only waiting for a fit Opportunity, to diſingage himſelf from his *Polanders*, and from the *Muſcovites*; an Incident happened that had almoſt imbroiled all again: The *Polanders* and *Muſcovites* attacked a Body of *Swedes*, at a great diſadvantage, being much ſuperior to them in number: So the *Swedes* were almoſt cut to pieces. King *Auguſtus* had no ſhare in this, and did all that he durſt venture on, to avoid it: He paid dear for it, hard Conditions were put on him, to which the neceſſity of his affairs forced him to ſubmit. He made all the haſte, he ſafely could, to get out of *Poland*: he reſigned back their Crown to them, and was contented with the empty name of King, though that ſeemed rather to be a Reproach, than any acceſſion of Honour to his Electoral Dignity; He thought otherwiſe, and ſtipulated that it ſhould be continued to him: He was at mercy, for he had neither Forces nor Treaſure. It was thought the King of *Sweden* treated him with too much rigour, when he had ſo entirely maſtered him: The other was as little pitied, as he deſerved to be, for by many wrong practices, he had drawn all his Misfortunes on himſelf. The King of *Sweden*, being in the heart of *Germany*, in ſo formidable a Poſture, gave great Apprehenſions to the Allies. The *French* made ſtrong applications to him, but the Courts of *Pruſſia* and *Hanover* were in ſuch a concert with that King, that they gave the reſt of the Allies great aſſurances, that he would do nothing, to diſturb the Peace of the Empire, nor to weaken the Alliance: The Court of *France* preſſed him to offer his Mediation for a general Peace; all the anſwer he gave was, that if the Allies made the like application to him, he would interpoſe, and do all good Offices in a Treaty. So he refuſed to enter into any ſeparate meaſures with *France*, yet the Court of *Vienna* was under a great apprehenſion, of his ſeeking matter for a Quarrel with them. The *Czar* at this time over-run *Poland*, ſo that King *Staniſlaus* was forced to fly into *Saxony*, to the King of *Sweden*, for Protection: both he and his Queen ſtayed there all the Winter, and a great part of this Summer. The *Czar* preſſed the *Polanders* to proceed to the Election of another King, but could not carry them to that; ſo it was generally believed, that they were reſolved to come to a Treaty with King *Staniſlaus*, and to ſettle the Quiet of that Kingdom, exhauſted by a long and deſtructive War. The *Czar* tried, if it were poſſible to come to a Peace with the King of *Sweden*, and made great Offers in order to it; but that King was implacable, and ſeemed reſolved to pull him down, as he had done King *Auguſtus*. That King's Deſigns were impenetrable, he adviſed with few, and kept himſelf on great reſerves with all foreign Miniſters, whom he would not ſuffer to come near him, except when they had a particular Meſſage to deliver. Our Court was adviſed, by the Elector of *Hanover*, to ſend the Duke of *Marlborough* to Him: It was thought this would pleaſe him much, if it had no other effect; ſo he went thither, but could gain no ground on him. He affected a neglect of his Perſon, both in Cloaths, Lodging, and Diet; all was ſimple, even to meanneſs, nay, he did not ſo much as allow a

And in *Poland*.

The Character of the King of *Sweden*.

1707 decent Cleanlineſs: He appeared to have a real Senſe of Religion, and a Zeal for it, but it was not much enlightened: He ſeemed to have no notion of publick Liberty, but thought Princes ought to keep their Promiſes religiouſly, and to obſerve their Treaties punctually: He rendered himſelf very acceptable to his Army, by coming ſo near their way of living, and by his readineſs to expoſe his own Perſon, and to reward Services done him: He had little Tenderneſs in his nature, and was a fierce Enemy, too rough, and too ſavage: He looked on Foreign Miniſters, as Spies by their Character, and treated them accordingly; and he uſed his own Miniſters, rather as Inſtruments to execute his Orders, than as Counſellors.

Propoſitions for a Peace. The Court of *France* finding they could not prevail on him, made a publick Application to the Pope, for his mediating a Peace: They offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*, to the States a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, and a Compenſation to the Duke of *Savoy*, for the waſte made, in his Country; provided that on thoſe Conditions, King *Philip* ſhould keep *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies*. It was thought, the Court of *Vienna* wiſhed this Project might be entertained, but the other Allies were ſo diſguſted at it, that they made no Steps toward it: The Court of *Vienna* did what they could, to confound the Deſigns of this Campaign; for they ordered a Detatchment of 12,000 Men to march, from the Army in *Lombardy*, to the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Court of *England*, the *States*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, ſtudied to divert this, with the warmeſt Inſtances poſſible, but in vain: though it was repreſented to that Court, that if the Duke of *Savoy* could enter into *Provence*, with a great Army, that would cut off all Supplies, and Communication with *France:* ſo that Succeſs, in this great Deſign, would make *Naples* and *Sicily* fall into their hands of courſe; but the Imperial Court was inflexible: They pretended, they had given their Party in *Naples* ſuch Aſſurances of an Invaſion, that if they failed in it, they expoſed them all to be deſtroyed, and thereby they might provoke the whole Country, to become their moſt inveterate Enemies. Thus they took up a Reſolution, without conſulting their Allies, and then pretended that it was fixed, and could not be altered.

The Battel of *Almanza*. The Campaign was opened very fatally in *Spain:* King *Charles* pretended, there was an Army coming into *Catalonia* from *Rouſſillon*; and that it was neceſſary for him, to march into that Country: The dividing a Force, when the whole together was not equal to the Enemy's, has often proved fatal: He ought to have made his Army as ſtrong as poſſibly he could, and to have marched with it to *Madrid*; for the reſt of *Spain* would have fallen into his hands, upon the Succeſs of that Expedition. But he perſiſted in his firſt Reſolution, and marched away with a part of the Army, leaving about 16000 Men under the Earl of *Gallway*'s command. They had eaten up all their Stores in *Valencia*, and could ſubſiſt no longer there; ſo they were forced to break into *Caſtile:* The Duke of *Berwick* came againſt them with an Army, not much ſuperior to theirs; But the Court of *France* had ſent the Duke of *Orleans* into *Spain*, with ſome of the beſt Troops, that they had brought from *Italy*; and theſe joined the Duke of *Berwick*, a day before the two Armies engaged. Some Deſerters came over, and brought the Earl of *Gallway* the news of the Conjunction: but they were not believed, and were looked on as Spies, ſent to frighten them. A Council of War had reſolved to venture on a Battel, which the State of their Affairs ſeemed to make neceſſary: They could not ſubſiſt where they were, nor be ſubſiſted if they retired back into *Valencia*; ſo on the 14th of *April*, the two Armies engaged in the Plain of *Almanza*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* beat the Enemy, and broke through twice; but the *Portugueze* gave way: upon that the Enemy, who were almoſt double in number, both Horſe and Foot, flanked them, and a total Rout followed, in which about 10,000 were killed or taken priſoners. The Earl of *Gallway* was twice wounded; once ſo near the Eye, that for ſome time it put him out of a capacity of giving Orders: but at laſt he, with ſome other Officers, made the beſt Retreat they could. Our Fleet came happily on that Coaſt, on the day that the Battle was fought; ſo he was ſupplied from thence, and he put Garriſons into *Denia* and *Alicant*, and retired to the *Ebro*, with about 3000 Horſe and almoſt as many Foot. The Duke of *Orleans* purſued the Victory;

Valen-

Valencia submitted, and so did *Saragoza*; so that the Principality of *Catalonia* was all, that remained in King *Charles*'s obedience. The King of *Portugal* died this Winter, but that made no great change in Affairs there: The young King agreed to every thing that was proposed to him by the Allies; yet the *Portugueze* were under a great Consternation, their best Troops being either cut off, or at that time in *Catalonia*. 1707

Marshal *Villars* was sent to command in *Alsace*: He understood that the Lines of *Stolhoven* were ill kept, and weakly manned; so he passed the *Rhine*, and without any loss and very little opposition he broke through, and seized on the Artillery, and on such Magazines as were laid in there. Upon this shameful Disgrace, the *Germans* retired to *Hailbron*: The Circle of *Suabia* was now open, and put under Contribution; and *Villars* designed to penetrate as far as to *Bavaria*. The blame of this Miscarriage was laid chiefly on the Imperial Court, who neither sent their Quota thither, nor took care to settle a proper General for the defence of the Empire. In *Flanders* the *French* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Vendosme*, came and took post at *Gemblours*, in a safe Camp; the Duke of *Marlborough* lay at *Meldert* in a more open one: Both Armies were about 100,000 strong; but the *French* were rather superior to that number.

In the Month of *June*, the Design upon *Toulon* began to appear: The *Queen* and the *States* sent a strong Fleet thither, commanded by Sir *Cloudesly Shovel*; who, from mean beginnings, had risen up to the supreme Command; and had given many Proofs of great Courage, Conduct and Zeal, in the whole course of his Life. Prince *Eugene* had the Command of the Imperial Army, that was to second the Duke of *Savoy* in this Undertaking, upon the Success of which the final Conclusion of the War depended. The Army was not so strong, as it was intended it should have been: The Detachment of 12,000 Men was ordered to march to *Naples*; and no Applications could prevail at the Court of *Vienna*, to obtain a delay in that Expedition: There were also eight or ten thousand Recruits, that were promised to be sent to reinforce Prince *Eugene*, which were stopt in *Germany*; for the Emperor was under such apprehensions of a Rupture with *Sweden*, that he pretended it was absolutely necessary, for his own safety, to keep a good Force at home. Prince *Eugene* had also Orders, not to expose his Troops too much; by this means they were the less serviceable: Notwithstanding these Disappointments, the Duke of *Savoy*, after he had for some Weeks covered his true Design, by a Feint upon *Dauphiny*, by which he drew most of the *French* Troops to that side; as soon as he heard that the Confederate Fleet was come upon the Coast, he made a very quick March through Ways, that were thought impracticable, on to the River *Var*, where the *French* had cast up such Works, that it was reckoned these must have stopt his passing the River: and they would have done it effectually, if some Ships had not been sent in from the Fleet, into the mouth of the River, to attack these where there was no defence; because no Attack from that side was apprehended. By this means they were forced to abandon their Works, and so the Passage over the River was free: Upon this, that Duke entered *Provence*, and made all the haste he could towards *Toulon*. The Artillery and Ammunition were on board the Fleet, and were to be landed near the Place, so the March of the Army was as little encumbered as was possible; yet it was impossible to advance with much haste in an Enemy's Country, where the Provisions were either destroyed or carried into fortified Places, which tho' they might have easily been taken, yet no time was to be lost in executing the great Design; so this retarded the March for some days: Yet in conclusion they came before the Place, and were quickly Masters of some of the Eminencies, that commanded it. At their first coming, they might have possessed themselves of another called St. *Anne's Hill*, if Prince *Eugene* had executed the Duke of *Savoy*'s Orders: He did it not, which raised a high Discontent; but he excused himself, by shewing the Orders he had received, not to expose the Emperor's Troops. Some days were lost by the roughness of the Sea, which hindered the Ships from landing the Artillery and Ammunition. In the mean while, the Troops of *France* were ordered to march from all parts to *Toulon*: The Garrison within was very strong; the Forces that were on their march to *Spain*, to pro-

1707 ſecute the Victory of *Almanza*, were countermanded; and ſo a great part of *Villars*'s Army was called away, that he could not make any further Progreſs in *Germany*. So that a great Force was, from all hands, marching to raiſe this Siege; and it was declared, in the Court of *France*, that the Duke of *Burgundy* would go and lead on the Army. The Duke of *Savoy* loſt no time, but continued cannonading the Place, while the Fleet came up to bombard it: They attack'd the two Forts, that commanded the Entrance into the Mole with ſuch fury, that they made themſelves maſters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Thoſe within the Town were not idle: They ſunk ſome Ships, in the Entrance into the Mole, and fired furiouſly at the Fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of *Savoy*, out of one of his moſt important Poſts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; who not being ſupported in time, was cut to pieces. This Poſt was afterwards regained, and the Fleet continued for ſome days to bombard the Place. But in the end, the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Strength had never been above 30,000 Men, ſeeing ſo great a Force marching towards him, who might intercept his paſſage, and ſo deſtroy his whole Army; and there being no hope of his carrying the Place, found it neceſſary to march home in time: which he did with ſo much order and precaution, that he got back into his own Country, without any loſs; and ſoon after his Return, he ſate down before *Suza*, and took it in a few weeks.

It failed in the Execution

Our Fleet did all the execution they could on the Town: their Bombs ſet ſome places on fire, which they believed were Magazines; for they continued burning for many Hours; in concluſion, they ſailed off: They left behind them a Fleet of ſix and twenty Ships in the *Mediterranean*, and the great Ships ſailed homewards. Thus this great Deſign, on which the Eyes of all *Europe* were ſet, failed in the execution, chiefly by the Emperor's means: *England* and the *States* performed all that was expected of them, nor was the Duke of *Savoy* wanting on his part; though many ſuſpected him, as backward, and at leaſt cold in the Undertaking. It was not yet perfectly underſtood what Damage the *French* ſuſtained: Many of their Ships were rendered unſerviceable, and continued to be ſo ſtill: Nor did they ſet out any Fleet all the following Winter; though the Affairs of King *Charles* in *Spain* were then ſo low, that if they could have cut off the Communication by Sea, between *Italy* and *Spain*, they muſt ſoon have been Maſters of all, that was left in his hands: ſo that from their fitting out no Fleet at *Toulon*, it was concluded, that they could not do it. When the Deſign upon *Toulon* was broke, more Troops were ſent into *Spain*: The Earl of *Gallway* did, with incredible Diligence and Activity, endeavour to repair the loſs at *Almanza*, as much as was poſſible: The Supplies and Stores that he had from our Fleet, put him in a Capacity to make a ſtand; he formed a new Army, and put the ſtrong Places in the beſt poſture he could; *Lerida* was the moſt expoſed, and ſo was the beſt looked to; *Tortoſa*, *Tarragona*, and *Gironne*, were alſo well fortified, and good Garriſons were put in them. The Attempt on *Toulon*, as it put a ſtop to all the Motions of the *French*, ſo it gave him time to put the Principality of *Catalonia* in a good ſtate of defence. The Duke of *Orleans*, being reinforced with Troops from *France*, ſat down before *Lerida*, in the end of *September*, with an Army of 30,000 Men: The Place was commanded by a Prince of *Heſſe*, who held out above forty Days: After ſome time, he was forced to abandon the Town, and to retire into the Caſtle; The Army ſuffered much in this long Siege. When the Beſieged ſaw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of *Gallway* notice, upon which he intended to have raiſed the Siege; and if the King of *Spain* would have conſented to his drawing, out of the other Garriſons, ſuch a Force as might have been ſpared, he undertook to raiſe it, which was believed might have been eaſily done: and if he had ſucceeded, it would have given a new turn to all the Affairs of *Spain*. But Count *Noyelles*, who was well practiſed in the arts of Flattery, and knew how much King *Charles* was alienated from the Earl of *Gallway*, for the honeſt Freedom he had uſed with him, in laying before him ſome Errors in his Conduct, ſet himſelf to oppoſe this, apprehending that Succeſs in it, would have raiſed the Earl of *Gallway*'s Reputation again, which had ſuffered a great diminution by the Action of *Almanza*: He ſaid, this would expoſe the little Army they had left them, to

The Siege of *Lerida*.

too

too great a hazard; for if the Deſign miſcarried, it might occaſion a Revolt of the whole Principality. Thus the Humours of Princes are often more regarded than their Intereſt; the Deſign of relieving *Lerida* was laid aſide. The *French* Army was diminiſhed a fourth part, and the long Siege had ſo fatigued them, that it was viſible, the raiſing it would have been no difficult Performance, but the thoughts of that being given over, *Lerida* capitulated in the beginning of *November*. The *Spaniards* made ſome feeble Attempts, on the ſide of *Portugal*, with ſucceſs, for little Reſiſtance was made; the *Portugueſe* excuſing themſelves by their feebleneſs, ſince their beſt Troops were in *Catalonia*. 1707

Relief ſent to *Spain*.

King *Charles*, finding his Affairs in ſo ill a condition, wrote to the Emperor, and to the other Allies, to ſend him Supplies, with all poſſible haſte: *Stanhope* was ſent over, to preſs the Queen and the *States* to diſpatch theſe the ſooner. At the end of the Campaign in *Italy*, 7000 of the Imperial Troops were prepared to be ſent over to *Barcelona*: and theſe were carried in the Winter, by the Confederate Fleet, without any diſturbance given them, by the *French*. Recruits and Supplies of all ſorts were ſent over from *England*, and from the States to *Portugal*. But while the Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſtruggling with great difficulties, two pieces of Pomp and Magnificence conſumed a great part of their Treaſure: An Embaſſy was ſent from *Lisbon*, to demand the Emperor's Siſter for that King, which was done with an unuſual and extravagant Expence: A Wife was to be ſought for King *Charles*, among the Proteſtant Courts, for there was not a ſuitable Match in the Popiſh Courts: He had ſeen the Princeſs of *Anſpach*, and was much taken with her; ſo that great applications were made, to perſuade her to change her Religion, but ſhe could not be prevailed on, to buy a Crown at ſo dear a rate: And ſoon after, ſhe was married to the Prince Electoral of *Brunſwick*, which gave a glorious Character of her to this Nation; and her pious Firmneſs is like to be rewarded, even in this Life, by a much better Crown, than that which ſhe rejected. The Princeſs of *Wolfenbuttle* was not ſo firm; ſo ſhe was brought to *Vienna*, and ſometime after was married by proxy to K. *Charles*, and was ſent to *Italy*, in her way to *Spain*. The Solemnity, with which theſe Matters were managed, in all this Diſtreſs of their Affairs, conſumed a vaſt deal of Treaſure; for ſuch was the Pride of thoſe Courts on ſuch Occaſions, that, rather than fail in a point of Splendor, they would let their moſt important Affairs go to wreck. That Princeſs was landed at *Barcelona*: And the Queen of *Portugal* the ſame year came to *Holland*, to be carried to *Lisbon*, by a Squadron of the *Engliſh* Fleet.

The Conqueſt of *Naples*.

But while Matters were in a doubtful State in *Spain*, the Expedition to *Naples* had all the Succeſs, that was expected: The Detachment from *Lombardy* marched thro' the Eccleſiaſtical State, and ſtruck no ſmall Terror into the Court of *Rome*, as they paſs'd near it: It was apprehended, ſome Reſiſtance would have been made in *Naples*, by thoſe who governed there under King *Philip*: But the in-bred Hatred the *Neapolitans* bore the *French*, together with the Severities of their Government, had put that whole Kingdom, into ſuch a Diſpoſition to revolt, that the ſmall Party, which adhered to King *Philip*, found it not adviſeable to offer any reſiſtance, ſo they had only time enough to convey their Treaſure, and all their richeſt Goods to *Cayeta*, and to retire thither: They reckoned, they would either be relieved from *France* by Sea, or obtain a good Capitulation: or if that failed, they had ſome Ships and Gallies, in which, they might hope to eſcape. The *Imperialiſts* took poſſeſſion of *Naples*, where they were received with great Rejoicings; their ill Conduct quickly moderated that Joy, and very much diſpoſed the *Neapolitans* to a ſecond Revolt: But upon Applications, made to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the Exceſſes of the *Imperialiſts*, who carried their ravenous diſpoſition with them whereſoever they went, were ſomewhat corrected, ſo that they became more tolerable. As ſoon as a Government could be ſettled at *Naples*, they undertook the Siege of *Cayeta*, which went on at firſt very ſlowly: So that thoſe within ſeemed to apprehend nothing ſo much, as the want of Proviſions, upon which, they ſent the few Ships they had to *Sicily*, to bring them Supplies, for all they might want; when theſe were ſent away, the *Imperialiſts*, knowing what a rich Booty was lodged in the Place, preſſed it very hard, and, in concluſion, took it by ſtorm; and ſo were Maſters

1707 of all the Wealth, that was in it: The Garriſon retired into the Caſtle, but they were ſoon after forced to ſurrender, and were all made Priſoners of War. It was propoſed to follow this Succeſs, with an Attempt upon *Sicily*: But it was not eaſy to ſupply *Naples* with Bread; nor was our Fleet at liberty to aſſiſt them; for they were ordered to lie on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and to wait there for Orders: when theſe arrived, they required them to carry the Marquiſs *das Minas* and the Earl of *Gallway*, with the Forces of *Portugal*, to *Lisbon*; which was happily performed: and the Earl of *Gallway* found the Character and Powers of an Ambaſſador, lying for him there. The Thoughts, of attempting *Sicily*, were therefore laid aſide for this time; tho' the *Sicilians* were known to be in a very good diſpoſition to entertain it. A ſmall Force was ſent, from *Naples*, to ſeize on thoſe Places, which lay on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, and belonged to the Crown of *Spain*: Some of them were ſoon taken, but *Porto Longone* and *Port Hercole* made a beter Reſiſtance: This was the State of Affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* all this Year, and till the opening of the Campaign the next Year.

Affairs on the *Rhine*.

Villars continued in *Germany*, laying *Suabia* under heavy Contributions; and very probably he would have penetrated into *Bavaria*, if the Detachments, he was ordered to ſend away, had not ſo weakned his Army, that he durſt not venture further, nor undertake any conſiderable Siege. While the Empire was thus expoſed, all Mens Eyes turned towards the Elector of *Brunſwick*, as the only Perſon, that could recover their Affairs out of thoſe Extremities, into which they were brought: The Emperor preſſed him to accept of the ſupreme Command; this was ſeconded by all the Allies, but moſt earneſtly by the Queen and the *States*. The Elector uſed all the Precaution, that the embarking in ſuch a Deſign required, and he had ſuch Aſſurances of Aſſiſtance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; ſo he undertook the Command: His firſt care was to reſtore military Diſcipline, which had been very little conſidered or ſubmitted to, for ſome Years paſt; and he eſtabliſhed this with ſuch impartial Severity, that the Face of Affairs there was ſoon changed: But the Army was too weak, and the Seaſon was too far ſpent, to enter on great Deſigns. One conſiderable Action happened, which very much raiſed the Reputation of his Conduct: *Villars* had ſent a Detachment of 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, either to extend his Contribution, or to ſeize on ſome important Poſt; againſt theſe the Elector ſent out another Body, that fell upon the *French*, and gave them a total Defeat; in which 2000 of them were cut off: Soon after that, *Villars* retired back to *Strasbourg*, and the Campaign in thoſe Parts ended.

The King of *Pruſſia* judged Prince of *Neufchaſtel*.

I will take in here a Tranſaction, that lay not far from the Scene of Action. There was, all this Summer, a Diſpute at *Neufchaſtel*, upon the death of the old Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, in whom the Houſe of *Longueville* ended: She enjoyed this Principality, which, ſince it lay as a Frontier to *Switzerland*, was on this occaſion much conſidered. There were many Pretenders of the *French* Nation, the chief was the Prince of *Conti*; all theſe came to *Neufchaſtel*, and made their application to the *States* of that Country, and laid their ſeveral Titles before them: The King of *France* ſeemed to favour the Prince of *Conti* moſt: But yet he left it free to the *States*, to judge of their Pretenſions, provided they gave judgment in favour of one of his Subjects; adding ſevere Threatnings, in caſe they ſhould judge in behalf of any other Pretender. The King of *Pruſſia*, as Heir by his Mother to the Houſe of *Chaalons*, claimed it as his right, which the late King had, by a particular agreement, made over to him; ſo he ſent a Miniſter thither to put in his claim: And the Queen, and the *States*, ordered their Miniſters in *Switzerland*, to do their beſt Offices, both for advancing his Pretenſions, and to engage the Cantons to maintain them; the King of *Sweden* wrote alſo to the Cantons to the ſame effect. The Allies looked on this, as a Matter of great conſequence; ſince it might end in a Rupture between the Proteſtant Cantons and *France*; for the Popiſh Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading, and a long Diſpute, the *States* of the Principality gave judgment, in favour of the King of *Pruſſia*; the *French* Pretenders proteſted againſt this, and left *Neufchaſtel*, in a high Diſcontent: The *French* Ambaſſador threatned that little State, with an Invaſion, and all Commerce with them was forbid: The Canton of *Bern* eſpouſed their Concern, with a Spirit and Zeal, that was not expected from

from them: They declared, they were in a Comburgherſhip with them; and upon that, they ſent a Body of 3000 Men, to defend them. The *French* continued to threaten, and *Villars* had Orders to march a great Part of his Army towards them; but when the Court of *France* ſaw, that the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurick* were not frightened with thoſe Marches, they let the whole Matter fall, very little to their honour: And ſo the Intercourſe, between the *French* Dominions and that State, was again opened, and the Peace of the Cantons was ſecured. The King of *Pruſſia* engaged his honour, that he would govern that State, with particular Zeal, for advancing both Religion and Learning in it; and upon thoſe Aſſurances, he perſuaded the Biſhops of *England*, and myſelf in particular, to uſe our beſt Endeavours to promote his Pretenſions; upon which we wrote, in the moſt effectual manner we could, to Monſ. *Oſterwald*, who was the moſt eminent Eccleſiaſtick of that State, and one of the beſt and moſt judicious Divines of the Age: He was bringing that Church, to a near agreement with our Forms of Worſhip: The King of *Pruſſia* was well ſet, in all matters relating to Religion; and had made a great ſtep, in order to reconcile the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts* in his Dominions, by requiring them, not to preach to the People on thoſe Points, in which they differ; and by obliging them, to communicate together, notwithſtanding the Diverſity of their Opinions. Which is indeed the only wiſe and honeſt way, to make up that Breach. 1707

The King of *Sweden* gets the Proteſtant Churches in *Sileſia* to be reſtored to them.

The Affinity of the Matter, leads me next to give an account of the Differences, between the King of *Sweden*, and the Court of *Vienna*: That King, after he had been a very heavy Gueſt in *Saxony*, came to underſtand, that the Proteſtants in *Sileſia* had their Churches, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion, ſtipulated to them by the Peace of *Munſter*, and that the Crown of *Sweden* was the Guarantee, for obſerving this: Theſe Churches were taken from them; ſo the King of *Sweden* was in juſtice bound, to ſee to the obſerving of that Article; he very readily embraced this opportunity, which had been long neglected, or forgotten by his Father. When this was firſt repreſented to the Court of *Vienna*, it was treated there with much Scorn: And Count *Zabor*, one of the Miniſters of that Court, ſpoke of the King of *Sweden* in a ſtyle, that he thought furniſhed him with a juſt pretenſion to demand, that he ſhould be ſent to him, to be puniſhed, as he thought fit: this was ſoon yielded; the Count was ſent to the King, and made ſuch an humble Submiſſion to him, as was accepted: But the Demand, for reſtoring the Churches, was a matter of hard digeſtion, to a bigotted and haughty Court. The King of *Sweden* had a great Army at hand, and he threatned an immediate Rupture, if this Demand was not agreed to, without delay: In this, he was ſo poſitive, that the Imperial Court at laſt yielded, they being then in no condition, to reſiſt a warlike Prince, and an Army, harned by an exact Diſcipline, and the Fatigues of a long War: ſo that every thing that was demanded, purſuant to that Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, was agreed to be performed, within a prefixed time: And upon that, the King of *Sweden* marched his Army, under the moſt regular Diſcipline thro' *Sileſia*, as had been agreed, into *Poland*. The *Jeſuites* made great oppoſition, to the performance of what had been ſtipulated; but the Imperial Court would not provoke the Prince, who they thought was ſeeking a colour, to break with them: So, by the day prefixed, all the Churches were reſtored, to the Proteſtants in *Sileſia*. Upon this, he was highly magnified, and great Endeavours were again uſed, to engage him in the Alliance; but he was ſo ſet againſt the *Czar*, whom he deſigned to dethrone, that nothing could then divert him from it: Yet he ſo far entred into the Intereſts of Religion, that, as he wrote to the King of *France*, deſiring him not to oppoſe the King of *Pruſſia*, in his Pretenſions on *Neufchaſtel*; he alſo wrote to the Cantons, deſiring them to promote and ſupport them. The Cantons ſeeing thoſe Characters of Zeal in him, ſent a *French* Gentleman of Quality to him, the Marquiſs *de Rochegude*, to let him know what regard they had to his Recommendations, and to deſire him to interpoſe his good Offices, with the King of *France*, for ſetting at liberty about three hundred Perſons, who were condemned to the Galleys, and treated moſt cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but becauſe they would not change their Religion, and had endeavoured

1707 to make their escape out of *France*: He received this Message with a particular Civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Minister, at the Court of *France*, to make it his desire to that King, that these Confessors might be delivered to him: But the Ministers of *France* said, that was a point of the King's Government at home, in which he could not suffer foreign Princes to meddle: He seemed sensible of this neglect, and it was hoped, that when his Affairs could admit of it, he would express a due resentment of it.

A Sedition in *Hamborough*.

To end all the Affairs of *Germany*, for this Year, at once; I must mention a Quarrel, raised in *Hamborough*, between some private Persons, one of whom was a *Lutheran* Minister; which created a great division in that City. One side was protected by the Senate, which gave so great a Disgust to the other side, that it was like to end in a Revolt against the Magistrates, and a Civil War within the Town: And it being known, that the King of *Denmark* had, for many Years, had an eye on that Place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from those Commotions, or that the weaker side might chuse rather, to fall under his power, than under the Revenges of the adverse Party. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Prussia*, with the House of *Brunswick*, resolved therefore to send Troops thither, to quiet this Distraction, and to chastize the more refractory; while the Emperor's Ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate Matters, without suffering them to run to Extremities.

Affairs on the Rhine.

The Campaign in *Flanders*.

It remains, that I give an account of the Campaign in *Flanders*: The *French* kept close within their Posts; tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* often drew out his Troops, to see if that could provoke them; but they were resolved not to fight on equal Terms; and it was not thought advisable to attempt the forcing their Posts; they lay, for some Months, looking on one another; but both Armies had behind them such a safe and plentiful conveyance of Provisions, that no want of any sort could oblige either side to dislodge. The Duke of *Vendosme* had Orders, to send Detachments, to reinforce Mareschal *Villars*, in lieu of those Detachments, that he had been ordered to send to *Provence*. The Duke of *Savoy* seemed to wonder, that the Confederates lay so quiet, and gave the Duke of *Vendosme* no disturbance; and that they could not, at least, oblige him to keep all his Army together: At last the Duke of *Marlborough* decamped, and moved towards *French Flanders*: The *French* decamped, about the same time, but lodged themselves again in such a safe Camp, that he could not force them into any Action: Nor was his Army so numerous, as to spare a Body to undertake a Siege, by that means to draw them to a Battle; so that the Campaign was carried on there, in a very inoffensive manner, on both sides: And thus Matters stood in the Continent, every where this Season.

Affairs at Sea.

France set out no Fleet this Year, and yet, we never had greater Losses on that Element: The Prince's Council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the Cruizers and Convoys: The Merchants made heavy Complaints, and not without reason: Convoys were sometimes denied them; and when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited, for the Merchants to get their Ships in readiness: and the sailing Orders were sometimes sent them unhappily (but as many said, so treacherously) that a *French* Squadron was then laying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very severe Reflections: For many of the Convoys, as well as the Merchant-Ships, were taken. And to compleat the Misfortunes of our Affairs at Sea, this Year, when Sir *Cloudesly Shovel* was sailing home, with the great Ships, by an unaccountable Carelessness and Security, he, and two other capital Ships, ran foul upon those Rocks beyond the *Land's End*, known by the Name of the *Bishop and his Clerks*; and they were in a Minute broke to pieces; so that not a Man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no Wind, otherwise the whole Fleet had perished with them: All the rest tack'd in time, and so they were saved. Thus one of the greatest Seamen of the Age was lost, by an Error in his own Profession, and a great Misreckoning; for he had lain by, all the Day before, and set sail at Night, believing, that next Morning, he would have time enough, to guard against running on those Rocks; but he was swallowed up within three Hours after

This was the State of our Affairs abroad, both by Sea and Land. Things went at home, in their ordinary Channels: But the Conduct, with relation to *Scotland*, was more unaccountable: For whereas, it might have been reaſonably expected, that the Management, of the newly united Part of this Iſland, ſhould have been particularly taken care of, ſo as to give no juſt diſtaſte to the *Scots*, nor offer Handles to thoſe, who were ſtill endeavouring to inflame that Nation, and to increaſe their Averſion to the Union: Things were, on the contrary, ſo ordered, as if the Deſign had been to contrive Methods, to exaſperate the Spirits of the People there. Though the Management of the *Scotch* Revenue was to fall into the Lord Treaſurer's hands, on the firſt of *May*, no care was taken to have all the Commiſſions ready at the Day, with new Officers to ſerve in them: So that the whole Trade of *Scotland* was ſtopp'd, for almoſt two Months, for want of Orders, to put it into the new Courſe, in which it was to be carried on. Three Months paſſed, before the Equivalent was ſent to *Scotland*. And when Wines and other Merchandize were imported into *England* from thence, Seizures were every where made, and this was managed with a particular Affectation of Roughneſs. All theſe things heighten'd the Prejudices, with which that Nation had been poſſeſſed, againſt the Union: It was alſo known, that many Meſſages paſſed, between *Scotland* and *France*; and that there were many Meetings, and much Conſultation, among the diſcontented Party there; a great Body appeared openly for the Pretended Prince of *Wales*; and celebrated his Birth-day very publickly, both at *Edinburgh*, and in other Places of the Kingdom; and it was openly talked, that that there was now an Opportunity, that was not to be loſt, of invading the Kingdom, tho' with a ſmall Force; and that a general Concurrence, from the Body of that Nation, might be depended on: Theſe things were done, in ſo barefaced a manner, that no check being given to them, nor Enquiry made after them, by thoſe who were in the Government, it gave occaſion to many melancholy Speculations. The Management from *England* looked, like a thing concerted, to heighten that Diſtemper; and the whole Conduct of the Fleet afforded great Cauſe of Jealouſy. 1707

Proceedings with relation to *Scotland*.

But to open this, as clearly as it has yet appeared to me, I muſt give an Account of a new Scene at Court. It was obſerved, that Mr. *Harley*, who had been for ſome Years Secretary of State, had gained great Credit with the Queen, and began to ſet up for himſelf, and to act no more under the Direction of the Lord Treaſurer: There was one of the Bedchamber Women, who, being nearly related to the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, had been taken care of by her, together with her whole Family (for they were fallen low) in a moſt particular manner. She brought her not only into that Poſt, but ſhe had treated her with ſuch a Confidence, that it had introduced her into a high degree of Favour with the Queen: Which, for ſome Years, was conſidered as an effect of the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*'s Credit with Her; ſhe was alſo nearly related to Mr. *Harley*; and they two entered into a cloſe Correſpondence. She learned the Arts of a Court, and obſerved the Queen's Temper, with ſo much Application, that ſhe got far into her Heart: And ſhe imployed all her Credit, to eſtabliſh *Harley* in the ſupreme Confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her Affections from the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, who ſtudied no other Method of preſerving her Favour, but by purſuing the true Intereſt of the Queen, and of the Kingdom. It was ſaid, that the Prince was brought into the Concert; and that he was made to apprehend, that he had too ſmall a Share in the Government, and that he was ſhut out from it, by the great Power, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treaſurer had drawn into their hands: It was ſaid, all depended on them, that the Queen was only a Cypher in the Government, that ſhe was is in the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*'s hands, as her Affairs were in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s: It was likewiſe talked among thoſe, who made their Court to the new Favourites, that there was not now a *Jacobite* in the Nation, that all were for the Queen, and that, without doubt, ſhe would reign out peaceably her whole Life; but ſhe needed not concern herſelf for a *German* Family: Theſe Diſcourſes began to break out, and gave ſad Thoughts to thoſe to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded; the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* ſeemed ſecure of her Intereſt in the Queen, and ſhewed no Jealouſy of a Favour, to which

A new Party at Court.

1707

Promotions in the Church.

herſelf gave the firſt riſe. This was the State of the Court at the opening of the Seſſion of Parliament.

There were, at that time, three Biſhopricks vacant: *Trelawny* had been removed, the Summer before, from *Exeter* to *Wincheſter*; which gave great diſguſt to many, he being conſiderable for nothing, but his Birth, and his Intereſt in *Cornwall*. The Lord Treaſurer had engaged himſelf to him, and he was ſenſible that he was much reflected upon for it. But he, to ſoften the Cenſure that this brought on him, had promiſed, that, for the future, Preferments ſhould be beſtowed on Men well principled, with relation to the preſent Conſtitution, and on Men of Merit. The Queen, without regarding this, did ſecretly engage herſelf to Dr. *Blackhall* for *Exeter*; and *Cheſter* (being at the ſame time void, by the Death of Dr. *Stratford*) to Sir *William Dawes* for that See: Theſe Divines were in themſelves Men of Value and Worth, but their Notions were all on the other ſide; They had ſubmitted to the Government, but they, at leaſt *Blackhall*, ſeemed to condemn the Revolution, and all that had been done purſuant to it. *Dawes* alſo was looked on, as an aſpiring Man, who would ſet himſelf at the head of the Tory-Party: ſo this Nomination gave a great diſguſt. To qualify this a little, *Patrick*, the pious and learned Biſhop of *Ely*, dying at this time, the Queen advanced *More* from *Norwich* thither; and Dr. *Trimnell*, a worthy Perſon in all Reſpects, was named for *Norwich*: yet this did not quiet the Uneaſineſs, many were under, by reaſon of the other Nominations, which ſeemed to flow from the Queen herſelf, and ſo diſcovered her Inclinations. To prevent the ill effects, that this might have, in the approaching Seſſion, ſome of the Eminent Members of the Houſe of Commons were called to a Meeting, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*: Theſe Lords aſſured them, in the Queen's name, that ſhe was very ſenſible of the Services, the Whigs did her; and tho' ſhe had engaged herſelf ſo far, with relation to thoſe two Biſhopricks, that ſhe could not recall the Promiſes ſhe had made, yet for the future, ſhe was reſolved to give them full content. But while this was ſaid to ſome Whigs, *Harley* and his Friends St. *John* and *Harcourt*, took great pains on the Leaders of the Tories (in particular on *Hanmer*, *Bromley* and *Freeman*) to engage them in the Queen's Intereſts: aſſuring them, that her Heart was with them, that ſhe was weary of the Tyranny of the Whigs, and long'd to be delivered from it. But they were not wrought on, by that Management; they either miſtruſted it, as done only to enſnare them, or they had other Views, which they did not think fit to own. This Double-dealing came to be known, and gave occaſion to much jealouſy and diſtruſt. A little before the Seſſion was opened, an eminent Misfortune happen'd at Sea: A Convoy, of five Ships of the Line of Battle, was ſent to *Portugal*, to guard a great Fleet of Merchant-Ships; and they were ordered to ſail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a Squadron from *Dunkirk* had joined another from *Breſt*, and lay in the Way, waiting for them. Some Advertiſements were brought to the Admiralty, of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the *French* ſet upon them, the Convoy did their part very gallantly, tho' the Enemy were three to one; one of the Ships was blown up, three of them were taken, ſo that only one eſcaped, much ſhattered: But they had fought ſo long, that moſt of the Merchant-men had time to get away, and ſailed on, not being purſued, and ſo got ſafe to *Lisbon*. This, coming almoſt at the ſame time with the Misfortune, that happened to *Shovel*, the Seſſion was begun with a melancholy Face; and a Diſpute, upon their opening, had almoſt put them into great diſorder.

It was generally thought, that tho' this was a Parliament, that had now ſate two Years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reaſon it had been let fall, and was revived by a Proclamation, as was formerly told: And the conſequence of this was, that thoſe who had got Places, were to go to a new Election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, ſince it was not ſummoned by a new Writ, but by virtue of a Clauſe in an Act of Parliament. The Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new Parliament; but *Harley* was for maintaining it to be an old Parliament. The Houſe of Commons choſe the ſame Speaker over again, and all the uſual Forms, in the firſt beginning of a new Parliament, were obſerved.

Theſe,

1707

Complaints of the Admiralty.

These were no sooner over, than the Complaints of the Admiralty were offered to both Houses: Great Losses were made, and all was imputed to the Weakness, or to a worse Disposition, in some, who had great Credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole Matter: For as they were entirely possessed of the Prince's Confidence, so when the Prince's Council was divided in their Opinions, the Decision was left to the Prince, who understood very little of those Matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the Law for Errors and Miscarriages. This Council was not a legal Court, warranted by any Law, tho' they assumed that to themselves; being Counsellors, they were bound to answer only for their fidelity. The Complaints were feebly managed, at the Bar of the House of Commons; for it was soon understood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewise concerned Herself much in this Matter: And both looked on it as a Design, levelled at their Authority. Both Whigs and Tories seemed to be at first equally zealous in the Matter; but by reason of the Opposition of the Court, all those, who intended to recommend themselves to favour, abated of their Zeal: Some were vehement in their Endeavours to baffle the Complaints: They had great Advantages, from the Merchants managing their Complaints but poorly; some were frighted, and others were practised on, and were carried even to magnify the Conduct of the Fleet, and to make Excuses for all the Misfortunes that had happened. That which had the chief Operation, on the whole Tory Party, was, that it was set round among them, that the Design of all these Complaints was, to put the Earl of *Orford* again at the Head of the Fleet: Upon which they all changed their Note, and They, in concurrence with those, who were in Offices, or pretended to them, managed the Matter so, that it was let fall, very little to their honour. Unkind Remarks were made on some, who had changed their Conduct upon their being preferred at Court; but the Matter was managed with more Zeal and Courage in the House of Lords, both Whigs and Tories concurring in it.

Examined by the House of Lords.

A Committee was appointed, to examine the Complaints; they called the Merchants, who had signed the Petition, before them; and treated them not with the Scorn, that was very indecently offered them by some of the House of Commons, but with great Patience and Gentleness: They obliged them, to prove all their Complaints, by Witnesses upon Oath. In the Prosecution of the Enquiry, it appeared, that many Ships of War were not fitted out, to be put to Sea, but lay in Port neglected, and in great decay; that Convoys had been often flatly denied the Merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the Merchants lost their Markets, were put to great Charge, and, when they had perishable Goods, suffered great Damage in them: The Cruizers were not order'd to proper Stations in the Channel; and when Convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to Sea, they had not their sailing Orders sent them, till the Enemies Ships were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many Advertisements, by which those Misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected by them, but those, who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. The Committee made Report of all this to the House of Lords; upon which, the Lord Treasurer moved, that a Copy of the Report might be sent to the Lord Admiral, which was done, and in a few days an Answer was sent to the House, excusing, or justifying the Conduct, in all the Branches of it. The chief Foundation of the Answer was, that the great Fleets, which were kept in the *Mediterranean*, obliged us to send away so many of our Ships and Seamen thither, that there was not a sufficient number left, to guard all our Trade; while the Enemy turned all their Forces at Sea into Squadrons, for destroying it; and that all the Ships, that could be spared, from the Publick Service abroad, were employed to secure the Trade; the Promise of Convoys had been often delayed, by reason of cross Winds, and other Accidents, that had hindred the Return of our Men of War longer, than was expected; they being then abroad, convoying other Merchant-Ships: And it was said, that there was not a sufficient number of Ships for Cruizers and Convoys both. The Paper ended, with some severe Reflections on the last Reign, in which great

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Sums were given, for the building of Ships, and yet the Fleet was at that time much diminiſhed, and Four Thouſand Merchant Ships had been taken during that War: This was believed to have been ſuggeſted by Mr. *Harley*, on deſign to mortify King *William*'s Miniſtry. Upon reading of this Anſwer, a new and a fuller Examination of the Particulars was again reſumed, by the ſame Committee; and all the Allegations in it were exactly conſidered: It appeared, that the half of thoſe Seamen, that the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the *Mediterranean*, that many Ships lay idle in Port, and were not made uſe of; and that in the laſt War, in which it appeared there were more Seamen, tho' not more Ships, employed in the *Mediterranean*, than were now kept there, yet the Trade was ſo carefully looked after, by Cruizers and Convoys, that few Complaints were then made: and as to the Reflections made on the laſt Reign, it was found that not half the Sum, that was named, was given for the building of Ships; and that inſtead of the Fleet's being diminiſhed, during that War, as had been affirmed, it was increaſed by above Forty Ships; nor could any proof be given, that four thouſand Ships were taken during that War. All the Seamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed 1500, and in the preſent War 18000 were already exchanged; and we had 2000 ſtill remaining in our Enemies hands: ſo much had the Prince been impoſed on, in that Paper, that was ſent to the Lords in his name.

And laid before the Queen in an Addreſs.

When the Examination was ended, and reported to the Houſe, it was reſolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen, in an Addreſs; and then the Tories diſcovered the Deſign, that they drove at; for they moved in the Committee, that prepared the Addreſs, that the blame of all the Miſcarriages might be laid on the Miniſtry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, that it was not intended, to make any complaint of the Prince himſelf; and it not being admitted, that his Council was of a legal Conſtitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their Authority; therefore the blame could be laid regularly no where, but on the Miniſtry: This was much preſſed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Haverſham*. But to this it was anſwered, by the Earl of *Orford*, the Lord *Sommers*, and the Lord *Halifax*, that the Houſe ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon Oath: and therefore ſince, in the whole Examination, the Miniſtry, and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing, to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of, fell on the Navy-Board, which was a Body, acting by a legal Authority: The Lords ought to lay before the Queen, ſuch Miſcarriages as were proved to them; and leave it to Her, to find out, on whom the blame ought to be caſt: So far was the Miniſtry, from appearing to be in fault, that they found ſeveral Advertiſements were ſent, by the Secretaries of State, to the Admiralty, that, as appeared afterwards, were but too well grounded, yet theſe were neglected by them; and that which raiſed the Clamour the higher, was, that during the Winter there were no Cruizers, lying in the Channel; ſo that many Ships which had run thro' all Dangers at Sea, were taken in ſight of Land, for the Privateers came up boldly to our Ports. All this was digeſted into a full and clear Addreſs, laid, by the Houſe, before the Queen: There was a general Anſwer made to it, giving Aſſurances, that the Trade ſhould be carefully looked to; but nothing elſe followed upon it; and the Queen ſeemed to be highly offended at the whole Proceeding. At this time, an Enquiry likewiſe into the Affairs of *Spain* was begun in both Houſes.

Enquiry into the Affairs of *Spain*.

The Earl of *Peterborough* had received ſuch poſitive Orders recalling him, that tho' he delayed as long as he could, yet at laſt he came home in *Auguſt*: But the Queen, before ſhe would admit him into her Preſence, required of him an account of ſome Particulars in his Conduct, both in Military Matters, in his Negotiations, and in the Diſpoſal of the Money remitted to him. He made ſuch general Anſwers, as gave little ſatisfaction: But he ſeemed to reſerve the Matter, to a Parliamentary Examination, which was entred upon by both Houſes. All the Tories magnified his Conduct, and ſtudied to detract from the Earl of *Galway*; but it was thought, that the Miniſtry were under ſome reſtraints, with relation to the Earl of *Peterborough*, tho' he did not ſpare them; which gave occaſion to many

many to ſay, they were afraid of him, and durſt not provoke him. The Whigs, on the other hand, made ſevere Remarks on his Conduct: The Complaints, that King *Charles* made of him, were read, upon which he brought ſuch a number of Papers, and ſo many Witneſſes to the Bar, to juſtify his Conduct, that after ten or twelve Days, ſpent wholly in reading Papers, and in hearing Witneſſes, both Houſes grew equally weary of the Matter; ſo, without coming to any Concluſion, or to any Vote, they let all, that related to him, fall: But that gave them a handle, to conſider the preſent State of Affairs in *Spain*. It was found, that we had not above half the Troops there, that the Parliament had made proviſion for; and that not above half the Officers, that belonged to thoſe Bodies, ſerved there; this gave the Houſe of Commons a high Diſtaſte, and it was hoped by the Tories, that they ſhould have carried the Houſe, to ſevere Votes and warm Addreſſes on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the Miniſtry. In this, *Harley* and his Party were very cold and paſſive, and it was generally believed, that the Matter was privately ſet on by them: But the Court ſent an Explanation of the whole Matter to the Houſe, by which it appeared, that tho', by Death and Deſertion, the number of the Troops there was much diminiſhed, yet the whole number provided, or at leaſt very near it, was ſent out of *England*. The Service in *Spain* was much decried; and there was good reaſon for it; things there could not be furniſhed, but at exceſſive Rates, and the Soldiers were generally ill uſed in their Quarters. They were treated very unkindly, not by King *Charles*, but by thoſe about him, and by the bigotted *Spaniards*. 1707

During theſe Debates, ſevere things were ſaid in general, of the Conduct of Affairs, in both Houſes: It was obſerved, that a vaſt Army was well ſupplied in *Flanders*, but that the Intereſt of the Nation required, that *Spain* ſhould be more conſidered: It was moved in both Houſes, that the Emperor ſhould be earneſtly applied to, to ſend Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*; Complaints were alſo made of the Duke of *Marlborough*, as continuing the War, tho', at the end of the Campaign of 1706. the *French* had offered to yield up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; but that was a falſe Suggeſtion. All theſe Heats in the Houſe, after they had got this vent, were allayed: The Queen aſſured them, all paſt Errors ſhould be redreſſed for the future; and with repeated Importunities, ſhe preſſed the Emperor to ſend Prince *Eugene* to *Spain*: That Court delayed to comply in this particular; but ſent Count *Staremberg* thither, who had indeed acquired a very high Reputation. The Queen entered alſo into Engagements with the Emperor, that ſhe would tranſport, pay, and furniſh all the Troops, that he could ſpare for his Brother's Service. Theſe Steps quieted the Diſcontent, the Houſe had expreſſed, upon the ill Conduct of Affairs in *Spain*; but upon *Stanhope*'s coming over, he gave a better Proſpect of Affairs there; and he found a readineſs, to agree to all the Propoſitions, that he was ſent over to make. All this while an Act was preparing, both for a better Security to our Trade by Cruizers and Convoys, and for the encouraging Privateers, particularly in the *Weſt-Indies*, and in the *South-Sea*. They were to have all they could take, entirely to themſelves; the ſame Encouragement was alſo given to the Captains of the Queen's Ships, with this difference, that the Captains of Privateers were to divide their Capture, according to Agreements made among themſelves; but they left the Diſtribution of Prizes, taken by Men of War, to the Queen: who, by Proclamation, ordered them to be divided into eight Shares; of which the Captain was to have three, unleſs he had a ſuperior Officer over him, in which caſe, the Commodore was to have one of the three; the other five Parts were to be diſtributed equally, among the Officers and Mariners of the Ships, put in five different Claſſes; All the Clauſes, that the Merchants deſired, to encourage Privateers, were readily granted, and it was hoped, that a great Stock would be raiſed to carry on this private War. This paſt without Oppoſition, all concurring in it. 1708

But as to other Matters, the Tories diſcovered much ill humour againſt the Miniſtry; which broke out on all occaſions: And the Jealouſies, with which the Whigs were poſſeſſed, made them as cold as the others were hot. This gave the Miniſters great uneaſineſs: They found Mr. *Harley* was endeavouring to ſup-

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plant them at Court, and to heighten the Jealouſies of the Whigs, for he ſet it about among the Tories, as well as among the Whigs, that both the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treaſurer were as much inclined, to come into meaſures with the Tories, as the Queen herſelf was: This broke out, and was like to have had very ill Effects; it had almoſt loſt them the Whigs, tho' it did not bring over the Tories.

Diſcoveries of a Correſpondence with *France*.

At this time two Diſcoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. *Harley*: *Tallard* wrote oft to *Chamillard*, but he ſent his Letters open, to the Secretary's Office, to be peruſed and ſealed up, and ſo to be conveyed by the way of *Holland*: Theſe were opened, upon ſome Suſpicion in *Holland*; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's Office, put Letters in them, in which, as he offered his Service to the Courts of *France* and St. *Germains*, ſo he gave an Account of all Tranſactions here: In one of theſe he ſent a Copy of the Letter, that the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor: And he marked what Parts of the Letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what Additions were made to it, by the Lord Treaſurer: This was the Letter, by which the Queen preſſed the ſending Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*, and this, if not intercepted, would have been at *Verſailles*, many days before it could reach *Vienna*. He, who ſent this, wrote, that by this they might ſee what Service he could do them, if well encouraged; all this was ſent over to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and upon Search, it was found to be writ by one *Gregg*, a Clerk, whom *Harley* had not only entertained, but had taken into a particular Confidence, without Enquiry into the former Parts of his Life; for he was a vicious and a neceſſitous Perſon, who had been Secretary to the Queen's Envoy in *Denmark*, but was diſmiſſed by him, for thoſe his ill Qualities. *Harley* had made uſe of him to get him Intelligence, and he came to truſt him with the Peruſal, and the ſealing up of the Letters, which the *French* Priſoners, here in *England*, ſent over to *France*: And by that means, he got into the method of ſending intelligence thither. He, when ſeized on, either upon Remorſe, or the Hopes of Pardon, confeſſed all, and ſigned his Confeſſion; upon that he was tried; he pleaded guilty, and was condemned as a Traitor, for correſponding with the Queen's Enemies. At the ſame time *Valiere* and *Bara*, whom *Harley* had imployed, as his Spies, to go oft over to *Calais*, under the Pretence of bringing him Intelligence, were informed againſt, as Spies imployed by *France*, to get Intelligence from *England*; who carried over many Letters to *Calais* and *Bulloign*: and, as was believed, gave ſuch Information of our Trade and Convoys, that by their means, we had made our great Loſſes at Sea. They were often complained of upon Suſpicion, but they were always protected by *Harley*; yet the Preſumptions againſt them were ſo violent, that they were at laſt ſeized on and brought up Priſoners. Theſe Accidents might make *Harley* more earneſt, to bring about a change in the Conduct of Affairs, in which he relied on the Credit of the new Favourite. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord Treaſurer, having diſcovered many of his Practices, laid them before the Queen: She would believe nothing, that was ſuggeſted to his prejudice: She denied ſhe had given any Authority, for carrying Meſſages to the Tories; but would not believe, that he or his Friends had done it, nor would ſhe enter into any Examination of his ill Conduct, and was uneaſy when ſhe heard it ſpoke of. So theſe Lords wrote to the Queen, that they could ſerve her no longer, if he was continued in that Poſt: And on the *Sunday* following, when they were ſummoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, they muſt quit her Service, ſince they ſaw, ſhe was reſolved not to part with *Harley*. She ſeem'd not much concerned, at the Lord *Godolphin*'s offering to lay down; and it was believed, to be a Part of *Harley*'s new Scheme to remove him; but ſhe was much touched with the Duke of *Marlborough*'s offering to quit, and ſtudied, with ſome ſoft Expreſſions, to divert him from that Reſolution: but he was firm, and ſhe did not yield to them: So they both went away, to the wonder of the whole Court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council, and *Harley* opened ſome Matters, relating to foreign Affairs: The whole Board was very uneaſy; the Duke of *Somerſet* ſaid, he did not ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch Matters, ſince the Gene-

ral was not with them; he repeated this with ſome Vehemence, while all the reſt looked ſo cold and ſullen, that the Cabinet Council was ſoon at an end; and the Queen ſaw, that the reſt of her Miniſters, and the chief Officers, were reſolved to withdraw from her Service, if ſhe did not recall the Two, that had left it. It was ſaid, that ſhe would have put all to the hazard, if *Harley* himſelf had not apprehended his Danger, and reſolved to lay down: The Queen ſent the next day for the Duke of *Marlborough*, and after ſome Expoſtulations, ſhe told him, *Harley* ſhould immediately leave his Poſt, which he did within two Days: But the Queen ſeemed to carry a deep Reſentment of his and the Lord *Godolphin's* Behaviour on this occaſion; and tho' they went on with her Buſineſs, they found they had not her Confidence. The Dutcheſs of *Marlborough* did, for ſome Weeks, abſtain from going to Court, but afterwards that Breach was made up in Appearance, tho' it was little more than an Appearance. Both Houſes of Parliament expreſſed a great concern, at this Rupture in the Court; and apprehended the ill Effects it might have: The Commons let the Bill of Supply lie on the Table, tho' it was ordered for that Day: And the Lords ordered a Committee, to examine *Gregg* and the other Priſoners. As *Harley* laid down, both *Harcourt*, then Attorney-General, *Manſell*, the Comptroller of the Houſhold, and *St. John*, the Secretary of War, went and laid down with him. The Queen took much time to conſider, how ſhe ſhould fill ſome of theſe Places, but Mr. *Boyle*, Uncle to the Earl of *Burlington*, was preſently made Secretary of State. 1708

The Lords, who were appointed to examine *Gregg*, could not find out much by him; he had but newly begun his Deſigns of betraying Secrets; and he had no Aſſociates with him in it: He told them, that all the Papers of State lay ſo careleſly about the Office, that every one belonging to it, even the Door-keepers, might have read them all. *Harley's* cuſtom was to come to the Office, late on Poſt-Nights, and after he had given his Orders, and wrote his Letters, he uſually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone: By that means he came to ſee every thing, in particular the Queen's Letter to the Emperor. He ſaid, he knew the Deſign of *Toulon* in *May* laſt, but he did not diſcover it; for he had not entred on his ill Practices till *October*: This was all he could ſay. By the Examination of *Valiere* and *Bara*, and of many others, who lived about *Dover* and were imployed by them, a Diſcovery was made of a conſtant Intercourſe, they were in with *Calais*, under *Harley's* protection: They often went over with Boats full of Wooll, and brought back Brandy; tho' both the Import and Export were ſevcrely prohibited: They, and thoſe who belong'd to the Boats, carried over by them, were well treated on the *French* ſide, at the Governor's Houſe, or at the Commiſſary's; they were kept there, till their Letters could be ſent to *Paris*, and till Returns could be brought back, and were all the while upon free coſt: The Order, that was conſtantly given them, was, that if an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Ship came up to them, they ſhould caſt their Letters into the Sea; but that they ſhould not do it, when *French* Ships came up to them: ſo they were looked on, by all on that Coaſt, as the Spies of *France*. They uſed to get what Information they could, both of Merchant-Ships, and of the Ships of War, that lay in the *Downs*; and upon that they uſually went over, and it happened that ſoon after ſome of thoſe Ships were taken: Theſe Men, as they were Papiſts, ſo they behaved themſelves very inſolently, and boaſted much of their Power and Credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any Information of importance to *Harley* but once, when, according to what they ſwore, they told him, that *Fourbin* was gone from *Dunkirk*, to lie in wait for the *Ruſſia* Fleet; which proved to be true: he both went to watch for them, and he took a great part of the Fleet. Yet, tho' this was the ſingle piece of Intelligence that they ever brought, *Harley* took ſo little notice of it, that he gave no advertiſement to the Admiralty, concerning it. This Particular excepted, they only brought over common News, and the *Paris* Gazettes. Theſe Examinations laſted for ſome Weeks; when they were ended, a full Report was made of them, to the Houſe of Lords; and they ordered the whole Report, with all the Examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an Addreſs, in which they repreſented to her the neceſſity of making *Gregg* a pub-

An Examination into that Correſpondence.

1708 lick Example; upon which he was executed: He continued to clear all other Persons of any accession to his Crimes, of which he seemed very sensible, and died much better than he had lived.

A very few days after the breach, that had happened at Court, we were alarmed from *Holland*, with the News of a Design, of which the *French* made them no Secret; that they were sending the Pretended Prince of *Wales* to *Scotland*, with a Fleet and an Army, to possess himself of that Kingdom. But before I go further, I will give an account, of all that related to the Affairs of that part of the Island.

Proceedings with relation to *Scotland*.

The Members, sent from *Scotland*, to both Houses of Parliament, were treated with very particular Marks of Respect and Esteem: and they were Persons of such distinction, that they very well deserved it. The first thing proposed, in the House of Commons, with relation to them, was to take off the stop, that was put on their Trade: It was agreed unanimously, to pray the Queen by an Address, that she would give order for it; some debate arising only, whether it was a matter of Right or of Favour: *Harley* pressed the last, to justify those Proceedings, in which he himself had so great a share, as was formerly set forth, and on which others made severe Reflections: But since all agreed in the Conclusion, the dispute concerning the Premisses was soon let fall. After this, a more important Matter was proposed, concerning the Government of *Scotland*, whether it should continue in a distinct Privy Council, or not: All the Court was for it; Those, who governed *Scotland*, desired to keep up their Authority there, with the advantage they made by it: and they gave the Ministers of *England* great assurances, that by their Influence, Elections might be so managed as to serve all the Ends of the Court; but they said, that without due care, these might be carried so, as to run all the contrary way. This was the secret Motive, yet this could not be owned in a publick Assembly; so that, which was pretended, was, that many great Families in *Scotland*, with the greatest part of the Highlanders, were so ill affected, that without a watchful Eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet: It lay at too great a distance from *London*, to be governed by Orders sent from thence. To this it was answered, that by the Circuits of the Justiciary Courts, and by Justices of Peace, that Country might be well governed, notwithstanding its distance, as *Wales* and *Cornwall* were. It was carried, upon a Division, by a great Majority, that there should be only one Privy Council for the whole Island. When it was sent up to the Lords, it met with a great opposition there: The Court stood alone; all the Tories, and the much greater part of the Whigs were for the Bill. The Court, seeing the Party for the Bill so strong, was willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the Bill, the Council of *Scotland* was not to sit after the first of *May*, the Court moved to have it continued, to the first of *October*. It was visible that this was proposed only, in order to the managing Elections for the next Parliament; so the Lords adhered to the Day prefixed in the Bill: But a new Debate arose about the Power, given by the Bill to the Justices of Peace, which seemed to be an Encroachment on the Jurisdiction of the Lords *Regalities*, and of the Hereditary *Sheriffs* and *Stewards*, who had the right of trying Criminals, in the first instance, for fourteen days time: yet it was ordinary, in the cases of great Crimes and Riots, for the Privy Council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days; so by this Act, the Justices of Peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy Council usually did: and except the Occasion was so great, as to demand a quick dispatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the Justices of Peace would have great regard to all private Rights; yet since this had the appearance, of breaking in upon private Rights, this was much insisted on, by those who hoped, by laying aside these Powers given to the Justices of the Peace, to have gained the main Point of keeping up a Privy Council in *Scotland*: For all the *Scotch* Ministers said, the Country would be in great danger, if there were not a supreme Government still kept up in it: But it seemed an absurd thing, that there should be a different Administration, where there was but one Legislature. While *Scotland* had an entire Legislature within it self, the Nation assembled in Parliament could procure the Correction of Errors in the Administration: Whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the

the Legiſlative Body, if it was ſtill to be kept under a different Adminiſtration, that Nation could not have Strength enough, to procure a Redreſs of its Grievances in Parliament; ſo they might come to be ſubdued and governed as a Province: And the arbitrary way, in which the Council of *Scotland* had proceeded, ever ſince King *James* the Firſt's time, but more particularly ſince the Reſtoration, was freſh in Memory, and had been no ſmall Motive, to induce the beſt Men of that Nation to promote the Union; that they might be delivered from the Tyranny of the Council: And their Hopes would be diſappointed, if they were ſtill kept under that Yoke. This Point was in concluſion yielded, and the Bill paſs'd, tho' to the great Diſcontent of the Court; there was a new Court of Exchequer created in *Scotland*, according to the Frame of that Court in *England*: Special Acts were made, for the Elections and the Returns of the Repreſentatives, in both Houſes of Parliament; and ſuch was the Diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* to oblige them, and the Behaviour of the *Scots* was ſo good and diſcreet, that every thing that was propoſed for the Good of their Country, was agreed to; both Whigs and Tories vied with one another, who ſhould ſhew moſt Care and Concern for the Welfare of that part of *Great-Britain*. 1708

A Deſcent deſigned upon *Scotland*.

On the twentieth of *February*, which was but a few days after the Act, diſſolving the Council in *Scotland*, had paſs'd, we underſtood there was a Fleet prepared in *Dunkirk*, with about twelve Battalions, and a Train of all things neceſſary for a Deſcent in *Scotland*: And a few Days after, we heard that the Pretended Prince of *Wales* was come from *Paris*, with all the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh*, that were about him, in order to his Imbarkation. The Surprize was great, for it was not looked for, nor had we a Proſpect of being able to ſet out in time a Fleet, able to deal with theirs, which conſiſted of Twenty-ſix Ships, moſt of them of above forty Guns: But that Providence (which has, on all Occaſions, directed Matters ſo happily for our Preſervation) did appear very ſignally in this critical Conjuncture: Our greateſt Want was of Seamen, to mann the Fleet; for the Ships were ready to be put to Sea: This was ſupplied, by ſeveral Fleets of Merchant Ships, that came home at that time, with their Convoys: The Flag-Officers were very acceptable to the Seamen, and they beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that, with the help of an Embargo, there was a Fleet of above forty Ships, got ready in a fortnight's time, to the ſurprize of all at home, as well as abroad: Theſe ſtood over to *Dunkirk*, juſt as they were embarking there. Upon the ſight of ſo great a Fleet, *Fourbin*, who commanded the *French* Fleet, ſent to *Paris* for new Orders: He himſelf was againſt venturing out, when they ſaw a ſuperior Fleet, ready to engage, or to purſue them. The King of *France* ſent poſitive Orders, to proſecute the Deſign: So *Fourbin* (ſeeing that our Fleet, after it had ſhewed itſelf to them, finding the Tides and Sea run high, as being near the Equinox, had ſailed back into the *Downs*) took that occaſion to go out of *Dunkirk* on the eighth of *March*: but contrary Winds kept him on that Coaſt, till the eleventh, and then he ſet ſail with a fair Wind. Our Admiral, Sir *George Bing*, came over again to watch his Motions; and as ſoon as he underſtood, that he had ſailed, which was not till twenty Hours after, he followed him. The *French* deſigned to have landed in the *Frith*, but they out-ſailed their Point a few Leagues; and by the time, that they had got back to the North Side of the *Frith*, *Bing* came to the South Side of it, and gave the Signal for coming to an Anchor; this was heard by *Fourbin*: He had ſent a Frigate into the *Frith*, to give Signals, which it ſeems had been agreed on, but no Anſwers were made. The Deſign was to land near *Edinburgh*, where they believed the Caſtle was in ſo bad a Condition, and ſo ill provided, that it muſt have ſurrendred upon Summons: And they reckoned, that upon the Reputation of that, the whole Body, of the Kingdom would have come into them. But when *Fourbin* underſtood, on the thirteenth of *March*, that *Bing* was ſo near him, he tack'd, and would not ſtay to venture an Engagement. *Bing* purſued him, with all the Sail that he could make, but the *French* ſtood out to Sea; there was ſome firing on the Ships, that ſailed the heavieſt, and the *Salisbury*, a Ship taken from us, and then their Vice-Admiral, was engaged with two *Engliſh* Ships, and taken without any Reſiſtance. There were about 500 Land-men on board her, with ſome Officers and Perſons of Quality, the chief of theſe were the Lord *Griffin*, and the Earl of

A *Fleet* ſailed from *Dunkirk*.

1708 *Middleton*'s two Sons. *Bing* (having loſt ſight of the *French*, conſidering that the *Frith* was the Station of the greateſt Importance, as well as Safety, and was the Place where they deſigned to land) put in there, till he could hear what courſe the *French* ſteered: The Tides ran high, and there was a ſtrong Gale of Wind. Upon the Alarm of the intended Deſcent, Orders were ſent to *Scotland*, to draw all their Forces about *Edinburgh*: The Troops that remained in *England* were ordered to march to *Scotland*: And the Troops in *Ireland* were ordered to march Northward, to be ready when called for: There were alſo twelve Battalions ſent from *Oſtend* under a good Convoy, and they lay at the Mouth of the *Tine* till further Orders. Thus all Preparations were made to diſſipate that ſmall Force: But it appeared that the *French* relied chiefly on the Aſſiſtance that they expected would have come into them, upon their landing: Of this they ſeemed ſo well aſſured, that the King of *France* ſent Inſtructions, to his Miniſters in all the Courts, that admitted of them, to be publiſhed every where, that the Pretended Prince being invited by his Subjects, chiefly thoſe of *Scotland*, to take poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors, the King had ſent him over at their Deſire with a Fleet and Army to aſſiſt him: That he was reſolved to pardon all thoſe who ſhould come into him, and he would trouble none upon the account of Religion: Upon his being re-eſtabliſhed, the King would give Peace to the reſt of *Europe*. When theſe Miniſters received theſe Directions, they had likewiſe Advice ſent them, which they publiſhed both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and in *Switzerland*, that the *French* had, before this Expedition was undertaken, ſent over ſome Ships with Arms and Ammunition to *Scotland*: And that there was already an Army on foot there, that had proclaimed this Pretended Prince, King. It was ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee ſuch eminent Falſhoods publiſhed all *Europe* over. They alſo affirmed, that Hoſtages were ſent from *Scotland* to *Paris*, to ſecure the obſerving the Engagements, they had entered into; tho' all this was Fiction and Contrivance.

Reports ſpread by the *French*.

The *States* were ſtruck with great Apprehenſions, ſo were all the Allies; for tho' they were ſo long accuſtomed to the cunning Practices of the Court of *France*, yet this was an Original; and therefore it was generally concluded, that ſo ſmall an Army, and ſo weak a Fleet would not have been ſent, but upon great Aſſurances of Aſſiſtance, not only from *Scotland*, but from *England*: And upon this Occaſion, ſevere Reflections were made, both on the Conduct of the Admiralty, and on that Tract of Correſpondence lately diſcovered, that was managed under *Harley*'s Protection: And on the great Breach, that was ſo near the diſjointing all our Affairs, but a few Days before. Theſe Things, when put together, filled Men's Minds with Thoughts of no eaſy Digeſtion.

The Parliament ſtands firmly by the Queen.

The Parliament was ſitting, and the Queen, in a Speech to both Houſes, communicated to them the Advertiſements ſhe had received: Both Houſes made Addreſſes to her, giving her full aſſurance of their adhering ſtedfaſtly to her, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion: And mixed with theſe broad Intimations, of their apprehenſions of Treachery at home. They paſſed alſo two Bills; the one, that the Abjuration might be tendred to all Perſons, and that ſuch as refuſed, ſhould be in the condition of convict Recuſants: By the other, they ſuſpended the *Habeas Corpus* Act till *October*, with relation to Perſons taken up by the Government upon Suſpicion: And the Houſe of Commons, by a Vote, engaged to make good to the Queen, all the extraordinary Charge, this Expedition might put her to.

The *French* Fleet got again into *Dunkirk*.

A Fortnight went over, before we had any News of the *French* Fleet: Three of their Ships landed near the Mouth of *Spey*, only to refreſh themſelves; for the Ships being ſo filled with Land-men, there was a great want of Water: At laſt all their Ships got ſafe into *Dunkirk*: The Land-men either died at Sea, or were ſo ill, that all the Hoſpitals in *Dunkirk* were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they loſt above 4000 Men, in this unaccountable Expedition: For they were above a Month toſſed in a very tempeſtuous Sea. Many ſuſpected Perſons were taken up in *Scotland*, and ſome few in *England*: But further Diſcoveries of their Correſpondents were not then made. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our Affairs, chiefly with relation to all Paper-Credit: And if by this, the Remittances to *Piedmont*, *Catalonia*, and *Por-*

and *Portugal* had been ſtopp'd, in ſo critical a Seaſon, that might have had fatal Conſequences abroad: For if we had been put into ſuch a Diſorder at home, that Foreign Princes could no more reckon on our aſſiſtance, they might have been diſpoſed to hearken to the Propoſitions, that the King of *France* would then have probably made to them. So that, the total defeating of this Deſign, without its having the leaſt effect on our affairs, or our loſing one ſingle Man in the little Engagement, we had with the Enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of thoſe happy Providences, for which we have much to anſwer. 1708

The Queen ſeemed much alarmed with this Matter, and ſaw with what Falſhoods ſhe had been abuſed, by thoſe who pretended to aſſure her, there was not now a *Jacobite* in the Nation: One Variation in her Style was now obſerved: She had never, in any Speech, mentioned the Revolution, or thoſe, who had been concerned in it: And many of thoſe, who made a conſiderable figure about her, ſtudied, tho' againſt all Senſe and Reaſon, to diſtinguiſh her Title from the Revolution: It was plainly founded on it, and on nothing elſe. In the Speeches ſhe now made, ſhe named the Revolution twice: And ſaid ſhe would look on thoſe concerned in it, as the ſureſt to her Intereſts: She alſo fixed a new Deſignation on the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, and called him the Pretender; and he was ſo called in a new Set of Addreſſes, which, upon this occaſion, were made to the Queen: And I intend to follow the Precedent, as often as I may have occaſion hereafter to mention him. The Seſſion of Parliament was cloſed in *March*, ſoon after defeating the Deſign of the Deſcent: It was diſſolved in *April* by Proclamation, and the Writs were iſſued out, for the Elections of a new Parliament, which raiſed that Ferment over the Nation, that was uſual on ſuch occaſions. The juſt Fears and viſible Dangers, to which the Attempt of the Invaſion had expoſed the Nation, produced very good Effects: For the Elections did, for the moſt part, fall on Men well affected to the Government, and zealouſly ſet againſt the Pretender.

The Deſigns of the Campaign are concerted.

As ſoon as the State of Affairs at home was well ſettled, the Duke of *Marlborough* went over to *Holland*, and there Prince *Eugene* met him: Being ſent by the Emperor, to concert with him and the *States*, the Operations of the Campaign; from the *Hague*, they both went to *Hanover*, to ſettle all Matters relating to the Empire, and to engage the Elector to return, to command the Army on the Upper *Rhine*. Every thing was fixed: Prince *Eugene* went back to *Vienna*, and was obliged to return by the beginning of *June*; for the Campaign was then to be opened every where.

The Princes of *France* ſent to the Army in *Flanders*.

The Court of *France* was much mortified, by the Diſappointment, they had met with in their Deſigns againſt us: But to put more Life in their Troops, they reſolved to ſend the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Duke of *Berry* to be at the head of their Army in *Flanders*: The Pretender went with them, without any other Character, than that of the Chevalier *de St. George*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, with the Duke of *Berwick*, were ſent to command in *Alſace*, and Marſhal *Villars* was ſent to head the Forces in *Dauphiny*. The Credit, with relation to Money, was ſtill very low in *France*: For after many Methods taken for raiſing the Credit of the Mint Bills, they were ſtill at a Diſcount of Forty *per Cent*. No Fleets came this year from the *Weſt-Indies*, ſo that they could not be ſupplied from thence.

The Duke of of *Orleans* ſent to *Spain*.

The Duke of *Orleans* was ſent to command in *Spain*; and according to the Vanity of that Nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty Armies, in many different Places, and to put an end to the War there: Great Rains fell all the Winter, in all the Parts of *Spain*; ſo that the Campaign could not be ſo ſoon opened, as it was at firſt intended. The Bills, that the Duke of *Orleans* brought with him to *Spain*, were proteſted, at which he was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he deſired to be recalled: This was remedied to ſome degree, tho' far ſhort of what was promiſed to him. The Troops of *Portugal*, that lay at *Barcelona*, ever ſince the Battle of *Almanza*, were brought about by a Squadron of our Ships, to the Defence of their own Country: Sir *John Leak* came alſo over thither from *England* with Recruits and other Supplies, that the Queen was to furniſh that Crown with: And when all was landed, he ſailed into the *Me-*

1708

Tortosa besieged and taken.

diterranean, to bring over Troops from *Italy*, for the ſtrengthening of King *Charles*, whoſe Affairs were in great Diſorder.

After all the boaſting of the *Spaniards*, their Army on the ſide of *Portugal* was ſo weak, that they could not attempt any thing; ſo this was a very harmleſs Campaign on both ſides; the *Portugueze* not being much ſtronger. The Duke of *Orleans* ſate down before *Tortoſa* in *June*, and tho' *Leak* diſſipated a Fleet of Tartanes, ſent from *France* to ſupply his Army, and took about fifty of them, which was a very ſeaſonable Relief, to thoſe in *Barcelona*; upon which it was thought the Siege of *Tortoſa* would be raiſed, yet it was carried on till the laſt of *June*, and then the Garriſon capitulated.

Supplies ſent from *Italy* to *Spain*.

Leak ſailed to *Italy*, and brought from thence, both the new Queen of *Spain*, and 8000 Men with him: But by reaſon of the Slowneſs of the Court of *Vienna*, theſe came too late, to raiſe the Siege of *Tortoſa*: The Snow lay ſo long on the *Alps*, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not begin the Campaign till *July*, then he came into *Savoy*, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf without any oppoſition: The whole Country was under a Conſternation as far as *Lyons*.

On the Upper *Rhine*, the two Electors continued looking on one another, without venturing on any Action; but the great Scene was laid in *Flanders*: The *French* Princes came to *Mons*, and there they opened the Campaign, and advanced to *Soignies*, with an Army of an Hundred Thouſand Men: The Duke of *Marlborough* lay between *Enghien* and *Hall*, with his Army, which was about Eighty Thouſand.

Ghendt and *Bruges* taken by the *French*.

The *French* had their uſual Practices on foot in ſeveral Towns in thoſe Parts: A Conſpiracy, to deliver *Antwerp* to them, was diſcovered and prevented: The truth was, the *Dutch* were ſevere Maſters, and the *Flandrians* could not bear it: Tho' the *French* had laid heavier Taxes on them, yet they uſed them better in all other Reſpects: Their Bigotry, being wrought on by their Prieſts, diſpoſed them to change Maſters, ſo theſe Practices ſucceeded better in *Ghendt* and *Bruges*. The Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved, not to weaken his Army by many Garriſons: ſo he put none at all in *Bruges*, and a very weak one in the Citadel of *Ghendt*, reckoning that there was no Danger, as long as he lay between thoſe Places and the *French* Army. The two Armies lay, about a Month, looking on one another, ſhifting their Camps a little, but keeping ſtill in ſafe Ground, ſo that there was no Action all the while; but near the end of *June*, ſome Bodies drawn out of the Garriſons about *Ypres*, came and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Bruges*, without any oppoſition: And the Garriſon in *Ghendt*, was too weak to make any reſiſtance, ſo they capitulated and marched out: Upon this, the whole *French* Army marched towards thoſe Places, hoping to have carried *Oudenarde* in their way.

The Battle of *Oudenarde*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* followed ſo quick, that they drew off from *Oudenarde*, as he advanced: In one day, which was the laſt of *June*, he made a March of five Leagues, paſſed the *Scheld* without any oppoſition, came up to the *French* Army, and engaged them in the Afternoon: They had the advantage both of Numbers and of Ground; yet our Men beat them from every Poſt, and in an Action, that laſted ſix Hours, we had ſuch an entire Advantage, that nothing but the Darkneſs of the Night, and Wearineſs of our Men, ſaved the *French* Army from being totally ruined. There were about 5000 killed, and about 8000 made Priſoners (of whom 1000 were Officers) and about 6000 more deſerted; ſo that the *French* loſt at leaſt 20000 Men, and retired in great haſte, and in greater confuſion to *Ghendt*. On the Confederates ſide, there was about 1000 killed, and 2000 wounded: But our Army was ſo wearied, with a long March, and a long Action, that they were not in a condition, to purſue with that haſte, that was to be deſired: Otherwiſe great Advantages might have been made of this Victory. The *French* poſted themſelves on the great Canal, that runs from *Ghendt* to *Bruges*: Prince *Eugene*'s Army, of about 30000 Men, was now very near the great Army, and joined it in a few Days after this Action: But he himſelf was come up before them, and had a noble Share in the Victory; which, from the Neighbourhood of that Place, came to be called the Battle of *Oudenarde*.

The *French* had recovered themſelves out of their firſt Conſternation, during that time, which was neceſſary to give our Army ſome Reſt and Refreſhment: and they were ſo well poſted, that it was not thought fit to attack them. Great Detachments were ſent, as far as to *Arras*, to put all the *French* Countries under

der Contribution; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror every where, that it went as far as to *Paris*: Our Army could not block up the Enemy's on all ſides, the Communication with *Dunkirk* by *Newport* was ſtill open; and the *French* Army was ſupplied from thence: They made an Invaſion into the *Dutch Flanders*: They had no great Cannon, ſo they could take no Place; but they deſtroyed the Country with their uſual Barbarity. 1708

Liſle beſieged.

In concluſion, the Duke of *Marlborough*, in concert with Prince *Eugene* and the *States*, reſolved to beſiege *Liſle*, the capital Town of the *French Flanders*: It was a great, a rich, and a well fortified Place; with a very ſtrong Citadel: It had been the firſt Conqueſt the *French* King had made, and it was become, next to *Paris*, the chief Town of his Dominions: Marſhal *Boufflers* threw himſelf into it, with ſome of the beſt of the *French* Troops: The Garriſon was at leaſt 12000 ſtrong, ſome call'd it 14000. Prince *Eugene* undertook the Conduct of the Siege, with about 30000 Men, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the reſt of the Army, lay on the *Scheld* at *Pont-Eſperies*, to keep the Communication open with *Bruſſels*: Some time was loſt, before the great Artillery could be brought up: It lay at *Saſs van Ghendt*, to have been ſent up the *Lys*, but now it was to be carried about by *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels*, and from thence by Land-Carriages to the Camp, which was a long and a ſlow Work: In that, ſome Weeks were loſt, ſo that it was near the end of *Auguſt*, before the Siege was begun. The Engineers promiſed the *States*, to take the Place within a Fortnight, after the Trenches were opened; but the Sequel ſhewed, that they reckoned wrong; There were ſome Diſputes among them: Errors were committed by thoſe, who were in greateſt Credit, who thought the way of Sapp the ſhorteſt, as well as the ſureſt Method: Yet after ſome time loſt in purſuing this way, they returned to the ordinary Method. *Boufflers* made a brave and a long Defence: The Duke of *Burgundy* came with his whole Army ſo near ours, that it ſeemed he deſigned to venture another Battle, rather than loſe ſo important a Place: And the Duke of *Marlborough* was, for ſome Days, in a Poſture to receive him: But when he ſaw, that his whole Intention, in coming ſo near him, was only to oblige him to be ready for an Action, without coming to any; and ſo to draw off a great part of thoſe Bodies, that carried on the Siege, leaving only as many as were neceſſary, to maintain the Ground they had gained, he drew a Line before his Army, and thought only of carrying on the Siege, for while he looked for an Engagement, no Progreſs was made in that.

The *French* drew Lines all along the *Scheld*.

After ſome Days, the *French* drew off, and fell to making Lines all along the *Scheld*, but chiefly about *Oudenarde*; that they might cut off the Communication between *Bruſſels* and our Camp, and ſo ſeparate our Army, from all Intercourſe with *Holland*: The Lines were about ſeventy Miles long, and in ſome Places near *Oudenarde*, they looked liker the Ramparts of a fortified Place, than ordinary Lines; on theſe they laid Cannon, and poſted the greateſt Part of their Army upon them, ſo that they did effectually ſtop all Communication by the *Scheld*. Upon which, the *States* ordered all that was neceſſary, both for the Army and for the Siege, to be ſent to *Oſtend*: And if the *French* had begun their Deſigns, with the intercepting this way of Conveyance, the Siege muſt have been raiſed, for want of Ammunition to carry it on.

A new Supply ſent to *Oſtend*.

About this time, 6000 Men were embarked at *Portſmouth*, in order to be ſent over to *Portugal*: But they were ordered to lie for ſome time on the Coaſt of *France*, all along from *Bulloigne* to *Dieppe*, in order to force a Diverſion, we hoping, that this would oblige the *French* to draw ſome of their Troops out of *Flanders*, for the Defence of their Coaſt: This had no great effect, and the Appearance that the *French* made, gave our Men ſuch Apprehenſions of their Strength, that tho' they once begun to land their Men, yet they ſoon returned back to their Ships: But as their Behaviour was not a little cenſured, ſo the State of the War in *Flanders*, made it neceſſary to have a greater Force at *Oſtend*. They were, upon this, ordered to come and land there: *Earl*, who commanded them, came out and took a Poſt at *Leffingen*, that lay on the Canal, which went from *Newport* to *Bruges*, to ſecure the Paſſage of a great Convoy of 800 Waggons, that were to be carried from *Oſtend* to the Army: If that had been intercepted, the Siege muſt have been raiſed: For the Duke of *Marlborough* had

1708 ſent ſome Ammunition from his Army, to carry on the Siege, and he could ſpare no more: He began to deſpair of the Undertaking, and ſo prepared his Friends to look for the raiſing the Siege, being in great Apprehenſions concerning this Convoy; upon which, the whole Succeſs of this Enterprize depended: He ſent *Webb*, with a Body of 6000 Men to ſecure the Convoy.

A Defeat given the *French* when they were three to one.

The *French*, who underſtood well of what conſequence this Convoy was, ſent a Body of 20000 Men, with forty Pieces of Cannon, to intercept it: *Webb*, ſeeing the Inequality between his Strength and the Enemy's, put his Men into the beſt diſpoſition he could. There lay Coppices, on both ſides of the Place, where he poſted himſelf; he lined theſe well, and ſtood ſtill for ſome Hours, while the Enemy cannonaded him, he having no Cannon to return upon them: His Men lay flat on the Ground, till that was over. But when the *French* advanced, our Men fired upon them, both in Front and from the Coppices, with that Fury, and with ſuch Succeſs, that they began to run; and tho' their Officers did all that was poſſible to make them ſtand, they could not prevail: So, after they had loſt about 6000 Men, they marched back to *Bruges*: *Webb* durſt not leave the advantageous Ground he was in, to purſue them, being ſo much inferiour in number. So unequal an Action, and ſo ſhameful a Flight, with ſo great Loſs, was looked on as the moſt extraordinary thing, that had happened during the whole War: And it encouraged the one ſide, as much as it diſpirited the other. Many Reproaches paſſed on this occaſion, between the *French* and the *Spaniards*; the latter, who had ſuffered the moſt, blaming the former for abandoning them: This, which is the ordinary conſequence of all great Misfortunes, was not ſoon quieted.

Convoys from *Oſtend* came ſafe to the Camp.

The Convoy arriving ſafe in the Camp, put new Life in our Army: Some other Convoys came afterwards, and were brought ſafe: For the Duke of *Marlborough* moved, with his whole Army, to ſecure their Motions, nor did the Enemy think fit to give them any Diſturbance, for ſome time. By the means of theſe Supplies, the Siege was carried on ſo effectually, that by the end of *October* the Town capitulated: Mareſchal *Boufflers* retiring into the Citadel, with 6000 Men. The *French* ſaw of what Importance, the Communication by *Oſtend* was to our Army, which was chiefly maintained by the Body, that was poſted at *Leſſingen*; ſo they attacked that, by a very great Force: The Place was weak of it ſelf, but all about was put under Water, ſo it might have made a longer Reſiſtance: It was too eaſily yielded up by thoſe within it, who were made Priſoners of War. Thus the Communication with *Oſtend* was cut off, and upon that the *French* flattered themſelves, with the Hopes of ſtarving our Army; having thus ſeparated it, from all Communication with *Holland*: inſomuch that it was reported, the Duke of *Vendoſme* talked of having our whole Forces delivered into his Hands, as Priſoners of War, for want of Bread, and other Neceſſaries. It is true, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſent out great Bodies, both into the *French Flanders*, and into the *Artois*, who brought in great Stores of Proviſions: But that could not laſt long.

Leſſingen taken by the *French*.

Miſunderſtanding between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendoſme*.

The *French* Army lay all along the *Scheld*, but had ſent a great Detachment to cover the *Artois*: All this while there was a great Miſunderſtanding between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Vendoſme*: The latter took ſo much upon him, that the other Officers complained of his neglecting them; ſo they made their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and laid the blame of all his Miſcarriages on *Vendoſme*. He kept cloſe to the Orders he had from *Verſailles*, where the Accounts he gave, and the Advices he offered, were more conſidered, than thoſe that were ſent by the Duke of *Burgundy*: This was very uneaſy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, tho' he did not ſhew the forwardneſs, in expoſing his own Perſon, that was expected: He ſeemed very devout, even to Bigotry; but by the Accounts we had from *France*, it did appear, that his Conduct during the Campaign, gave no great Hopes or Proſpect from him, when all things ſhould come into his hands: *Chamillard* was often ſent from Court to ſoften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, but with no effect.

Affairs on the Upper *Rhine*.

The Elector of *Bavaria* had been ſent to command on the Upper *Rhine*: The true Reaſon was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief Com-

Command in *Flanders*: He was put in hopes, of being furniſhed with an Army ſo ſtrong, as to be able to break thro' into *Bavaria*. The Elector of *Hanover* did again undertake the Command of the Army of the Empire: Both Armies were weak; but they were ſo equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either ſide: ſo after ſome Months, in which there was no conſiderable Action; the Forces on both ſides went into Winter Quarters. Then the Court of *France*, believing that the Elector of *Bavaria* was ſo much beloved in *Bruſſels*, that he had a great Party in the Town, ready to declare for him, ordered an Army of 14000 Men, with a good Train of Artillery, to be brought together, and with that Body he was ſent to attack *Bruſſels*; in which, there was a Garriſon of 6000 Men. He lay before the Town five Days, in two of theſe he attacked it with great fury: He was once Maſter of the Counterſcarp, but he was ſoon beaten out of it; and tho' he repeated his Attacks very often, he was repulſed in them all. 1708

The Elector of *Bavaria* ſent to attack *Bruſſels*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *Scheld* and the Lines.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, hearing of this, made a ſudden Motion towards the *Scheld*: But to deceive the Enemy, it was given out, that he deſigned to march directly towards *Ghendt*, and this was believed by his whole Army, and it was probably carried to the Enemy; for they ſeemed to have no Notice nor Apprehenſion of his Deſign on the *Scheld*: He advanced towards it in the Night, and marched with the Foot very quick, leaving the Horſe to come up with the Artillery: The Lines were ſo ſtrong, that it was expected, that in the breaking thro' them, there muſt have been a very hot Action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have coſt them at leaſt 10000 Men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſſed the River, the *French* ran away, without offering to make the leaſt Reſiſtance; and they had drawn off their Cannon the Day before. Our Men were very weary with the Night's March, ſo they could not purſue; for the Horſe were not come up, nor did the Garriſon of *Oudenarde* ſally out; yet they took a Thouſand Priſoners. Whether the notice of the Feint, that the Duke of *Marlborough* gave out of his Deſign on *Ghendt*, occaſioned the *French* drawing off their Cannon, and their being ſo ſecure, that they ſeemed to have no Apprehenſions of his true Deſigns, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning thoſe Lines, on which they had been working for many Weeks, was a Surprize to all the World: Their Councils ſeemed to be weak, and the Execution of them was worſe: So that they, who were ſo long the Terror, were now become the Scorn of the World.

The Elector of *Bavaria* drew off from *Bruſſels*.

The main Body of their Army retired to *Valenciennes*, great Detachments were ſent to *Ghendt* and *Bruges*: As ſoon as the Elector of *Bavaria* had the News of this unlooked for Reverſe of their Affairs, he drew off from *Bruſſels* with ſuch Precipitation, that he left his heavy Cannon and Baggage, with his wounded Men, behind him: So this Deſign, in which 3000 Men were loſt, came ſoon to an end. Thoſe who thought of Preſages, looked on our paſſing the Lines on the ſame Day, in which the Parliament of *England* was opened, as a happy one. Prince *Eugene* had marched, with the greateſt Part of the Force that lay before *Liſle* (leaving only what was neceſſary to keep the Town, and to carry on the Sapp againſt the Citadel) to have a ſhare in the Action, that was expected in forcing the Lines: But he came quickly back, when he ſaw there was no need of him, and that the Communication with *Bruſſels* was opened.

The Citadel of *Liſle* capitulated.

The Siege of the Citadel was carried on in a ſlow but ſure Method: And when the Beſiegers had lodged themſelves in the ſecond Counterſcarp, and had raiſed all their Batteries, ſo that they were ready to attack the Place, in a formidable manner, Mareſchal *Boufflers* thought fit to prevent that, by a Capitulation. It was now near the end of *November*; ſo he had the better Terms granted him: For it was reſolved, as late as it was in the Year, to reduce *Ghendt* and *Bruges*, before this long Campaign ſhould be concluded: He marched out with 5000 Men, ſo that the Siege had coſt thoſe within, as many Lives, as it did the Beſiegers, which were near 8000.

Reflections that paſſed on it.

This was a great Conqueſt; the nobleſt, the richeſt, and the ſtrongeſt Town in thoſe Provinces, was thus reduced: And the moſt regular Citadel in *Europe*, fortified and furniſhed at a vaſt Expence, was taken without firing one Cannon

1708 against it. The Garriſon was obliged to reſtore to the Inhabitants, all that had been carried into the Citadel, and to make good all the Damages, that had been done the Town, by the demoliſhing of Houſes, while they were preparing themſelves for the Siege. All the ſeveral Methods the *French* had uſed, to give a Diverſion, had proved ineffectual: But that, in which the Obſervers of Providence rejoiced moſt, was the ſignal Character of a particular Bleſſing on this Siege: It was all the whole time a rainy Seaſon, all *Europe* over, and in all the neighbouring Places; yet during the Siege of the Town, it was dry and fair about it: And on thoſe Days of Capitulation, in which time was allowed for the Garriſon to march into the Citadel, it rained; but as ſoon as theſe were elapſed, ſo that they were at Liberty to beſiege the Citadel, fair Weather returned, and continued till it was taken.

Ghendt and *Bruges* retaken.

From *Liſle*, the Army marched to inveſt *Ghendt*, tho' it was late in the Year; for it was not done before *December*: The *French* boaſted much of their Strength, and they had, by ſome new Works, made a ſhow of deſigning an obſtinate Reſiſtance. They ſtood it out, till the Trenches were far advanced, and the Batteries were finiſhed, ſo that the whole Train of Artillery was mounted: When all was ready to fire on the Town, the Governor, to ſave both that and his Garriſon, thought fit to capitulate: He had an honourable Capitulation, and a general Amneſty was granted to the Town, with a new Confirmation of all their Privileges. The Burghers did not deſerve ſo good Uſage; but it was thought fit to try how far gentle Treatment could prevail on them, and overcome their Perverſeneſs: And indeed it may be thought, that they had ſuffered ſo much by their Treachery, that they were ſufficiently puniſhed for it: *Ghendt* was delivered to the Duke of *Marlborough* on the laſt of *December* N. S. ſo glorioufly was both the Year and the Campaign finiſhed at once: For the Garriſon, that lay at *Bruges*, and in the Forts about it, withdrew without ſtaying for a Summons. Theſe being evacuated, the Army was ſent into Winter-Quarters.

A very hard Winter.

It had not been poſſible to have kept them in the Field much longer; for within two or three Days after, there was a great Fall of Snow, and that was followed by a moſt violent Froſt, which continued the longeſt of any in the Memory of Man: And tho' there were ſhort Intervals, of a few Days of Thaw, we had four Returns of an extreme Froſt, the whole laſting about three Months. Many died in ſeveral Parts, by the Extremity of the Cold, it was ſcarce poſſible to keep the Soldiers alive, even in their Quarters: So that they muſt have periſhed, if they had not broke up the Campaign before this hard Seaſon. This coming on ſo quick, after all that was to be done abroad was effectuated, gave new occaſions to thoſe, who made their Remarks on Providence, to obſerve the very great Bleſſings of this Conjuncture, wherein every thing that was deſigned, was happily ended juſt at the critical time, that it was become neceſſary to conclude the Campaign: And indeed the Concurrence of thoſe happy Events, that had followed us all this Year, from the Pretender's firſt ſetting out from *Dunkirk*, to the concluſion of it, was ſo ſignal, that it made great Impreſſions on many of the chief Officers, which ſome owned to my ſelf; tho' they were the Perſons, from whom I expected it leaſt.

Sardinia and *Minorca* reduced.

The Campaign in *Spain* was more equally ballanced: The Duke of *Orleans* took *Tortoſa*; *Denia* was alſo forced to capitulate, and the Garriſon were made Priſoners of War. But thoſe Loſſes by Land, were well made up by the Succeſſes of our Fleet: *Sardinia* was reduced, after a very feeble and ſhort ſtruggle: The Plenty of the Iſland made the Conqueſt the more conſiderable at that time, for in *Catalonia* they were much ſtraitened for want of Proviſions, which were now ſupplied from *Sardinia*. Towards the end of the Campaign, the Fleet, with a Thouſand Land-men on board, came before *Minorca*, and in a few Days made themſelves Maſters of that Iſland, and of thoſe Forts that commanded *Port Mahon*, the only valuable thing in that Iſland: All was carried after a very faint Reſiſtance, the Garriſons ſhewing either great Cowardice, or great Inclinations to King *Charles*. By this, our Fleet had got a ſafe Port, to lie in and refit, and to retire into on all occaſions; for till then we had no place nearer than *Liſbon*: this was ſuch an Advantage to us, as made a great Impreſſion on all the Princes and States in *Italy*.

At

At this time the Pope began to threaten the Emperor with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and a War, for poſſeſſing himſelf of *Commachio*, and for taking Quarters in the Papal Territories: He levied Troops, and went often to review them, not without the Affectation of ſhewing himſelf a General, as if he had been again to draw the Sword as St. *Peter* did: He opened *Sixtus* the Fifth's Treaſure, and took out of it 500,000 Crowns for this Service: Many were afraid, that this War ſhould have brought the Emperor's Affairs into a new Entanglement; for the Court of *France* laid hold of this Rupture, and to inflame it, ſent Mareſchal *Teſſe* to *Rome*, to encourage the Pope, with great Aſſurances of Support: He was alſo ordered to try, if the great Duke and the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, could be engaged in an Alliance, againſt the Imperialiſts. 1708. The Pope threatens the Emperor with Cenſures and a War.

The Emperor bore all the Pope's Threats, with great patience, till the Duke of *Savoy* ended the Campaign: That Duke, at the firſt opening of it, marched into *Savoy*, from whence it was thought his Deſigns were upon *Dauphiny*. *Villars* was ſent againſt him, to defend that Frontier; tho' he did all he could to decline that Command: He drew all his Forces together to cover *Dauphiny*; and by theſe Motions, the Paſſage into the *Alps* was now open: ſo the Duke of *Savoy* ſecured that, and then marched back to beſiege firſt *Exilles*, and then *Feneſtrella*, two Places ſtrong by their Situation, from whence Excurſions could have been made into *Piedmont*; ſo that in caſe of any Misfortune, in that Duke's Affairs, they would have been very uneaſy Neighbours to him: he took them both. The greateſt Difficulty in thoſe Sieges, was from the Impracticableneſs of the Ground, which drew them out into ſuch a length, that the Snow began to fall, by the time both were taken. By this means the *Alps* were cleared, and *Dauphiny* was now open to him: He was alſo Maſter of the Valley of *Pragelas*, and all things were ready, for a greater Progreſs in another Campaign. The Duke of *Savoy* took *Exilles* and *Feneſtrella*.

The Emperor's Troops, that were commanded by him, were, at the end of the Seaſon, ordered to march into the Pope's Territories; and were joined by ſome more Troops, drawn out of the *Milaneze* and the *Mantuan*. The Pope's Troops began the War, in a very barbarous manner; for while they were in a ſort of a Ceſſation, they ſurprized a Body of the *Imperialiſts*, and without Mercy put them all to the Sword: But as the Imperial Army advanced, the *Papalins*, or, as the *Italians* in deriſion called them, the *Papagallians*, fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's Territories and Places were all caſt open to them: *Bologna*, the moſt important, and the richeſt of them all, capitulated; and received them without the leaſt Reſiſtance. The People of *Rome* were uneaſy at the Pope's Proceedings, and at the Apprehenſions of a new Sack from a *German* Army: They ſhewed this ſo openly, that Tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly againſt this War. The Emperor ſent a Miniſter to *Rome*, to ſee if Matters could be accommodated: But the Terms propoſed ſeemed to be of hard Digeſtion, for the Pope was required to acknowledge King *Charles*, and in every particular to comply with the Emperor's Demands.

The Pope was amazed at his ill Succeſs, and at thoſe high Terms; but there was no Remedy left: The ill State of Affairs in *France*, was now ſo viſible, that no regard was had to the great Promiſes, which Mareſchal *Teſſe* was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of *Italy*, into an Alliance for his Defence. In concluſion, the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's Demands long enough, to give the *Imperialiſts* time to eat up his Country, at laſt ſubmitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King *Charles* for ſome Months, tho' he then promiſed to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his Troops out of his Territories. The Pope turned over the manner of acknowledging King *Charles*, to a Congregation of Cardinals: But they had no mind to take the load of this upon themſelves, which would draw an Excluſion upon them from *France*, in every Conclave; they left it to the Pope, and he affected Delays: So that it was not done, till the end of the following Year. The Pope is obliged to ſubmit to the Emperor. And acknowledged K. *Charles*.

The Affairs in *Hungary* continued in the ſame ill State, in which they had been for ſome Years: The Emperor did not grant the Demands of the Diet, that he had called; nor did he redreſs their Grievances, and he had not a Force ſtrong Affairs in *Hungary*.

1708 enough to reduce the Malecontents: So that his Council could not fall on Methods, either to ſatisfy, or to ſubdue them.

And in *Poland.* *Poland* continued ſtill to be a Scene of War and Miſery; to their other Calamities, they had the addition of a Plague, which laid ſome of their great Towns waſte: The Party, formed againſt *Staniſlaus*, continued ſtill to oppoſe him, tho' they had no King to head them: The King of *Sweden*'s warlike Humour poſſeſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to march into *Muſcovy*. The Czar tried, how far Submiſſions and Interceſſions could ſoften him; but he was inflexible: He marched thro' the *Ukrain*, but made no great progreſs: The whole *Muſcovite* Force fell on one of his Generals, that had about him only a Part of his Army, and gave him a total Defeat, moſt of his Horſe being cut off. After that we were, for many Months, without any certain News from thoſe Parts: Both ſides pretended, they had great advantages; and as *Staniſlaus*'s Intereſts carried him to ſet out and magnify the *Swediſh* Succeſs, ſo the Party that oppoſed him ſtudied as much to raiſe the Credit of the *Muſcovites*: So that it was not yet eaſy to know, what to believe further, than that there had been no deciſive action, throughout the whole Year; nor was there any during the following Winter.

Affairs at Sea. Our Affairs at Sea were leſs unfortunate this Year, than they had been formerly: The Merchants were better ſerved with Convoys, and we had no conſiderable Loſſes. A Squadron that was ſent to the Bay of *Mexico*, met with the Galleons, and engaged them: If all their Captains had done their Duty, they had been all taken: Some few fought well. The Admiral of the Galleons, which carried a great Treaſure was ſunk; the Vice-Admiral was taken, and the Rear-Admiral run himſelf aſhore near *Cartagena*; the reſt got away. The Enemy loſt a great deal by this Action, though we did not gain ſo much as we might have done, if all our Captains had been brave and diligent. Another Squadron carried over the Queen of *Portugal*, which was performed with great Magnificence: ſhe had a quick and eaſy Paſſage. This did in ſome meaſure compenſate to that Crown for our failing them, in not ſending over the Supplies that we had ſtipulated; it was a particular Happineſs, that the *Spaniards* were ſo weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded State, in which the *Portugueze* were at this time.

Prince *George*'s Death, In the end of *October*, *George* Prince of *Denmark* died, in the Fifty-ſixth Year of his Age, after he had been Twenty-five Years, and ſome Months, married to the Queen: He was Aſthmatical, which grew on him with his Years; for ſome time he was conſidered as a dying Man, but the laſt Year of his Life, he ſeemed to be recovered, to a better State of Health. The Queen had been, during the whole courſe of her Marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate Wife: And in all his Illneſs, which laſted ſome Years, ſhe would never leave his Bed, but ſate up, ſometimes half the Night in the Bed by him, with ſuch Care and Concern, that ſhe was looked on very deſervedly, as a Pattern in this reſpect.

And Character. This Prince had ſhewed himſelf brave in War, both in *Denmark* and in *Ireland*: His Temper was mild and gentle: He had made a good progreſs in Mathematicks: He had travelled thro' *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and knew much more, than he could well expreſs; for he ſpoke acquired Languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all Vice: He meddled little in Buſineſs, even after the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown: He was ſo gained to the Tories, by the Act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their Intereſt: He was unhappily prevailed with, to take on him the Poſt of High-Admiral, of which he underſtood little; but was fatally led by thoſe, who had Credit with him, who had not all of them his good Qualities, but had both an ill Temper and bad Principles: His being bred to the Sea, gained him ſome Credit in thoſe Matters. In the Conduct of our Affairs, as great Errors were committed, ſo great Misfortunes had followed on them: All theſe were imputed to the Prince's Eaſineſs, and to his Favourite's ill Management and bad Deſigns. This drew a very heavy load on the Prince, and made his Death to be the leſs lamented: The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected with it.

A new Miniſtry. The Earl of *Pembroke* was now advanced to the Poſt of High-Admiral; which he entred on with great Uneaſineſs, and a juſt apprehenſion, of the Difficulty of main-

maintaining it well, in a time of War: He was at that time both Lord *President* of the Council, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Wharton* had the Government of *Ireland*, and the Lord *Sommers* was made Lord Preſident of the Council: The great Capacity and inflexible Integrity of this Lord, would have made his Promotion to this Poſt very acceptable to the Whigs, at any Juncture, but it was moſt particularly ſo at this time; for it was expected that Propoſitions for a general Peace would be quickly made; and ſo they reckoned, that the Management of that, upon which, not only the Safety of the Nation, but of all *Europe* depended, was in ſure hands, when he was ſet at the head of the Councils, upon whom, neither ill Practices nor falſe Colours were like to make any Impreſſion. Thus the Minds of all thoſe, who were truly zealous for the preſent Conſtitution, were much quieted by this Promotion; tho' their Jealouſies had a deep root, and were not eaſily removed. 1708

The Parliament was opened in the middle of *November*, with great advantage; for the preſent Miniſtry was now wholly ſuch, that it gave an entire content, to all who wiſhed well to our Affairs: And the great Succeſſes abroad, ſilenced thoſe who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to find fault, and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to Parliament, during this whole Seſſion: So it was managed by a Commiſſion repreſenting her Perſon. Sir *Richard Onſlow* was choſen Speaker, without the leaſt Oppoſition: He was a worthy Man, entirely zealous for the Government; he was very acceptable to the Whigs, and the Tories felt that they had ſo little Strength in this Parliament, that they reſolved to lie ſilent, and to wait for ſuch Advantages, as the Circumſtances of Affairs might give them. In the Houſe of Commons, the Supplies that were demanded, were granted very unanimouſly, not only for maintaining the Force then on foot, but for an Augmentation of 10000 more: This was thought neceſſary, to preſs the War with more force, as the ſureſt way to bring on a ſpeedy Peace: The *States* agreed to the like Augmentation on their ſide. The *French*, according to their uſual Vanity, gave out, that they had great Deſigns in view for the next Campaign: And it was confidently ſpread about by the *Jacobites*, that a new Invaſion was deſigned, both on *Scotland*, and on *Ireland*. At the end of the Campaign, Prince *Eugene* went to the Court of *Vienna*, which obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* to ſtay on the other ſide, till he returned. Things went on in both Houſes, according to the Directions given at Court, for the Court being now joined with the Whigs, they had a clear Majority in every thing: All Elections were judged in favour of Whigs and Courtiers, but with ſo much Partiality, that thoſe, who had formerly made loud Complaints of the Injuſtice of the Tories, in determining Elections, when they were a Majority, were not ſo much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the ſame thing: They pretended they were in a State of War with the Tories, ſo that it was reaſonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former Proceedings: But this did not ſatisfy juſt and upright Men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their Friends. The Houſe of Commons voted a Supply of ſeven Millions, for the Service of the enſuing Year; the Land-Tax, and the Duty on Malt, were readily agreed to: But it took ſome time to find a Fund for the reſt, that they had voted.

A new Parliament opened.

A Petition, of a new nature, was brought before the Lords, with relation to the Election of the Peers from *Scotland*: There was a Return made in due form, but a Petition was laid before the Houſe in the name of four Lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned: The Duke of *Queensbury* had been created a Duke of *Great Britain*, by the Title of Duke of *Dover*, yet he thought he had ſtill a right to vote as a Peer of *Scotland*: He had likewiſe a Proxy, ſo that two Votes depended on this point, whether the *Scotch* Peerage did ſink into the Peerage of *Great Britain*. Some Lords, who were Priſoners in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* on ſuſpicion, as favouring the Pretender, had ſent for the Sheriff of *Lothian* to the Caſtle, and had taken the Oaths before him; and upon that, were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a Proxy; now it was pretended, that the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was a Conſtabulatory, and was out of the Sheriff's Juriſdiction; and that therefore, he could not legally tender them 1709

Debates concerning the Elections of the Peers of *Scotland*.

1709

the Oaths: Some Proxies were ſigned, without ſubſcribing Witneſſes, a Form neceſſary by their Law: Other Exceptions were alſo taken, from ſome Rules of the Law of *Scotland*, which had not been obſerved. The Clerks being alſo complained of, they were ſent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all Inſtruments or Documents relating to the Election: When they came up, and every thing was laid before the Houſe of Lords, the whole Matter was long and well debated.

A *Scotiſh* Peer created a Peer of *Great Britain* was to have no Vote there.

As to the Duke of *Queensbury*'s voting among the *Scotch* Lords, it was ſaid, that if a Peer of *Scotland*, being made a Peer of *Great Britain*, did ſtill retain his Intereſt in electing the Sixteen from *Scotland*, this would create a great Inequality among Peers; ſome having a Vote by Repreſentation, as well as in Perſon: The Precedent was miſchievous, ſince by the creating ſome of the chief Families in *Scotland*, Peers of *Great Britain*, they would be able to carry the whole Election of the Sixteen, as they pleaſed. It was objected, that by a Clauſe in the Act paſſed ſince the Union, the Peers of *England*, (who were likewiſe Peers of *Scotland*) had a Right to vote, in the Election of *Scotland*, ſtill reſerved to them, ſo there ſeemed to be a Parity in this Caſe with that: But it was anſwered, that a Peer of *England* and a Peer of *Scotland* held their Dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great Seals: But *Great Britain*, including *Scotland* as well as *England*, the *Scotch* Peerage muſt now merge in that of *Great Britain*: Beſides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both Kingdoms, before the Union; ſo that, as it might be reaſonable to make Proviſion for them, ſo was it of no great conſequence, but if this Precedent were allowed, it might go much further, and have very ill Conſequences. Upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, the Matter was determined againſt the Duke of *Queensbury*.

Other Exceptions were determined.

A great deal was ſaid both at the Bar by Lawyers, and in the Debate in the Houſe, upon the point of Juriſdiction, and of the Exemption of a Conſtabulatory: It was ſaid that the Sheriffs Court ought to be, as all Courts were, open and free; and ſo could not be held within a Caſtle or Priſon: But no expreſs Deciſion had ever been made in this Matter. The Priſoners had taken the Oaths, which was the chief Intent of the Law, in the beſt manner they could; ſo that it ſeemed not reaſonable to cut them off from the main Privilege of Peerage, that was reſerved to them, becauſe they could not go abroad to the Sheriffs Court: After a long Debate, it was carried, that the Oaths were duly tendred to them. Some other Exceptions were proved and admitted, the Returns of ſome, certifying that they had taken the Oaths, were not ſealed, and ſome had ſigned theſe, without ſubſcribing Witneſſes: Other Exceptions were offered from Proviſions the Law of *Scotland* had made, with relation to Bonds and other Deeds, which had not been obſerved in making of Proxies: But the Houſe of Lords did not think theſe were of that Importance, as to vacate the Proxies on that account. So, after a full Hearing, and a Debate that laſted many Days, there was but one of the Peers, that was returned, who was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into the Houſe; the Marqueſs of *Annandale* was received, and the Marqueſs of *Lothian* was ſet aſide.

A Faction among the *Scots*.

The *Scotch* Members in both Houſes were divided into Factions: The Duke of *Queensbury* had his Party, ſtill depending on him: He was in ſuch credit with the Lord Treaſurer and the Queen, that all the Poſts in *Scotland* were given to Perſons recommended by him: The chief Miniſters at Court ſeemed to have laid it down for a Maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully to Elections in *Scotland*; that the Members returned from thence, might be in an entire Dependance on them, and be either Whigs or Tories, as they ſhould ſhift ſides. The Duke of *Queensbury* was made third Secretary of State; he had no foreign Province aſſigned him, but *Scotland* was left to his Management: The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montroſs*, and *Roxburgh*, had ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to his Power, and had carried many Elections againſt him: The Lord *Sommers* and *Sunderland* ſupported them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treaſurer, to bring them into an equal ſhare of the Adminiſtration; this had almoſt occaſioned a Breach; for the Whigs, tho' they went on in a Conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer, yet continued ſtill to be jealous of him.

1709

An Act concerning Trials of Treasons in *Scotland.*

Another Act was brought on and passed in this Session, with relation to *Scotland*, which gave occasion to great and long Debates; what gave rise to it was this: Upon the Attempt made by the Pretender, many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, who had all along adhered to that Interest, were secured; and after the Fleet was got back to *Dunkirk*, and the Danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up Prisoners to *London*; when they came, there was no Evidence at all against them, so they were dismissed, and sent back to *Scotland*. No Exceptions could be taken to the securing them, while there was Danger: But since nothing besides Presumptions lay against them, the bringing them up to *London*, at such a Charge, and under such a Disgrace, was much censured, as an unreasonable and unjust Severity; and was made use of, to give that Nation a further aversion to the Union. That whole Matter was managed by the *Scotch* Lords then in the Ministry, by which, they both revenged themselves on some of their Enemies, and made a shew of Zeal for the Government; tho' such as did not believe them sincere in these Professions, thought it was done on design to exasperate the *Scots* the more, and so to dispose them to wish for another Invasion. The Whig Ministry in *England* disowned all these Proceedings, and used the *Scots* Prisoners so well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord *Godolphin* fatally adhered to the *Scotch* Ministers, and supported them, by which, the advantage that might have been made from these severe Proceedings was lost; but the chief occasion given, to the Act concerning Treasons in *Scotland*, was from a Trial of some Gennlemen of that Kingdom, who had left their Houses, when the Pretender was on the Sea, and had gone about armed, and in so secret and suspicious a manner, that it gave great cause of Jealousy: There was no clear Evidence to convict them, but there were very strong, if not violent Presumptions against them: Some Forms in the Trial had not been observed, which the criminal Court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with. But the Queen's Advocate Sir *James Stuart* was of another mind: The Court thought it was necessary by their Laws, that the Names of the Witnesses should have been signified to the Prisoners fifteen Days before their Trial: But the Queen's Advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief Witnesses; so the Court could not hear their Evidence: He did not upon that move for a Delay, so the Trial went on, and the Gentlemen were acquitted. Severe Expostulations passed between the Queen's Advocate and the Court: They complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their Complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the Laws in *Scotland*, concerning Trials in Cases of Treason, were not fixed nor certain: So a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the *Scotch* Members, that it was dropt in the Committee: It was taken up and managed with more Zeal by the Lords.

The Heads of the Act.

It consisted of three Heads: All Crimes, which were High Treason by the Law of *England* (and these only) were to be High-Treason in *Scotland*: The Manner of proceeding settled in *England* was to be observed in *Scotland*; and the Pains and Forfeitures were to be the same in both Nations. The *Scotch* Lords opposed every Branch of this Act: They moved, that all things that were High-Treason by the Law of *England*, might be enumerated in the Act, for the Informatian of the *Scotch* Nation: Otherwise they must study the Book of Statutes, to know when they were safe, and when they were guilty. To this it was answered, that Direction would be given to the Judges, to publish an Abstract of the Laws of High-Treason, which would be a sufficient Information to the People of *Scotland*, in this matter: That Nation would by this means be in a much safer condition, than they were now; for the Laws they had, were conceived in such general Words, that the Judges might put such Constructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad Court; but they would by this Act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The Forms of proceeding in *Scotland.*

The Second Head in this Bill occasioned a much longer Debate: It changed the whole Method of Proceedings in *Scotland*: The former way there was, tho Queen's Advocate signed a Citation of the Persons, setting forth the special Matter of High-Treason, of which they were accused; this was to be delivered to them, together with the Names of the Witnesses, fifteen Days before the Trial.

1709 When the Jury was empannelled, no peremptory Challenges were allowed; Reasons were to be offered with every Challenge, and if the Court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the Matter of the Charge, which is there called the Relevancy of the Libel, was to be argued by Lawyers, whether the Matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to High-Treason or not; this was to be determined by a Sentence of the Court, called the *Interloquitur*: And the Proof of the Fact was not till then to be made: Of that the Jury had the Cognizance. Anciently the Verdict went with the Majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late Act, the Verdict was to be given, upon the Agreement of two third Parts of the Jury: In the Sentence, the Law did not limit the Judges to a certain Form, but they could aggravate the Puishment, or moderate it, according to the Circumstances of the Case, all this method was to be set aside: A Grand Jury was to find the Bill, the Judges were only to regulate Proceedings, and to declare what the Law was, and the whole Matter of the Indictment was to be left entirely to the Jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their Verdict.

In one particular, the Forms in *Scotland* were much preferable to those in *England*; the Depositions of the Witnesses were taken indeed by Word of Mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the Witnesses; they were sent in to the Jury; and these were made a part of the Record. This was very slow and tedious, but the Jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the Evidence; and the Matter was more clearly delivered down to Posterity: whereas the Records in *England* are very defective, and give no light to a Historian, that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the *History of the Reformation*.

The *Scotch* opposed this Alteration of their way of Proceeding; they said, that neither the Judges, the Advocates, nor the Clerks would know how to manage a Trial of Treason: They insisted most on the having the Names of the Witnesses, to be given to the Persons, some Days before their Trial: It seemed reasonable, that a Man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his Life, and see what Credit ought to be given to him: On the other hand it was said, this would open a door to much Practice, either upon the Witnesses to corrupt them, or in suborning other Witnesses, to defame them. To this it was answered, that a guilty Man knew what could be brought against him, and without such notice would take all the Methods possible to defend himself: But Provision ought to be made for innocent Men, whose chief guilt might be a good Estate, upon which a Favourite might have an eye: and therefore such Persons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards so much softened, that it was only desired, that the Names of the Witnesses, that had given evidence to the Grand Jury should, upon their finding the Bill, be signified to the Prisoner, five Days before his Trial. Upon a Division of the House on this Question, the Votes were equal; so by the Rule of the House, that in such a case the Negative prevails, it was lost. Upon the third Head of the Bill, the Debates grew still warmer: In *Scotland* many Families were settled by long Entails and Perpetuities; so it was said, that since, by one of the Articles of the Union, all private Rights were still preserved, no Breach could be made on these Settlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither just nor reasonable to set the Children on begging, for their Father's Faults: The *Romans*, during their Liberty, never thought of carrying Punishments so far: It was an Invention, under the Tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular Revenue called the *Fisc*, and all Forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called Confiscations: It was never the Practice of free Governments: *Bologna* flourished beyond any Town in the Pope's Dominions, because they made it an Article of their Capitulation with the Pope, that no Confiscation should follow on any Crime whatsoever. In *Holland* the Confiscation was redeemable by so very small a Sum, as an Hundred Guilders: Many Instances could be brought of Prosecutions, only to obtain the Confiscation: But none of the Lords seconded me in this; it was acknowledged, that this was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed in good times, but since we were now exposed to so much Danger from abroad, it did not seem advisable to abate the Severity of the Law: But Clauses were agreed to, by which, upon Marriages, Settlements might be made in

Of the Forfeitures in Cases of Treason.

in *Scotland*, as was practiſed in *England*; for no Eſtate is forfeited for the Crime of him, who is only Tenant for Life. By this Act alſo, Tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* as in *England*, for trying Treaſons: The *Scotch* inſiſted on this, that the Juſticiary or the Criminal Court being preſerved by an Article of the Union, this broke in upon that. It was anſwered, the Criminal Court was ſtill to ſit, in the Times regulated: But theſe Commiſſions were granted upon ſpecial Occaſions. In the Intervals, between the Terms, it might be neceſſary upon ſome Emergency not to delay Trials too long: But to give ſome content, it was provided by a Clauſe, that a Judge of the Criminal Court ſhould be always one of the *Quorum*, in theſe Commiſſions: So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of all the *Scotch* Lords, with whom many of the Tories concurred; they being diſpoſed to oppoſe the Court in every thing, and to make Treaſon as little to be dreaded as poſſible. 1709

The Bill met with the ſame Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons; yet it paſſed with two Amendments: By one, the Names of the Witneſſes, that had appeared before the Grand Jury, were ordered to be ſent to the Priſoner, ten Days before his Trial: The other was, that no Eſtate in Land was to be forfeited, upon a Judgment of High-Treaſon: This came up fully to the Motion I had made. Both theſe Amendments were looked on as ſuch popular things, that it was not probable, that the Houſe of Commons would recede from them: Upon that, the Whigs in the Houſe of Lords did not think fit to oppoſe them, or to loſe the Bill: So it was moved to agree to theſe Amendments, with this Proviſo, that they ſhould not take place till after the Death of the *Pretender*: It was ſaid, that ſince he aſſumed the Title of King of *Great-Britain*, and had ſo lately attempted to invade us, it was not reaſonable to leſſen the Puniſhment, and the Dread of Treaſon, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be ſtill a Pretender after him, ſince ſo many Perſons ſtood in the Lineal Deſcent before the Houſe of *Hanover*; ſo that this Proviſo ſeemed to be, upon the Matter, the rejecting the Amendment: but it was obſerved, that to pretend to the Right of ſucceeding, was a different thing from aſſuming the Title, and attempting an Invaſion. The Amendment was received by the Houſe of Lords with this Proviſo; thoſe who were againſt the whole Bill, did not agree to it. The Houſe of Commons conſented to the Proviſo, which the Lords had added to their Amendment, with a further Addition, that it ſhould not take Place till three Years after the Houſe of *Hanover* ſhould ſucceed to the Crown. Amendments to the Act.

This met with great Oppoſition, it was conſidered as a diſtinguiſhing Character of thoſe, who were for or againſt the preſent Conſtitution, and the Succeſſion; the *Scots* ſtill oppoſing it on the account of their formal Laws: Both Parties muſtered up their Strength, and many, who had gone into the Country, were brought up on this occaſion: So that the Bill, with all the Amendments and Proviſo's, was carried by a ſmall Majority; the Lords agreeing to this new Amendment. The *Scotch* Members in both Houſes ſeemed to apprehend, that the Bill would be very odious in their Country; ſo to maintain their Intereſt at home, they, who were divided in every thing elſe, did agree in oppoſing this Bill. It paſſed in both Houſes.

The Court apprehended from the Heat, with which the Debates were managed, and the Difficulty in carrying the Bill thro' both Houſes, that ill-diſpoſed Men would endeavour to poſſeſs People, with Apprehenſions of bad Deſigns and Severities, that would be ſet on foot; ſo they reſolved to have an Act of Grace immediately upon it: It was the firſt the Queen had ſent, tho' ſhe had then reigned above ſeven Years: The Miniſters, for their own ſake, took care that it ſhould be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former Act of Grace, all Treaſons committed before the ſigning the Act, which was the 19th of *April*, were pardoned, thoſe only excepted that were done upon the Sea: By this, thoſe who had imbarked with the Pretender were ſtill at mercy. This Act, according to form, was read once in both Houſes, and with the uſual Compliments of Thanks, and with that the Seſſion ended. An Act of Grace.

1709

An Enlargement of the Bank.

Other things of great Importance paſſed during this Seſſion: The Houſe of Commons voted an Enlargement of the *Bank*, almoſt to three Millions, upon which, the Books were opened to receive new Subſcriptions: and to the Admiration of all *Europe*, as well as of our ſelves at home, the whole Sum was ſubſcribed in a few Hours time: This ſhewed both the Wealth of the Nation, and the Confidence that all People had in the Government. By this Subſcription, and by a further Prolongation of the General Mortgage of the Revenue, they created great Funds, for anſwering all the Money, that they had voted in the beginning of the Seſſion.

Great Riches in *Portugal*.

Our Trade was now very high; and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at *Lisbon*: For the *Portugueze* were ſo happy, in their Dominions in *America*, that they diſcovered vaſt Quantities of Gold in their Mines, and we were aſſured that they had brought home to *Portugal*, the former Year, about four Millions *Sterling*, of which they, at that time, ſtood in great need, for they had a very bad Harveſt: But Gold anſwers all things: They were ſupplied from *England* with Corn, and we had in return a large ſhare of their Gold.

An Act for a General Naturalization of all Proteſtants.

An Act paſſed in this Seſſion, that was much deſired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aſide in ſo many former Parliaments, that there was ſcarce any hopes left to encourage a new Attempt: It was for naturalizing all foreign Proteſtants, upon their taking the Oaths to the Government, and their receiving the Sacrament in any Proteſtant Church. Thoſe who were againſt the Act, ſoon perceived that they could have no Strength, if they ſhould ſet themſelves directly to oppoſe it; ſo they ſtudied to limit Strangers in the receiving the Sacrament, to the way of the Church of *England*. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to come among us: For the much greater part of the *French* came into the way of our Church. But it was thought beſt to caſt the Door as wide open as poſſible, for encouraging of Strangers: And therefore ſince, upon their firſt coming over, ſome might chuſe the Way, to which they had been accuſtomed beyond Sea, it ſeemed the more inviting Method to admit of all who were in any Proteſtant Communion: This was carried in the Houſe of Commons, with a great Majority; but all thoſe, who appeared for this large and comprehenſive way, were reproached for their Coldneſs and Indifference in the Concerns of the Church: And in that I had a large ſhare; as I ſpoke copiouſly for it, when it was brought up to the Lords: the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſpoke as zealouſly againſt it, for he ſeemed reſolved to diſtinguiſh himſelf, as a Zealot for that which was called High-Church. The Bill paſſed with very little Oppoſition.

An Addreſs to the Queen when a Treaty of Peace ſhould be opened.

There was all this Winter great talk of Peace; which the Miſeries and Neceſſity of *France* ſeemed to drive them to: This gave occaſion to a Motion, concerted among the Whigs, and opened by the Lord *Halifax*, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to conclude no Peace with *France*, till they ſhould diſown the Pretender, and ſend him out of that Kingdom, and till the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſhould be univerſally owned, and that a Guaranty ſhould be ſettled among the Allies for ſecuring it. None durſt venture to oppoſe this, ſo it was eaſily agreed to, and ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, for their Concurrence. They preſently agreed to it, but added to it, a Matter of great importance, that the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* ſhould be likewiſe inſiſted on, before any Peace were concluded: So both Houſes carried this Addreſs to the Queen, who received and anſwered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Tranſactions of this Seſſion of Parliament, which was concluded on the 21ſt of *April*.

The Convocation was put off by a Prorogation.

The Convocation was ſummoned, choſen, and returned as the Parliament was: But it was too evident, that the ſame ill Temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did ſtill prevail, tho' not with ſuch a Majority: When the day came, in which it was to be opened, a Writ was ſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for ſome Months: and at the end of theſe, there came another Writ, ordering a further Prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this Seſſion of Parliament; by this a pre-

a preſent Stop was put to the factious Temper of thoſe, who ſtudied to recommend themſelves by embroiling the Church. 1709

It did not cure them; for they continued ſtill by Libels and falſe Stories to animate their Party: and ſo catching a thing is this turbulent Spirit, when once it prevails among Clergymen, that the ſame ill Temper began to ferment and ſpread it ſelf among the Clergy of *Ireland*; none of thoſe Diſputes had ever been thought of in that Church formerly, as they had no Records nor Minutes of former Convocations. The Faction here in *England* found out proper Inſtruments, to ſet the ſame Humour on foot, during the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s Government, and, as was ſaid, by his Directions: And it being once ſet a going, it went on by reaſon of the Indolence of the ſucceeding Governours: So the Clergy were making the ſame bold Claim there, that had raiſed ſuch Diſputes among us; and upon that, the Party here publiſhed thoſe Pretenſions of theirs, with their uſual Confidence, as founded on a clear Poſſeſſion and Preſcription: And drew an Argument from that, to juſtify and ſupport their own Pretenſions, tho' thoſe in *Ireland* never dreamed of them, till they had the Pattern and Encouragement from hence. This was received by the Party with great Triumph, into ſuch indirect Practices do Mens ill Deſigns and Animoſities engage them: But tho' this whole Matter was well detected and made appear, to their ſhame, who had built ſo much upon it, yet Parties are never out of countenance; but when one Artifice fails, they will lay out for another. The ſecret Encouragement, with which they did moſt effectually animate their Party, was, that the Queen's Heart was with them: And that tho' the War, and the other Circumſtances of her Affairs, obliged her at preſent to favour the moderate Party, yet as ſoon as a Peace brought on a better Settlement, they promiſed themſelves all Favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that ſhe herſelf, or any by her order, gave them theſe Hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguiſh thoſe Hopes, which were not done: ſo that they ſeemed to be left to pleaſe themſelves with thoſe Expectations, which kept ſtill Life in their Party; and indeed it was but too viſible, that the much greater part of the Clergy, were in a very ill Temper, and under very bad Influences; Enemies to the Toleration, and ſoured againſt the Diſſenters.

A Faction among the Clergy of *Ireland*.

An ill Temper among our Clergy ſtill kept up.

I now muſt relate the Negotiations, that the *French* ſet on foot for a Peace. Soon after the Battle of *Ramellies*, the Elector of *Bavaria* gave out Hopes of a Peace; and that the King of *France* would come to a Treaty of Partition; that *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould go to King *Charles*, if the Dominions of *Italy* were given to King *Philip*. They hoped that *England* and the *States* would agree to this, as leſs concerned in *Italy*: But they knew, the Court of *Vienna* would never hearken to it; for they valued the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands near them, much more than all the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. But at the ſame time, that *Lewis* the XIVth was tempting us, with the Hopes of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; by a Letter to the Pope, that King offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*. The Parliament had always declared, the ground of the War to be, the reſtoring the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, (which indeed the *States* had never done) ſo the Duke of *Marlborough* could not hearken to this: He convinced the *States* of the treacherous Deſigns of the Court of *France*, in this Offer, and it was not entertained.

Negotiations for Peace.

The Court of *Vienna* was ſo alarmed at the Inclinations, ſome had expreſſed towards the entertaining this Project, that this was believed to be the ſecret Motive of the Treaty, the ſucceeding Winter, for evacuating the *Milaneſe*, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately, the Summer after, in their Deſigns upon *Naples*; for by this means they became Maſters of both. The *French* being now reduced to great Extremities, by their conſtant ill Succeſs, and by the Miſeries of their People, reſolved to try the *States* again; and when the Duke of *Marlborough* came over to *England*, Mr. *Rouille* was ſent to *Holland*, with general Offers of Peace, deſiring them to propoſe what it was they inſiſted on: And he offered them, as good a Barrier for themſelves as they could ask. The *States*, contrary to their Expectation, reſolved to adhere firmly to their Confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate Treaty, but in conjunction with their Allies: ſo, upon the Duke of

1709 *Marlborough*'s Return, they, with their Allies, began to prepare Preliminaries, to be firſt agreed to, before a general Treaty ſhould be opened: They had been ſo well acquainted with the perfidious Methods of the *French* Court, when a Treaty was once opened, to divide the Allies, and to create Jealouſies among them, and had felt ſo ſenſibly the ill Effects of this, both at *Nimeguen* and *Ryſwick*, that they reſolved to uſe all neceſſary Precautions for the future; ſo Preliminaries were prepared, and the Duke of *Marlborough* came over hither, to concert them with the Miniſtry at home.

In this ſecond Abſence of his, Mr. *de Torcy*, the Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, was ſent to the *Hague*, the better to diſpoſe the *States* to Peace, by the Influence of ſo great a Miniſter; no Methods were left untried, both with the *States* in general, and with every Man they ſpoke with in particular, to beget in them a full Aſſurance of the King's ſincere Intentions for Peace: But they knew the Artifices of that Court too well, to be ſoon deceived; ſo they made no Advances till the Duke of *Marlborough* came back, who carried over the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, to be conjunct Plenipotentiary with himſelf, reckoning the Load too great to bear it wholly on himſelf. The Choice was well made; for as Lord *Townſhend* had great Parts, had improved theſe by Travelling, and was by much the moſt ſhining Perſon of all our young Nobility, and had, on many Occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo he was a Man of great Integrity, and of good Principles in all reſpects, free from all Vice, and of an engaging Converſation.

The Preliminaries agreed on.

The Foundation of the whole Treaty was, the reſtoring of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to King *Charles*, within two Months: *Torcy* ſaid, the Time was too ſhort, and that perhaps it was not in the King of *France*'s power to bring that about; for the *Spaniards* ſeemed reſolved to ſtick to King *Philip*. It was, upon this, inſiſted on, that the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to concur with the Allies, to force it by all proper Methods: But this was not farther explained, for the Allies were well aſſured, that if it was ſincerely intended by *France*, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This therefore, being laid down as the Baſis of the Treaty, the other Preliminaries related to the reſtoring all the Places in the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and St. *Omer*; the demoliſhing or reſtoring of *Dunkirk*; the reſtoring of *Straſbourg*, *Briſack*, and *Huningen* to the Empire; *Newfoundland* to *England*; and *Savoy* to that Duke, beſides his continuing poſſeſſed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of *Pruſſia*'s Royal Dignity; and the Electorate in the Houſe of *Brunſwick*; the ſending the *Pretender* out of *France*, and the owning the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, as it was ſettled by Law. As all the great Intereſts were provided for, by theſe Preliminaries; ſo all other Matters were reſerved to be conſidered, when the Treaty of Peace ſhould be opened: A Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities was to begin, within two Months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat Treaty, and ratified: provided the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was then intirely reſtored. The *French* Plenipotentiaries ſeemed to be confounded at theſe Demands. *Torcy* excepted to the leaving *Exilles* and *Feneſtrella* in the Duke of *Savoy*'s hands; for he ſaid, he had no Inſtructions relating to them: But in concluſion, they ſeemed to ſubmit to them, and *Torcy* at parting deſired the Ratifications might be returned with all poſſible haſte, and promiſed that the King of *France*'s final Anſwer ſhould be ſent, by the fourth of *June*; but ſpoke of their Affairs as a Man in deſpair: He ſaid, he did not know but he might find King *Philip* at *Paris*, before he got thither, and ſaid all that was poſſible, to aſſure them of the Sincerity of the King of *France*, and to divert them from the Thoughts of opening the Campaign; but at the ſame time King *Philip* was getting his Son, the Prince of *Aſturias*, to be acknowledged, by all the Towns and Bodies of *Spain*, as the Heir of that Monarchy.

The King of *France* refuſes to ratify them.

Upon this outward Appearance of agreeing to the Preliminaries, all People looked upon the Peace to be as good as made; and Ratifications came from all the Courts of the Allies, but the King of *France* refuſed to agree to them: He pretended ſome Exceptions to the Articles, relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Savoy*; but inſiſted chiefly on that, of not beginning the Suſpenſion of Arms,

Arms, till the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be all reſtored; he ſaid, that was not in his power to execute; he ordered his Miniſter afterwards to yield up all but this laſt; and by a third Perſon, one *Pettecum*, it was offered, to put ſome more Towns into the hands of the Allies, to be kept by them, till *Spain* was reſtored. It appeared by this, that the *French* had no other Deſign in all this Negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill Underſtanding among the Allies, or, by the ſeeming great Conceſſions, for the Security of the *States*, provoke the People of *Holland* againſt their Magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the War, when they ſeemed to be ſafe; and they reckoned, if a Suſpenſion of Arms could be once obtained, upon any other Terms, than the reſtoring of *Spain*, then *France* would get out of the War, and the Allies muſt try, how they could conquer *Spain*. *France* had ſo perfidiouſly broke all their Treaties, during this King's Reign, that it was a Piece of inexcuſable Folly, to expect any other from them. In the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, where the Intereſt of *France* was not ſo deeply engaged, to preſerve *Portugal* from falling under the Yoke of *Caſtile*, as it was now to preſerve *Spain* in the hands of a Grandſon; after the King had ſworn to give no Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, yet, under the pretence of breaking ſome Bodies, he ſuffered them to be entertained by the *Portugueze* Ambaſſador, and ſent *Schomberg* to command that Army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a *German* by Birth, to go and and ſerve where he pleaſed: Under theſe Pretences, he had broke his Faith, where the Conſideration was not ſo ſtrong, as in the preſent Caſe. Thus it was viſible no Faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unleſs *Spain* was reſtored, all would prove a fatal Deluſion: Beſides, it came afterwards to be known, that the Places in *Brabant* and *Hainault*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, would not have been evacuated by him, unleſs he had Orders for it from the King of *Spain*, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: So the Eaſineſs, with which the *French* Miniſters yielded to the Preliminaries, was now underſtood to be an Artifice, to ſlacken the Zeal of the Confederates, in advancing the Campaign, as the leaſt Effect it would have: But in that, their hopes failed them, for there was no time loſt, in preparing to take the Field. 1709

I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good Authority, the uncertain Reports we had of Diſtractions in the Court of *France*, where it was ſaid, that the Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed the making a Peace, as neceſſary to prevent the Ruin of *France*, while the *Dauphin* preſſed more vehemently the continuance of the War, and the ſupporting of the King of *Spain*: It was ſaid, that Madam *Maintenon* appeared leſs at Court; *Chamillard*, who had moſt of her Favour, was diſmiſs'd; but it is not certain, what Influence that had on the publick Councils; and the Conduct of this whole Negotiation ſhewed plainly, that there was nothing deſigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the Confederates; and, if poſſible, to gain a ſeparate Peace for *France*; and then to let the Allies conquer *Spain* as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the Treachery of the *French* appeared ſo viſible, even to the People in *Holland*, that all the Hopes they had, of inflaming them againſt their Magiſtrates, likewiſe failed. The People in *France* were much wrought on, by this pretended Indignity, offered to their Monarch, to oblige him to force his Grandſon to abandon *Spain*; and even, here in *England*, there wanted not many, who ſaid it was a cruel Hardſhip put on the *French* King, to force him into ſuch an unnatural War: But if he was guilty of the Injuſtice, of putting him in poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, it was but a reaſonable piece of Juſtice, to undo what he himſelf had done: And it was ſo viſible, that King *Philip* was maintained on that Throne, by the Councils and Aſſiſtance of *France*, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of *France* had really deſigned it, he could eaſily have obliged him to relinquiſh all Pretenſions to that Crown.

Thus the Negotiations came ſoon to an end; without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and all the Miniſters at the *Hague* made great Acknowledgments to the Penſioner *Heinſius*, and to the *States*, for the Candor and Firmneſs they had expreſſed on that occaſion. The Miſeries of *France* were repreſented, from all Parts, as extreme great; the Proſpect both for Corn and Wine was ſo low, that they ſaw no Hope nor Relief. They ſent to all places for Corn, to The War went on.

1709 preſerve their People, many of the Ships that brought it to them, were taken by our Men of War; but this did not touch the Heart of their King, who ſeemed to have hardened himſelf, againſt the Senſe of the Miſeries of his People. *Villars* was ſent to command the Armies in *Flanders*, of whom the King of *France* ſaid, that he was never beaten; *Harcourt* was ſent to command on the *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Berwick* in *Dauphiny*. This Summer paſſed over, without any conſiderable Action in *Spain*: There was an Engagement on the Frontier of *Portugal*, in which the *Portugueze* behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; but the *Spaniards* did not purſue the Advantage they had by this Action: for they, apprehending that our Fleet might have a Deſign upon ſome part of their Southern Coaſt, were forced to draw their Troops from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to defend their own Coaſt; tho' we gave them no Diſturbance on that ſide.

In *Portugal.*

In *Spain.*

The King of *France*, to carry on the ſhow of a Deſign for Peace, withdrew his Troops out of *Spain*, but at the ſame time took care, to encourage the *Spaniſh* Grandees, and to ſupport his Grandſon: And ſince it was viſible, that either the *Spaniards*, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reaſonable to believe that the Allies, and not the *Spaniards*, were to feel the Effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The *French* General *Beſons*, who commanded in *Arragon*, had indeed Orders not to venture on a Battle, for that would have been too groſs a thing, to be in any wiſe palliated; but he continued all this Summer commanding their Armies. Nothing of any Importance paſſed on the ſide of *Dauphiny*: The Emperor continued ſtill to refuſe complying with the Duke of *Savoy*'s Demands; ſo he would not make the Campaign in Perſon, and his Troops kept on the defenſive. On the other hand, the *French*, as they ſaw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more, than cover their own Country. Little was expected on the *Rhine*; the *Germans* were ſo weak, ſo ill furniſhed, and ſo ill paid, that it was not eaſy for the Court of *Vienna*, to prevail on the Elector of *Brunſwick* to undertake the Command of that Army; yet he came at laſt: And upon his coming, the *French*, who had paſſed the *Rhine*, thought it was ſafeſt for them to repaſs that River, and to keep within their Lines. The Elector ſent Count *Mercy*, with a conſiderable Body, to paſs the *Rhine* near *Baſil*, and on deſign to break into *Franche Comté*; but a detached Body of the *French*, lying in their way, there followed a very ſharp Engagement; 2000 Men were reckoned to be killed on each ſide; but tho' the loſs of Men was reckoned equal, yet the Deſign miſcarried, and the *Germans* were forced to repaſs the *Rhine*. The reſt of the Campaign went over there, without any Action.

In *Dauphiny.*

In *Germany.*

And in *Flanders.*

The chief Scene was in *Flanders*; where the Duke of *Marlborough* truſting little to the Shews of Peace, had every thing in readineſs to open the Campaign, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the Court of *France*. The Army was formed near *Liſle*, and the *French* lay near *Doway*; the Train of Artillery was, by a Feint, brought up the *Lys* to *Courtray*; ſo it was believed the Deſign was upon *Ypres*, and there being no Apprehenſion of any Attempt on *Tournay*, no particular care was taken of it; but it was on the ſudden inveſted, and the Train was ſent back to *Ghendt*, and brought up the *Scheld* to *Tournay*. The Siege was carried on regularly: No Diſturbance was given to the Works by Sallies, ſo the Town capitulated within a Month, the Garriſon being allowed to retire into the Citadel, which was counted one of the ſtrongeſt in *Europe*, not only fortified with the utmoſt Exactneſs, but all the Ground was wrought into Mines; ſo that the Reſiſtance of the Garriſon was not ſo much apprehended, as the Miſchief they might do by blowing up their Mines. A Capitulation was propoſed, for delivering it up on the fifth of *September*, if it ſhould not be relieved ſooner, and that all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe till then. This was offered by the Garriſon, and agreed to by the Duke *Marlborough*; but the King of *France* would not conſent to it, unleſs there were a general Suſpenſion, by the whole Army, of all Hoſtilities; and that being rejected, the Siege went on. Many Men were loſt in it, but the Proceeding by Sap prevented much Miſchief; in the end no Relief came, and the Garriſon capitulated in the beginning of *September*, but could obtain no better Conditions, than to be made Priſoners of War.

Tournay is beſieged and taken.

1709

After this Siege was over, *Mons* was inveſted, and the Troops marched thither, as ſoon as they had levelled their Trenches about *Tournay*: But the Court of *France* reſolved to venture a Battle, rather than to look on, and ſee ſo important a Place taken from them. *Boufflers* was ſent from Court to join with *Villars*, in the Execution of this Deſign: They poſſeſſed themſelves of a Wood, and intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that in ſome places there were three Intrenchments caſt up, one within another. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* ſaw plainly, it was not poſſible to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, while the *French* Army lay ſo near it; ſo it was neceſſary to diſlodge them. The Attempt was bold, and they ſaw the Execution would be difficult, and coſt them many Men. This was the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, and laſted the longeſt. The *French* were poſted ſo advantageouſly, that our Men were oft repulſed; and indeed the *French* maintained their Ground better, and ſhewed more Courage, than appeared in the whole Courſe of the War: Yet in concluſion they were driven from all their Poſts, and the Action ended in a compleat Victory. The number of Slain was almoſt equal on both ſides, about 12000 of a ſide. We took 500 Officers Priſoners, beſides many Cannon, Standards, and Enſigns. *Villars* was diſabled by ſome Wounds he received, ſo *Boufflers* made the Retreat in good order. The Military Men have always talked of this, as the ſharpeſt Action in the whole War, not without reflecting on the Generals, for beginning ſo deſperate an Attack. The *French* thought it a ſort of a Victory, that they had animated their Men, to fight ſo well behind Entrenchments, and to repulſe our Men ſo often, and with ſo great Loſs. They retired to *Valenciennes*, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up ſtrong Lines, while they left our Army to carry on the Siege of *Mons*, without giving them the leaſt Diſturbance. As ſoon as the Train of Artillery was brought from *Bruſſels*, the Siege was carried on with great Vigour, tho' the Seaſon was both cold and rainy: The Outworks were carried with little Reſiſtance, and *Mons* capitulated about the end of *October*; with that the Campaign ended, both Armies retiring into Winter Quarters.

The Battle of *Blarignies*.

Mons beſieged and taken.

The moſt important thing, that relates to *Italy*, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King *Charles*, by ſeveral pretended Difficulties; his Deſign being to ſtay and ſee the Iſſue of the Campaign; but when he was threatned, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the Imperial Army ſhould come and take up their Winter-Quarters in the Eccleſiaſtical State, he ſubmitted, and acknowledged him. He ſent alſo his Nephew *Albano*, firſt to *Vienna*, and then to *Poland*; he furniſhed him with a magnificent Retinue, and ſeemed to hope, that by the Services he ſhould do to the Papal Intereſts there, he ſhould be preſſed to make him a Cardinal, notwithſtanding the Bull againſt Nepotiſm.

Affairs in *Italy*.

In *Catalonia*, *Staremberg*, after he received Reinforcements from *Italy*, advanced towards the *Segra*, and having for ſome days amuſed the Enemy, he paſſed the River: The *Spaniards* deſigned to give him Battle, But *Beſons*, who commanded the *French* Troops, refuſed to engage; this provoked the *Spaniards* ſo much, that King *Philip* thought it was neceſſary to leave *Madrid*, and go to the Army; *Beſons* produced his Orders from the King of *France*, to avoid all Engagements, with which he ſeemed much mortified. *Staremberg* advanced and took *Balaguer*, and made the Garriſon Priſoners of War; and with that the Campaign on that ſide was at an end.

Affairs in *Spain*.

This Summer brought a Cataſtrophe on the Affairs of the King of *Sweden*: He reſolved to invade *Muſcovy*, and engaged himſelf ſo far into the *Ukrain*, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating, or of having Reinforcements brought him. He engaged a great Body of *Coſſacks* to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the *Czar*: He met with great Misfortunes, in the end of the former Year, but nothing could divert him from his Deſigns againſt *Muſcovy*: He paſſed the *Nieper*, and beſieged *Pultowa*: The *Czar* marched to raiſe the Siege, with an Army in number much ſuperior to the *Swedes*; but the King of *Sweden* reſolved to venture on a Battel, in which he received ſuch a total Defeat, that he loſt his Camp, his Artillery, and Baggage: A great Part of his Army got off, but being cloſely purſued by the *Muſcovites*, and having neither Bread nor Ammunition, they were all made Priſoners of War.

The King of *Sweden's* Defeat.

1709

The King flies into *Turkey*.

The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſſed the *Nieper*, and got into the *Turkiſh* Dominions, and ſettled at *Bender*, a Town in *Moldavia*. Upon this great Reverſe of his Affairs, King *Auguſtus* pretended, that the Reſignation of the Crown of *Poland* was extorted from him by Force, and that it was not in his Power to reſign the Crown, by which he was tied to the Republick of *Poland*, without their Conſent: ſo he marched into *Poland*, and *Staniſlaus* was not able to make any Reſiſtance, but continued under the Protection of the *Swedes*, waiting for another Reverſe of Fortune. A Project was formed to engage the Kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia*, with King *Auguſtus* and the *Czar*, to attack the *Swedes* in ſo many different Places, that the extravagant Humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy Storm upon them; if *England* and the *States*, with the Court of *Vienna*, had not cruſhed all this, and entered into a Guaranty, for preſerving the Peace of the Empire, and by conſequence, of the *Swediſh* Dominions in *Germany*. *Dantzick* was at this time ſeverely viſited with a Plague, which ſwept away almoſt one half of their Inhabitants, tho' few of the better ſort died of the Infection. This put their Neighbours under great Apprehenſions, they feared the ſpreading of the Contagion; but it pleaſed God it went no farther. This ſudden, and, as it ſeemed, total Reverſe of all the Deſigns of the King of *Sweden*, who had been for many Years the Terror of all his Neighbours, made me write to Dr. *Robinſon*, who had lived above 30 Years in that Court, and is now Biſhop of *Briſtol*, for a particular Character of that King, I ſhall ſet it down in his own Words.

His Character.

He is now in the 28th Year of his Age, tall and ſlender, ſtoops a little, and in his walking diſcovers, tho' in no great degree, the effect of breaking his Thigh-bone about eight Years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy Conſtitution, takes a pleaſure in enduring the greateſt Fatigues, and is little curious about his Repoſe: His chief and almoſt only Exerciſe has been riding, in which he has been extremely exceſſive: He uſually eats with a good Appetite, eſpecially in the Morning, which is the beſt of his three Meals: He never drinks any thing but ſmall Beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He ſpeaks little, is very thoughtful, and is obſerved to mind nothing ſo much as his own Affairs, laying his Deſigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no Councils of War; and tho' in Civil Affairs his Miniſters have leave to explain their Thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own Judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on ſuch Methods, as are fartheſt from their Thoughts: So that, both his Miniſters and Generals have hitherto had the Glory of Obedience, without either the Praiſe or Blame of having adviſed prudently or otherwiſe. The reaſon of his Reſervedneſs in conſulting others, may be thus accounted for; he came, at the Age of fifteen, to ſucceed, in an abſolute Monarchy, and by the forward Zeal of the States of the Kingdom, was in a few Months declared to be of Age: There were thoſe about him, that magnified his Underſtanding, as much as his Authority, and inſinuated that he neither needed Advice, nor could ſubmit his Affairs to the Deliberation of others, without ſome Diminution of his own ſupreme Power. Theſe Impreſſions had not all their effect, till after the War was begun, in the courſe of which, he ſurmounted ſo many Impoſſibilities (as thoſe about him thought them) that he came to have leſs value for their Judgments, and more for his own, and at laſt to think nothing impoſſible. So it may be truly ſaid, that under God, as well all his glorious Succeſſes, as the late fatal Reverſe of them, have been owing ſolely to his own Conduct. As to his Piety, it cannot be ſaid but that the outward Appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eaſy to account for the exceſs of his Revenge againſt King *Auguſtus*, and ſome other Inſtances; but he is not ſuſpected of any bodily Indulgencies. It is moſt certain, he has all along wiſhed well to the Allies, and not at all to *France*, which he never intended to ſerve by any Steps he has made. We hear the *Turks* uſe him well, but Time muſt ſhew what uſe they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own Kingdom. If this Misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his Fire, and then he may become one of the greateſt Princes of the Age. Thus I leave him and his Character.

The

The King of *Denmark* ſpent a great part of this Summer in a very expenſive courſe of travelling, thro' the Courts of *Germany* and *Italy*, and it was believed he intended to go to *Rome*, where great Preparations were making, for giving him a ſplendid Reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion: But whether theſe Reports were altogether groundleſs, or whether their being ſo commonly believed, was like to produce ſome Diſorders in his own Kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he ſtopp'd at *Florence*, and went no further, but returned home; and upon the King of *Sweden*'s Misfortunes, entered into Meaſures to attack *Sweden*, with King *Auguſtus*; who had called a Diet in *Poland*, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were ſettled there, according to his Wiſhes. The King of *Denmark*, upon his return home, ſent an Army over the *Sound* into *Schonen*; but his Counſels were ſo weak, and ſo ill conducted, that he did not ſend a Train of Artillery, with other Neceſſaries, after them: Some Places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the *Swedes*, and by the Progreſs that he made at firſt, he ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovering that Province; but the *Swedes* brought an Army together, tho' far inferiour to the *Danes* in number, and falling on them, gave them ſuch an entire Defeat, that the King of *Denmark* was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken Remnants of his Army, by which an end was put to that inglorious Expedition.

1709 Affairs in *Denmark*.

The *Swediſh* Army that was in *Poland*, having got into *Pomerania*, the *French* ſtudied to engage them to fall into *Saxony*, to embroil the Affairs of *Germany*, and by that means engage the neighbouring Princes, to recall the Troops that were in the Queen's Service, and that of the other Allies in *Flanders*; but the Queen and the *States* interpoſed effectually in this Matter; and the *Swedes* were ſo ſenſible, how much they might need their Protection, that they acquieſced in the Propoſitions that were made to them; ſo the Peace of the Northern Parts of the Empire was ſecured. A Peace was likewiſe made up, between the *Grand Seignior* and the *Czar*: The King of *Sweden* continued ſtill at *Bender*; the War in *Hungary* went ſtill on. The Court of *Vienna* publiſhed ample Relations of the great Succeſſes they had there; but an *Hungarian* aſſured me, theſe were given out, to make the Malecontents ſeem an inconſiderable and ruined Party. There were ſecret Negotiations ſtill going on, but without effect.

Nothing of Importance paſs'd on the Sea: The *French* put out no Fleet, and our Convoys were ſo well ordered, and ſo happy, that our Merchants made no Complaints: Towards the end of the Year, the Earl of *Pembroke* found the Care of the Fleet a Load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not diſcharge it, as it ought to be done; ſo he deſired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of *Orford*; but tho' he was willing to ſerve at the Head of a Commiſſion, he refuſed to accept of it ſingly; ſo it was put in Commiſſion, in which he was the firſt.

Our Fleet well conducted.

I now come to give an account of the Seſſion of Parliament, that came on this Winter. All the Supplies, that were asked, for carrying on the War, were granted, and put on good Funds; in this there was a general unanimous Concurrence: But the great Buſineſs of this Seſſion, that took up moſt of their time, and that had great Effects in concluſion, related to Dr. *Sacheverel*: This being one of the moſt extraordinary Tranſactions in my Time, I will relate it very copiouſly. Dr. *Sacheverel* was a bold inſolent Man, with a very ſmall meaſure of Religion, Virtue, Learning, or Good Senſe, but he reſolved to force himſelf into Popularity and Preferment, by the moſt petulant Railings at Diſſenters, and Low-Churchmen, in ſeveral Sermons and Libels, wrote without either Chaſtneſs of Style, or Livelineſs of Expreſſion: All was one unpractiſed Strain of indecent and ſcurrilous Language. When he had purſued this Method for ſeveral Years without effect, he was at laſt brought up by a popular Election to a Church in *Southwark*, where he began to make great Reflections on the Miniſtry, repreſenting that the Church was in danger, being neglected by thoſe who governed, while they favoured her moſt inveterate Enemies. At the Aſſizes in *Derby* (where he preached before the Judges) and on the fifth of *November* (preaching at St. *Paul*'s in *London*) he gave a full vent to his Fury, in the moſt virulent Declamation, that he could contrive, upon theſe words of St. *Paul*'s, *Perils from Falſe Brethren*; in which, after ſome ſhort Reflections upon Popery, he let himſelf looſe into ſuch

A Seſſion of Parliament.

Sacheverel's Sermon.

1709 Indecencies, that both the Man and the Sermon were univerſally condemned: He aſſerted the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance in the higheſt ſtrain poſſible, and ſaid, that to charge the Revolution with Reſiſtance, was to caſt black and odious Imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had diſowned it, and cited for the Proof of that, ſome Words in his Declaration, by which he vindicated himſelf from a Deſign of Conqueſt. He poured out much Scorn and Scurrility on the Diſſenters, and reflected ſeverely on the Toleration; and ſaid the Church was violently attack'd by her Enemies, and looſely defended by her pretended Friends: He animated the People, to ſtand up for the Defence of the Church, for which he ſaid he ſounded the Trumpet, and deſired them to put on the whole Armour of God. The Court of Aldermen refuſed to deſire him to print his Sermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the Deſire of *Gerrard*, then Lord Mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming Epiſtle at the head of it. The Party, that oppoſed the Miniſtry, did ſo magnify the Sermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about 40000 of them were printed, and diſperſed over the Nation. The Queen ſeemed highly offended at it, and the Miniſtry looked on it as an Attack made on them, that was not to be deſpiſed. The Lord Treaſurer was ſo deſcribed, that it was next to the naming him, ſo a Parliamentary Impeachment was reſolved on; *Eyre*, then Sollicitor General, and others thought the ſhort way of burning the Sermon, and keeping him in Priſon during the Seſſion was the better Method; but the more ſolemn way was unhappily choſen.

Many Books wrote againſt the Queen's Title.

There had been, ever ſince the Queen came to the Crown, an open Revival of the Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, by one *Leſley*, who was the firſt Man that began the War in *Ireland*; ſaying, in a Speech ſolemnly made, that King *James*, by declaring himſelf a Papiſt, could no longer be our King, ſince he could not be the Defender of our Faith, nor the Head of our Church, Dignities ſo inherent in the Crown, that he, who was incapable of theſe, could not hold it: A Copy of which Speech, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Dublin* told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the People with this Speech, ſo ſome Actions followed under his Conduct, in which, ſeveral Men were killed; yet this Man changed ſides quickly, and became the violenteſt Jacobite in the Nation, and was engaged in many Plots, and in writing many Books againſt the Revolution, and the preſent Government. Soon after the Queen was on the Throne, he, or his Son as ſome ſaid, publiſhed a Series of weekly Papers, under the Title of the *Rehearſal*, purſuing a Thread of Arguments in them all, againſt the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance, in any Caſe whatſoever; deriving Government wholly from God, denying all Right in the People, either to confer, or to coerce it: The Miniſters connived at this, with what intention God knows.

1710 Dr. *Hoadly's* Writings in Defence thereof.

Whilſt theſe ſeditious Papers had a free Courſe for many Years, and were much ſpread and magnified; one *Hoadly*, a pious and judicious Divine, being called to preach before the Lord Mayor, choſe for his Text the firſt Verſes of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*, and fairly explained the Words there, that they were to be underſtood only againſt reſiſting good Governours, upon the *Jewiſh* Principles; but, that thoſe Words had no relation to bad and cruel Governours: and he aſſerted, that it was not only lawful, but a Duty incumbent on all Men, to reſiſt ſuch; concluding all, with a Vindication of the Revolution, and the preſent Government. Upon this, a great Out-cry was raiſed, as if he had preached up Rebellion; ſeveral Books were wrote againſt him, and he juſtified himſelf, with a viſible Superiority of Argument, to them all, and did ſo ſolidly overthrow the Conceit of one *Filmer*, now eſpouſed by *Leſley* (that Government was derived by Primogeniture from the firſt Patriarchs) that for ſome time, he ſilenced his Adverſaries: but it was an eaſier thing to keep up a Clamour, than to write a ſolid Anſwer. *Sacheverel* did, with great Virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and ſeveral other Biſhops, carrying his Venom as far back as to Archbiſhop *Grindal*, whom, for his Moderation, he called a perfidious Prelate, and a falſe Son of the Church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of *London*, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was examined to this Point, whether the Sermon was printed at his deſire or order; upon his owning it, he would

would have been expelled the Houſe; but he denied he had given any ſuch order tho' *Sacheverel* affirmed it, and brought Witneſſes to prove it: Yet the Houſe would not enter upon that Examination; but it was thought more decent to ſeem to give credit to their own Member, tho' indeed few believed him. 1710

Some oppoſition was made to the Motion, for impeaching *Sacheverel*, but it was carried by a great Majority: The Proceedings were ſlow; ſo thoſe, who intended to inflame the City, and the Nation upon that occaſion, had time ſufficient given them, for laying their Deſigns: They gave it out boldly, and in all Places, that a Deſign was formed by the Whigs, to pull down the Church, and that this Proſecution was only ſet on foot to try their Strength; and that, upon their Succeſs in it, they would proceed more openly. Tho' this was all Falſehood and Forgery, yet it was propagated with ſo much Application and Zeal, and the Tools imployed in it, were ſo well ſupplied with Money (from whom, was not then known) that it is ſcarce credible how generally it was believed. *Sacheverel* was impeached by the Houſe of Commons.

Some things concurred to put the Vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of Dearth and Scarcity, ſo that the Poor were much pinched: The Summer before, ten or twelve Thouſand poor People of the *Palatinate*, who were reduced to great Miſery, came into *England*; they were well received and ſupplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary Charities of good People: This filled our own Poor with great Indignation; who thought thoſe Charities, to which they had a better Right, were thus intercepted by Strangers; and all who were ill affected, ſtudied to heighten theſe their Reſentments. The Clergy did generally eſpouſe *Sacheverel*, as their Champion, who had ſtood in the Breach; and ſo they reckoned his Cauſe was their own. Many Sermons were preached, both in *London* and in other Places, to provoke the People, in which they ſucceeded beyond expectation. Some Accidents concurred to delay the Proceedings; much time was ſpent in preparing the Articles of Impeachment: And the Anſwer was, by many ſhifts, long delayed: It was bold, without either Submiſſion or common Reſpect; he juſtified every thing in his Sermon, in a very haughty and aſſuming Style. In concluſion, the Lords ordered the Trial to be at the Bar of their Houſe; but thoſe who found, that by gaining more time, the People were ſtill more inflamed, moved that the Trial might be publick in *Weſtminſter Hall*; where the whole Houſe of Commons might be preſent: This took ſo with unthinking People, that it could not be withſtood, tho' the Effects it would have, were well foreſeen: The preparing *Weſtminſter Hall* was a Work of ſome Weeks.

At laſt, on the 27th of *February*, the Trial begun. *Sacheverel* was lodged in the *Temple*, and came every day with great Solemnity, in a Coach to the *Hall*; great Crouds ran about his Coach with many Shouts expreſſing their Concern for him, in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The Trial laſted three Weeks, in which all other Buſineſs was at a ſtand; for this took up all Mens Thoughts: The Managers for the Commons opened the matter very ſolemnly: Their Performances were much and juſtly commended: *Jekyll*, *Eyre*, *Stanhope*, *King*, but above all *Parker*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner: They did copiouſly juſtify both the Revolution, and the Preſent Adminiſtration. There was no need of Witneſſes; for the Sermon being owned by him, all the Evidence was brought from it, by laying his Words together, and by ſhewing his Intent and Meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Council, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, *Dodd*, *Phipps*, and two others, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance in extreme Caſes, and plainly juſtified the Revolution, and our Deliverance by King *William*: But they ſaid, it was not fit, in a Sermon, to name ſuch an Exception; that the Duties of Morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without ſuppoſing an extraordinary Caſe: And therefore *Sacheverel* had followed Precedents, ſet by our greateſt Divines, ever ſince the Reformation, and ever ſince the Revolution. Upon this they opened a great Field; they began with the Declarations made in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time; they inſiſted next, upon the Homilies, and from thence inſtanced in a large Series of Biſhops and Divines, who had preached the Duty of Submiſſion and Non-Reſiſtance, in very full Terms, And tried in *Weſtminſter Hall*.

1710 Terms, without ſuppoſing any Exception; ſome excluding all Exceptions, in as poſitive a manner, as he had done: They explained the word *Revolution*, as belonging to the new Settlement upon King *James*'s withdrawing; tho', in the common Acceptation, it was underſtood of the whole Tranſaction, from the landing of the *Dutch* Army, till the Settlement made by the Convention. So they underſtanding the Revolution in that Senſe, there was indeed no *Reſiſtance* there. If the Paſſage, quoted from the Declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of *Orange*, did not come up to that, for which he quoted it; he ought not to be cenſured becauſe his Quotation did not fully prove his Point. As for his Invective againſt the Diſſenters and the Toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by ſaying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by Law, but on the permiſſion of, or the not puniſhing many, who publiſhed impious and blaſphemous Books: And a Collection was made, of Paſſages in Books, full of crude Impiety and of bold Opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a ſolemn publiſhing of ſo much Impiety to the Nation, by which more miſchief would be done, than by the Books themſelves; for moſt of them had been neglected, and known only to a ſmall number, of thoſe who encouraged them: And the Authors, of many of theſe Books, had been proſecuted and puniſhed for them. As to thoſe Parts of the Sermon, that ſet out the Danger the Church was in, tho' both Houſes had ſome Years ago voted it a great Offence, to ſay it was in danger, they ſaid it might have been in none four Years ago, when theſe Votes paſs'd, and yet be now in danger: The greateſt of all Dangers was to be apprehended, from the Wrath of God for ſuch Impieties. They ſaid, the Reflections on the Adminiſtration were not meant of thoſe, imployed immediately by the Queen, but of Men in inferior Poſts: If his Words ſeemed capable of a bad Senſe, they were alſo capable of a more innocent one; and every Man was allowed to put any Conſtruction on his Words, that they could bear. When the Counſel had ended their Defence *Sacheverel* concluded it with a Speech, which he read with much bold Heat; in which, with many ſolemn Aſſeverations, he juſtified his Intentions towards the Queen and her Government; he ſpoke with reſpect, both of the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion; he inſiſted moſt on condemning all Reſiſtance, under any Pretence whatſoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme Neceſſity, as his Counſel had done: he ſaid, it was the Doctrine of the Church, in which he was bred up; and added many pathetical Expreſſions, to move the Audience to Compaſſion. This had a great effect on the weaker ſort, while it poſſeſſed thoſe, who knew the Man and his ordinary Diſcourſes, with Horror, when they heard him affirm ſo many Falſehoods, with ſuch ſolemn Appeals to God. It was very plain the Speech was made for him by others; for the Style was correct, and far different from his own.

A great Diſorder at that time.

During the Trial, the Multitudes that followed him, all the way as he came, and as he went back, ſhewed a great concern for him, preſſing about him, and ſtriving to kiſs his hand: Money was thrown among them; and they were animated to ſuch a pitch of Fury, that they went to pull down ſome Meeting-houſes, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the Pews in them. This was directed by ſome of better Faſhion, who followed the Mob in Hackney Coaches, and were ſeen ſending Meſſages to them: The Word, upon which all ſhouted, was *The Church and Sacheverel*: And ſuch, as joined not in the Shout, were inſulted and knocked down: Before my own Door, One, with a Spade, cleft the Skull of another, who would not ſhout as they did. There happened to be a Meeting-houſe near me, out of which they drew every thing that was in it, and burned it before the Door of the Houſe. They threatened to do the like Execution on my Houſe; but the Noiſe of the Riot coming to Court, Orders were ſent to the Guards to go about, and diſperſe the Multitudes, and ſecure the publick Peace. As the Guards advanced, the People ran away; ſome few were only taken; theſe were afterwards proſecuted; but the Party ſhewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of High Treaſon; ſmall Fines were ſet on the reſt; but no Execution followed; and after ſome Months, they were pardoned: and indeed this Remiſſneſs, in puniſhing ſo great a Diſorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging Men

Men to new Tumults. There was a ſecret Management in this Matter, that amazed all People: for tho' the Queen, upon an Addreſs made to her by the Houſe of Commons, ſet out a Proclamation, in which this Riot was, with ſevere Words, laid upon Papiſts and Nonjurors, who were certainly the chief Promoters of it; yet the Proceedings afterwards did not anſwer the Threatnings of the Proclamation. 1710

When *Sacheverel* had ended his Defence, the Managers for the Houſe of Commons replied, and ſhewed very evidently, that the Words of his Sermon could not reaſonably bear any other Senſe, but that for which they had charged him; this was an eaſy Performance, and they managed it with great life: but the humour of the Town was turned againſt them, and all the Clergy appeared for *Sacheverel*. Many of the Queen's Chaplains ſtood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herſelf favoured him: Tho', upon my firſt coming to Town, which was after the Impeachment was brought up to the Lords, ſhe ſaid to me, that it was a bad Sermon, and that he deſerved well to be puniſhed for it. All her Miniſters, who were in the Houſe of Commons, were named to be Managers, and they ſpoke very zealouſly for publick Liberty, juſtifying the Revolution. *Holt*, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, died during the Trial: He was very learned in the Law, and had upon great Occaſions ſhewed an intrepid Zeal in aſſerting its Authority; for he ventured on the Indignation of both Houſes of Parliament by turns, when he thought the Law was with him: He was a Man of good Judgment and great Integrity, and ſet himſelf with great Application to the Functions of that important Poſt. Immediately upon his Death, *Parker* was made Lord Chief Juſtice: This great Promotion ſeemed an evident Demonſtration of the Queen's approving the Proſecution; for none of the Managers had treated *Sacheverel* ſo ſeverely as he had done; yet ſecret Whiſpers were very confidently ſet about, that tho' the Queen's Affairs put her on acting the Part of one, that was pleaſed with this Scene, yet ſhe diſliked it all, and would take the firſt occaſion to ſhew it.

Continuation of the Trial.

Sir *John Holt's* Death and Character.

Parker made Lord Chief Juſtice.

After the Trial was ended, the Debate was taken up in the Houſe of Lords: It ſtuck long on the firſt Article; none pretended to juſtify the Sermon, or to aſſert abſolute Non-Reſiſtance: All who favoured him, went upon this, that the Duty of Obedience ought to be delivered in full and general Words, without putting odd Exceptions, or ſuppoſing odious Caſes: This had been the Method of all our Divines. Pains were alſo taken to ſhew, that his Sermon did not reflect on the Revolution: On the other hand, it was ſaid, that ſince the Revolution had happened ſo lately, and was made ſtill the Subject of much Controverſy, thoſe abſolute Expreſſions did plainly condemn it. The Revolution was the whole Progreſs of the Turn, from the Prince of *Orange's* landing, till the Act of Settlement paſs'd. The Act of Parliament expreſſed, what was meant, by the Abdication and the Vacancy of the Throne; that it did not only relate to King *James's* withdrawing himſelf, but to his ceaſing to govern according to our Conſtitution and Laws, ſetting up his meer Will and Pleaſure, as the Meaſure of his Government: This was made plainer, by another Clauſe in the Acts then paſs'd, which provided, that if any of our Princes ſhould become Papiſts, or marry Papiſts, the Subjects were, in thoſe Caſes, declared to be free from their Allegiance. Some of the Biſhops ſpoke in this Debate on each ſide; *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, ſpoke in excuſe of *Sacheverel*: But *Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*; *Wake*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; and *Trimnel*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, and myſelf, ſpoke on the other ſide. We ſhewed the Falſhood of an Opinion too commonly received, that the Church of *England* had always condemned Reſiſtance, even in the Caſes of extreme Tyranny: The Books of the *Maccabees*, bound in our Bibles, and approved by our Articles, (as containing Examples of Life and Inſtruction of Manners, tho' not as any Part of the Canon of the Scripture) contained a full and clear Preſident for reſiſting and ſhaking off extreme Tyranny: The *Jews*, under that brave Family, not only defended themſelves againſt *Antiochus*, but formed themſelves into a free and new Government. Our Homilies were only againſt wilful Rebellion, ſuch as had been then againſt our Kings, while they were governing by Law: But at that very time, Queen *Elizabeth* had aſſiſted, firſt the *Scotch*, and then the *French*, and to the end of her Days conti-

Debates in the Houſe of Lords after the Trial.

1710 nued to protect the *States*, who not only reſiſted, but, as the *Maccabees* had done, ſhook off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, and ſet up a new Form of Government: In all this ſhe was not only juſtified by the beſt Writers of that time, ſuch as *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, but was approved and ſupported in it: Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her Subſidies, to carry on thoſe Wars. The ſame Principles were kept up all King *James's* Reign: In the beginning of King *Charles's* Reign, he protected the *Rochellers*, and asked Supplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a Faſt and Prayers to be made for them. It is true, ſoon after that, new Notions of abſolute Power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up; at the firſt Riſe given to theſe by *Manwaring*, they were condemned by a Sentence of the Lords; and tho' he ſubmitted, and retracted his Opinion, yet a ſevere Cenſure paſſed upon him: But during the long Diſcontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this Doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done purſuant to it, which put the Nation into the great Convulſions, that followed in our Civil Wars. After theſe were over, it was natural to return to the other Extreme, as Courts naturally favour ſuch Doctrines. King *James* truſted too much to it; yet the very Aſſertors of that Doctrine were the firſt, who pleaded for Reſiſtance, when they thought they needed it. Here was Matter for a long Debate: It was carried by a Majority of Seventeen, that the firſt Article was proved. The Party, that was for *Sacheverel*, made no Oppoſition to the Votes upon the following Articles, but contented themſelves, with proteſting againſt them: The Lords went down to the Hall, where the Queſtion being put upon the whole Impeachment, *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*, Fifty-two voted him *Not Guilty*, and Sixty-nine voted him *Guilty*.

He is cenſured very gently.

The next Debate was, what Cenſure ought to paſs upon him: And here a ſtrange Turn appeared; ſome ſeemed to apprehend the Effects of a Popular Fury, if the Cenſure was ſevere; to others it was ſaid, that the Queen deſired it might be mild; ſo it was propoſed to ſuſpend him from preaching for one Year; others were for ſix Years; but by a Vote it was fixed to three Years. It was next moved, that he ſhould be incapable of all Preferment for thoſe three Years; upon that, the Houſe was divided, Fifty-nine were for the Vote, and Sixty were againſt it: ſo that being laid aſide, the Sermon was ordered to be burnt, in the preſence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, did not think he was bound to be preſent. The Lords alſo voted, that the Decrees of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, paſſed in 1683, in which the abſolute Authority of Princes and the Unalterableneſs of the Hereditary Right of ſucceeding to the Crown were aſſerted in a very high Strain, ſhould be burnt with *Sacheverel's* Sermon. The Houſe of Commons likewiſe ordered the impious Collection of blaſphemous Expreſſions, that *Sacheverel* had printed as his Juſtification, to be alſo burnt.

When this mild Judgment was given, thoſe, who had ſupported him during the Trial, expreſſed an inconceivable Gladneſs, as if they had got a Victory: Bonefires, Illuminations, and other Marks of Joy appeared, not only in *London*, but over the whole Kingdom.

Addreſſes againſt the Parliament.

This had yet greater Effects; Addreſſes were ſet on foot, from all the Parts of the Nation, in which the Abſolute Power of our Princes was aſſerted, and all Reſiſtance was condemned, under the Deſignation of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles; the Queen's Hereditary Right was acknowledged, and yet a Zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion was likewiſe pretended, to make the Addreſſes paſs the more eaſily, with unthinking Multitudes: Moſt of theſe concluded, with an Intimation of their Hopes, that the Queen would diſſolve the preſent Parliament, giving Aſſurances, that in a new Election, they would chooſe none, but ſuch as ſhould be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church. Theſe were at firſt more coldly received; for the Queen either made no Anſwer at all, or made them in very general Words. Addreſſes were brought up on the other hand, magnifying the Conduct of the Parliament, and expreſſing a Zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

The Queen's Speech.

In the beginning of *April* the Parliament was prorogued, and the Queen, in her Speech thereupon, expreſſed her concern, that there was Cauſe given for the

which had taken up ſo much of their Time, wiſhing that all her People would be quiet, and mind their own Buſineſs; adding, that in all Times there was too much occaſion given to complain of Impiety, but that ſhe would continue that Zeal, which ſhe had hitherto expreſſed for Religion, and for the Church: This ſeemed to look a different way from the Whiſpers that had been ſet about. Soon after that, ſhe made a Step that revived them again: The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had gone out of *England* in the end of the former Reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer Climate was neceſſary for his Health: He ſtaid ſeveral Years at *Rome*, where he became acquainted with a *Roman* Lady: And ſhe, upon his leaving *Rome* to return to *England*, went after him to *Augsbourg*, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which, he married her there, and came with her back to *England*, in the Year 1706. Upon his Return, the Whigs lived in Civilities with him; but they thought his leaving *England*, and his living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much danger at home, and his ſtrange Marriage, gave juſt cauſe of Suſpicion. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, lived ſtill in Friendſhips with him, and ſtudied to overcome the Jealouſies, that the Whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had adviſed the late King to the Change he made in his Miniſtry, towards the end of his Reign. He ſeemed not to be concerned at the diſtance, in which he was kept from Buſineſs; but in the late Trial, he left the Whigs in every Vote; and a few days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the Matter to any of her Miniſters, took the *Chamberlain*'s White Staff from the Marquiſs of *Kent*, (whom, in recompence for that, ſhe advanced to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. This give a great Alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the Miniſtry would quickly follow; the Change of Principles, that he had diſcovered in the Trial, was imputed to a ſecret Management between him and *Harley*, with the new Favourite. The Queen's Inclination to her, and her Alienation from the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, did encreaſe, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: Upon that, the Dutcheſs retired from the Court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* gave the Miniſters very poſitive Aſſurances, that his Principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt Reign, and were in no reſpect altered: Upon which, he deſired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much Ground given for Suſpicion.

1710

Duke of *Shrewsbury* made Lord Chamberlain.

During this Winter, I was encouraged by the Queen, to ſpeak more freely to her of her Affairs, than I had ever ventured to do formerly; I told her what Reports were ſecretly ſpread of her, thro' the Nation, as if ſhe favoured the Deſign of bringing the *Pretender*, to ſucceed to the Crown, upon a Bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her Life: I was ſure theſe Reports were ſpread about by Perſons, who were in the Confidence of thoſe, that were believed to know her Mind; I was well aſſured, that the *Jacobites* of *Scotland* had, upon her coming to the Crown, ſent up one *Ogilby* of *Boyne*, who was in great eſteem among them, to propoſe the Bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the Party full Aſſurances that ſhe accepted of it; this I had from ſome of the Lords of *Scotland*, who were then in the Secret with the profeſſed *Jacobites*. The Earl of *Cromarty* made a Speech in Parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the Diſtinction of the *Calviniſts*, made between the ſecret and the revealed Will of God; he aſſured them, the Queen had no ſecret Will, contrary to that which ſhe declared: Yet at the ſame time his Brother gave the Party Aſſurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and ſaid, if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a Bargain for herſelf, by which her People were to be delivered up, and ſacrificed after her Death, as it would darken all the Glory of her Reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her People to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the Proteſtant Succeſſors; in which, I told her plainly I would concurr, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe Jealouſies. I told her, her Miniſters had ſerved her with that Fidelity, and ſuch Succeſs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the World. The Glory of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign aroſe from the Firmneſs of her Councils, and the Continuance of her Miniſters, as the three laſt Reigns, in which the Miniſtry was often changed, had ſuffered extremely by it. I alſo ſhewed her, that if ſhe ſuffered

The Queen was ſpoke to with great Freedom.

1710 the *Pretender*'s Party to prepare the Nation, for his ſucceeding her, ſhe ought not to imagine, that when they thought they had fixed that Matter, they would ſtay for the natural End of her Life; but that they would find ways to ſhorten it: nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the *Pretender* was upon the Sea, they had laid ſome Aſſaſſinates here, who, upon the News of his landing, would have tried to diſpatch her. It was certain, that their Intereſt led them to it, as it was known that their Principles did allow of it. This with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, I laid before the Queen; ſhe heard me patiently; ſhe was for the moſt part ſilent: yet, by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make me think, ſhe agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: Yet I had great quiet in my own Mind, ſince I had, with an honeſt Freedom, made the beſt uſe I could of the Acceſs I had to her.

The Duke of *Marlborough* went beyond Sea in *February*, to prepare all Matters for an early Campaign, deſigning to open it in *April*, which was done: The *French* had wrought ſo long upon their Lines, that it was thought, they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the advance of our Army, they abandoned them. And tho' they ſeemed reſolved to make a ſtand upon the *Scarp*, yet they ran from that likewiſe; and this opened the way all on to *Doway*: So that was inveſted. The Garriſon was 8000 ſtrong, well furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to make a brave Defence; The Beſieged ſallied out often, ſometimes with Advantage, but much oftner with Loſs; It was the middle of *May* before the *French* could bring their Army together; it appeared, that they reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, tho' they had brought up together a vaſt Army of TwoHundred Battalions, and three Hundred Squadrons: They lay before *Arras*, and advanced to the Plains of *Lens*; *Villars* commanded, and made ſuch Speeches to his Army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a Battle, rather than look on and ſee *Doway* loſt. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* poſted their Army ſo advantagiouſly, both to cover the Siege, and receive the Enemy, that he durſt not attack them; but after he had looked on a few Days, in which the two Armies were not above a League diſtant, he drew off: So the Siege going on, and no Relief appearing, both *Doway* and the Fort *Eſcarp* capitulated on the 14th of *June*.

Doway beſieged and taken.

I have now compleated my firſt Deſign, in writing, which was to give a Hiſtory of our Affairs for fifty Years, from the 29th of *May* 1660: So if I confined myſelf to that, I ſhould here give over: But the War ſeeming now to be near an end, and the Peace, in which it muſt end, being that which will probably give a new Settlement to all *Europe*, as well as to our Affairs, I reſolve to carry on this Work to the Concluſion of the War. And therefore I begin with the Progreſs of the Negotiations for Peace, which ſeemed now to be proſecuted with Warmth.

The Hiſtory continued to the Peace.

All the former Winter, an Intercourſe of Letters was kept up between *Petkum* and *Torcy*, to try if an Expedient could be found, to ſoften that Article for the Reduction of *Spain*, to the Obedience of King *Charles*; which was the Thirty-ſeventh Article of the Preliminaries: It ſtill was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three Towns, to be put into the hands of the Allies, to be reſtored by them, when the Affairs of *Spain* ſhould be ſettled; otherwiſe to be ſtill retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that *France* was willing to loſe three more Towns, in caſe King *Philip* ſhould keep *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*: The Places therefore ought to have born ſome Equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the Anſwers the *French* made to every Propoſition, ſhewed they meant nothing but to amuſe and diſtract the Allies. The firſt Demand the Allies made, was of the Places in *Spain*, then in the hands of the King of *France*; for the delivering up theſe, might have been a good ſtep to the Reduction of the whole: But this was flatly refuſed; and, that the King of *France* might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his Troops to be drawn out of all the ſtrong Places in *Spain*, and ſoon after out of that Kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; tho' the *French* Forces were kept ſtill in the Neighbourhood: So a ſhew was made of leaving *Spain* to defend itſelf. And upon that, King *Philip* prevailed

Negotiations for a Peace

on the *Spaniards*, to make great Efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the *French* King, to deceive both the Allies and his own Subjects, who were calling loudly for a Peace: And it likewiſe eaſed him of a great part of the Charge, that *Spain* had put him to. But while his Troops were called out of that Kingdom, as many deſerted, by a viſible Connivance, as made up ſeveral Battalions: And all the *Walloon* Regiments, as being Subjects of *Spain*, were ſent thither: So that King *Philip* was not weakened by the recalling the *French* Troops; and by this means the Places in *Spain* could not be any more demanded. The next, as moſt important towards the Reduction of *Spain*, was the Demand that *Bayonne* and *Perpignan* might be put into the hands of the Allies, with *Thionville* on the ſide of the Empire. By the two former, all Communication between *France* and *Spain* would be cut off, and the Allies would be enabled to ſend Forces thither, with leſs Expence and Trouble: But it was ſaid, theſe were the Keys of *France*, which the King could not part with; ſo it remained to treat of Towns on the Frontier of the *Netherlands*; and even there they excepted *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*: ſo that all their Offers appeared illuſory; and the Intercourſe by Letters was for ſome time let fall. But in the end of the former Year, *Torcy* wrote to *Pettecum*, to deſire, either that Paſſes might be granted to ſome Miniſters to come to *Holland*, to go on with the Negotiation, or that *Pettecum* might be ſuffered to go to *Paris*, to ſee if an Expedient could be found: and the *States* conſented to the laſt. In the mean while, King *Philip* publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, proteſting againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the *Hague*, to his prejudice; declaring his Reſolution to adhere to his faithful *Spaniards*: He alſo named Plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the Treaty, who gave the *States* notice of their Powers and Inſtructions; and, in a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, they gave Intimations, how grateful King *Philip* would be to him, if by his means theſe his Deſires might be complied with; as the like Inſinuations had been often made by the *French* Agents: But no notice was taken of this Meſſage from King *Philip*, nor was any Anſwer given to it. *Pettecum*, after ſome days ſtay at *Paris*, came back without the pretence of offering any Expedient, but brought a Paper, that ſeemed to ſet aſide the Preliminaries: yet it ſet forth, that the King was willing to treat on the Foundation of the Conceſſions made in them to the Allies; and that the Execution of all the Articles ſhould begin after the Ratification. This deſtroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the diſtinction, the King had formerly made, between the Spirit and the Letter of *Partition Treaty*, ſhewed how little he was to be relied on: So the *States* reſolved to inſiſt, both on the Preliminaries, and on the Execution of them, before a general Treaty ſhould be opened. By this Meſſage, all Thoughts of a Treaty were at a full ſtand. In the beginning of *February* another Project was ſent, which was an Amplification of that, brought by *Pettecum*; only the reſtoring two Electors was inſiſted on as a Preliminary, as alſo the reſtoring the Upper Palatinate to the Elector of *Bavaria*; but the Allies ſtill inſiſted on the former Preliminaries. The Court of *France* ſeeing, that the *States* were not to be wrought on, to go off from the Preliminaries, ſent another Meſſage to them, that the King agreed to all the Preliminaries, except the Thirty-ſeventh; and if they would conſent, that his Miniſters ſhould come and conſer with them upon that Article, he did not doubt, but what ſhould be propoſed from him would be to their Satisfaction. This ſeemed to give ſome Hopes, ſo the *States* reſolved to ſend the Paſſports; but they foreſaw the ill Effects, of ſuffering the *French* Miniſters to come into their Country, who, by their Agents, were every where ſtirring up the People againſt the Government, as if they were prolonging the War without neceſſity; ſo they appointed *Gertruydenburg* to be the Place, to which the *French* Miniſters were to come, to treat with the Deputies they ſhould ſend to meet them. 1710

Conferences at *Gertruydenburg*.

The Miniſters ſent by *France*, were the Marquiſs *d'Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac*; and thoſe from the *States*, were *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*: The Conferences began in *March*. The *French* propoſed, that the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the Competitors for the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, without naming which; but it was underſtood, that they meant King *Philip*: The Deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed, that the Emperor would never conſent to parting with *Naples*, nor giving the *French* ſuch footing

1710 in *Italy*; the *French* ſeemed to be ſenſible of this: The firſt Conference ended, upon the return of the Courier, whom they ſent to *Verſailles*. They moved for another Conference; and upon ſeveral Propoſitions, there were ſeveral Conferences renewed. The King of *France* deſiſted from the Demand of *Naples*, but inſiſted on that of the Places on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*: At laſt they deſiſted from that too, and inſiſted only on *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: So now the Partition ſeemed as it were ſettled. Upon which, the Deputies of the *States* preſſed the Miniſters of *France* to give them ſolid Aſſurances of King *Philip*'s quitting *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; to this (upon Advertiſement given to the Court of *France*) they anſwered, that the King would enter into Meaſures with them to force it. Many Difficulties were ſtarted, about the Troops to be imployed, what their number ſhould be, and who ſhould Command them; all which ſhewed the Execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a Sum of Money, to be paid annually, during the War; and here new Difficulties aroſe, both in ſettling the Sum, and in ſecuring the Payment: They offered the Bankers of *Paris*; but theſe muſt all break, whenſoever the King had a mind they ſhould: So it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the Allies, by this Offer of a Partition, to which the *States* conſented; and at which, the *French* hoped the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have been provoked againſt them. The *French* asked an Aſſurance of the Deputies, that no other Articles ſhould be inſiſted on, but thoſe in the Preliminaries; this the Deputies poſitively refuſed; for they had, by one of the Preliminaries, reſerved a Power to all the Allies to make farther Demands, when a general Treaty ſhould be opened; they ſaid, they themſelves would demand no more, but they could not limit the reſt, from their juſt Demands. This was another Artifice, to provoke the Empire, and the Duke of *Savoy*, as if the *States* intended to force them to accept of ſuch a Peace, as they ſhould preſcribe: In another Conference, the *States* rejected the Offer of a Sum of Money, for carrying on the War in *Spain*, and therefore demanded, that the *French* would explain themſelves upon the Subject of evacuating *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, in favour of King *Charles*, before they could declare their Intentions, with relation to the Partition; and added, that all further Conferences would be to no purpoſe, till that was done.

All came to no Concluſion.

The *French* were now reſolved to break off the Negotiation; and ſo they were pleaſed to call this Demand of the *States*, a formal Rupture of the Treaty; and upon the return of an Expreſs, that they ſent to *Verſailles*, they wrote a long Letter to the Penſioner, in the form of a Manifeſto; and ſo returned back to *France*, in the end of *July*. This is the Account, that both our Miniſters here, and the *States* have publiſhed of that Affair: The *French* have publiſhed nothing; for they would not own to the *Spaniards*, that they ever entered upon any Treaty, for a Partition of their Monarchy, much leſs for evacuating *Spain*. Whether *France* did ever deſign any thing, by all this Negotiation, but to quiet their own People, and to amuſe and divide the Allies, is yet to us a Secret; but if they ever intended a Peace, the Reaſon of their going off from it, muſt have been the Account they then had of our Diſtractions in *England*; which might make them conclude, that we could not be in a condition to carry on the War.

A Change of the Miniſtry in *England*.

The Queen's Intentions to make a change in her Miniſtry now began to break out; in *June* ſhe diſmiſſed the Earl of *Sunderland* from being Secretary of State, without pretending any Maleverſation in him, and gave the Seals to the Lord *Dartmouth*. This gave the Alarm, both at home and abroad; but the Queen, to leſſen that, ſaid to her Subjects here, in particular to the Governors of the Bank of *England*, and wrote to her Miniſters abroad, that they ſhould aſſure her Allies, that ſhe would make no other Changes; and ſaid this her ſelf to the Miniſter, whom the *States* had here: All theſe concurred to expreſs their Joy in this Reſolution, and joined to it their Advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the Parliament. This was repreſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed in the Negotiations of Princes in an Alliance, as a Bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; tho' nothing is more common than for Princes to offer mutual Advices, in ſuch Caſes. Two Months after the change of the Secretary of State, the Queen diſmiſſed the Earl of *Godolphin*, from being Lord Treaſurer, and put

the Treaſury in Commiſſion: Lord *Poulet* was the firſt in form, but Mr. *Harley* was the Perſon, with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was viſible, he was the Chief Miniſter: and now it appeared, that a total Change of the Miniſtry, and the Diſſolution of the Parliament, were reſolved on. 1710

Sacheverel's Progreſs to *Wales.*

In the mean while *Sacheverel*, being preſented to a Benefice in *North Wales*, went down to take poſſeſſion of it; as he paſſed thro' the Counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by ſuch Numbers, and entertained with ſuch Magnificence, that our Princes in their Progreſſes have not been more run after, than he was: Great Fury and Violence appeared, on many occaſions, tho' care was taken to give his Followers no ſort of Provocation; he was looked on as the Champion of the Church; and he ſhewed as much Inſolence on that occaſion, as his Party did Folly. No notice was taken, by the Government, of all theſe Riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than check'd; all this was like a Prelude to a greater Scene, that was to be acted at Court. The Queen came in *October* to Council, and called for a Proclamation, diſſolving the Parliament, which *Harcourt* (now made Attorney-General in the room of *Montague*, who had quitted that Poſt) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to ſpeak; but the Queen roſe up, and would admit of no Debate, and ordered the Writs for a new Parliament to be prepared. At that time ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord *Sommers*, and in his room made the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord Preſident of the Council: She ſent to the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of *Buckingham*; Mr. *Boyle* was diſmiſſed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. *St. John* had the Seals: The Earl of of *Derby* was removed from being Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and was ſucceeded by the Lord *Berkeley*. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all theſe Removes, and deliver'd up the Great Seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was ſurprized at it; and not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with an unuſual Earneſtneſs, preſſed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, ſhe having conſidered the matter with her Favourites Mrs. *Maſſam* and Mr. *Harley*, received it very readily; and it was ſoon given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*. The Earl of *Wharton* delivered up his Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and that was given to the Duke of *Ormond*: and the Earl of *Oxford*, with ſome of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that Board, in whoſe room others were put. So ſudden, and ſo entire a Change of the Miniſtry, is ſcarce to be found in our Hiſtory, eſpecially where Men of great Abilities had ſerved, both with Zeal and Succeſs, inſomuch, that the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raiſed the Admiration of all *Europe*. All this roſe purely from the great Credit of the new Favourites, and the Queen's perſonal Diſtaſte to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all theſe Changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the Chains the old Miniſtry held her in: She ſpoke of it to ſeveral Perſons as a Captivity, ſhe had been long under. The Duke of *Somerſet* had very much alienated the Queen from the old Miniſtry, and had no ſmall ſhare in their Diſgrace; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and the new Model of the Miniſtry, that, tho' he continued ſome time Maſter of the Horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in Council, and complained openly of the Artifices, had been uſed, to make him inſtrumental to other People's Deſigns, which he did among others to my ſelf.

The Elections of Parliament men.

The next, and indeed the greateſt Care of the new Miniſtry was, the managing the Elections to Parliament. Unheard of Methods were uſed to ſecure them; in *London*, and in all the Parts of *England*, but more remarkably in the great Cities, there was a vaſt Concourſe of rude Multitudes brought together, who behaved themſelves in ſo boiſterous a manner, that it was not ſafe, and in many places not poſſible, for thoſe who had a Right to vote, to come and give their Votes for a Whig; open Violence was uſed in ſeveral Parts: this was ſo general, thro' the whole Kingdom, all at the ſame time, that it was viſible the thing had been for ſome time concerted, and the proper Methods and Tools had been prepared for it. The Clergy had a great ſhare in this; for beſides a Courſe, for ſome Months, of inflaming Sermons, they went about from Houſe to Houſe, preſſing their People to ſhew, on this great occaſion, their Zeal for the Church,

1710 and now or never to ſave it: They alſo told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in Captivity, and that it was a Charity, as well as their Duty, to free her from the Power the late Miniſtry exerciſed over her.

While the Poll was taken in *London*, a new Commiſſion for the Lieutenancy of the City was ſent in; by which a great Change was made; Tories were put in, and Whigs were left out; in a word, the Practice and Violence uſed now in Elections, went far beyond any thing, that I had ever known in *England*: And by ſuch means, above three Parts in four of the Members returned to Parliament, may at any time be packed: And, if free Elections are neceſſary to the Being of a Parliament, there was great reaſon to doubt, if this was a true Repreſentative duly elected.

A Sinking of Credit. The Bank was the Body, to which the Government of late had recourſe, and was always readily furniſhed by it; but their Credit was now ſo ſunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly; Actions, that ſome Months before were at 130, ſunk now ſo low as to 95, and did not riſe above 101 or 102, all the following Winter. The new Miniſters gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and ſteadily abroad, maintain our Alliances, and carry on the War. But before I enter on the Seſſion of Parliament, I will give an account of Affairs abroad.

Affairs in *Spain*. King *Philip* went to *Arragon* to his Army, and gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to the Deciſion of a Battle with King *Charles*, who was likewiſe come to head his Army; they lay ſo near one another, that King *Philip* cannonaded the Camp of his Enemies, but his Men were beat off with loſs, and drew away to a greater diſtance; however, before the end of *July*, there was an Action of great Importance near *Almanara:* The main Body of King *Philip*'s Horſe deſigned to cut off a Part of King *Charles*'s Foot, that was ſeparated from the Cavalry, commanded by *Stanhope:* He drew his whole Body together; and tho' he was much inferiour in number, yet he ſent to King *Charles* for Orders to engage the Enemy. It was not without ſome difficulty, and after ſome reiterated preſſing Inſtances, that he got leave to fall on.

The Battle of *Almanara*. As the two Bodies were advancing one againſt another, *Stanhope* rode at the head of his Body, and the *Spaniſh* General advanced at the head of his Troops: The two Generals began the Action; in which, very happily for *Stanhope*, he killed the *Spaniard:* And his Men, animated with the Example and Succeſs of their General, fell on and broke the *Spaniſh* Horſe ſo entirely, that King *Philip* loſt the beſt part of his Cavalry in that Action; upon which, he retired towards *Saragoza*; but was cloſely followed by King *Charles:* And on the 20th of *Auguſt*, they came to a total Engagement, which ended in an entire Defeat: And by this means *Arragon* was again in King *Charles*'s hands. King *Philip* got off with a very ſmall Body to *Madrid*. But he ſoon left it, and retired with all the Tribunals following him to *Validolid*; and ſent his Queen and Son to *Victoria*. Some of his Troops got off in ſmall Bodies; and theſe were, in a little time brought together, to the number of about 10000 Men; the Troops, that they had on the Frontier of *Portugal*, were brought to join them, with which they ſoon made up the Face of an Army.

K. *Charles* at *Madrid*. King *Charles* made all the haſte he could to *Madrid*, but found none of the Grandees there; and it appeared, that the *Caſtilians* were firmly united to King *Philip*, and reſolved to adhere to him, at all hazards. The King of *France* now ſhewed, he was reſolved to maintain his Grandſon, ſince if he had intended to do it, it was now very eaſy to oblige him to evacuate *Spain*. On the contrary, he ſent the Duke of *Vendoſme*, to command the Army there; and he ordered ſome Troops to march into *Catalonia*, to force King *Charles* to come back, and ſecure that Principality. King *Charles* continued till the beginning of *December* in *Caſtile*. In all that time, no care was taken by the Allies, to ſupply or ſupport him: We were ſo engaged in our Party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done: The Court of *Vienna* was ſo apprehenſive of the Danger from a War, like to break out, between the *Grand Signior* and the *Czar*, that they would not diminiſh their Army in *Hungary*. After King *Charles* left his Army, *Staremberg* ſeemed reſolved to take his Winter Quarters in *Caſtile*, and made a ſhew of fortifying *Toledo*; but for want of Proviſion, and chiefly for fear that his Retreat to

Arragon

Arragon might be cut off, he reſolved to march back to the *Ebro*: King *Philip* marched after him. *Starembergh* left *Stanhope* ſome Hours March behind him, and he took up his Quarters in an unfortified Village, called *Brihuega*: But finding King *Philip* was near him, he ſent his *Aid de Camp* to let *Starembergh* know his Danger, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance. *Starembergh* might have come in time to have ſaved him; but he moved ſo ſlowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the Glory *Stanhope* had got, and was not ſorry to ſee it eclipſed; and therefore made not that haſte, he might and ought to have done. 1710

Stanhope and his Men caſt up Entrenchments, and defended theſe very bravely, as long as their Powder laſted; but in concluſion they were forced to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War: Some Hours after that, *Starembergh* came up; and tho' the Enemy were more than double his number, yet he attack'd them with ſuch Succeſs, that he defeated them quite, killed 7000 of their Men, took their Cannon and Baggage, and ſtaid a whole Day in the Field of Battle. The Enemy drew back; but *Starembergh* had ſuffered ſo much in the Action, that he was not in a condition to purſue them; nor could he carry off their Cannon for want of Horſes; but he nailed them up, and by ſlow Marches got to *Saragoza*, the Enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any Diſturbance. As he did not judge it ſafe, to ſtay long in *Arragon*, ſo, in the beginning of *January*, he marched into *Catalonia*; but his Army had ſuffered ſo much, both in the laſt Action at *Villa Vicioſa*, and in the March, that he was not in a condition to venture on raiſing the Siege of *Gironne*; which was then carried on by the Duke of *Noailles*: And no Relief coming, the Garriſon, after a brave Defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means *Catalonia* was open to the Enemy on all ſides. The Battle of *Villa Vicioſa*

The *Spaniſh* Grandees ſeemed to be in ſome apprehenſions, of their being given up by the *French*; and there was a Suſpicion of ſome Caballing among them: Upon which, the Duke of *Medina Celi*, King *Philip*'s chief Miniſter, was ſent a cloſe Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Segovia*, and was kept there very ſtrictly, none being admitted to ſpeak to him: He was not brought to any Examination; but after he had been for ſome Months in Priſon, being oft removed from one place to another, it was at laſt given out, that he died in Priſon, not without the Suſpicion of ill Practices. Nothing paſſed on the ſide of *Piedmont*, the Duke of *Savoy* complaining ſtill of the Imperial Court, and upon that refuſing to act vigorouſly. The Diſgrace of the Duke of *Medina Celi*.

After *Doway* was taken, our Army ſate down before *Bethune*; and that Siege held them a Month, at the end of which the Garriſon capitulated: And our Army ſate down at one and the ſame time, before *Aire* and *St. Venant*, to ſecure the Head of the *Lys*. *St. Venant* was taken in a few Weeks; but the marſhy Ground about *Aire*, made that a ſlower Work: ſo that the Siege continued there about two Months, before the Garriſon capitulated. This Campaign, tho' not of ſuch Luſtre as the former, becauſe no Battle was fought, yet was by military Men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this reſpect, that our Men were about an hundred and fifty Days in open Trenches; which was ſaid to be a thing without example. During theſe Sieges, the *French* Army poſted themſelves in ſure Camps; but did not ſtir out of them; and it was not poſſible to engage them into any Action. Nothing conſiderable paſſed on the *Rhine*, they being equally unable to enter upon Action on both ſides. *Bethune*, *Aire*, and *St. Venant* are taken.

The *Czar* carried on the War in *Livonia* with ſuch Succeſs, that he took both *Riga* and *Revel*; and to add to the Miſeries of *Sweden*, a great Plague ſwept away many of their People. *Sweden* itſelf was left expoſed to the *Danes* and the *Czar*; but their Dominions in *Germany* were ſecured by the Guaranty of the Allies: Yet, tho' the Government of *Sweden* did accept of this proviſionally till the King's Pleaſure ſhould be known, it was not without difficulty, that he was prevailed on to give way to it. Affairs in the North.

I come now to give an Account of the Seſſion of Parliament, which was opened the 25th of *November*: The Queen, in her Speech, took no notice of the Succeſſes of this Campaign, as ſhe had always done in her former Speeches; and inſtead of promiſing to maintain the Toleration, ſhe ſaid ſhe would maintain the The new Parliament opened.

1710 Indulgence granted by Law to ſcrupulous Conſciences; this change of Phraſe into *Sacheverel*'s Language was much obſerved. The Lords made an Addreſs of an odd Compoſition to her, which ſhewed it was not drawn by thoſe, who had penned their former Addreſſes: Inſtead of promiſing, that they would do all that was poſſible, they only promiſed to do all that was reaſonable, which ſeemed to import a Limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreaſonable things might be asked of them: And the Concluſion was in a very cold ſtrain of Rhetorick; they ended with ſaying, *They had no more to add.* The Commons were more hearty in their Addreſs; and in the end of it, they reflected on ſome late Practices againſt the Church and State. *Bromley* was choſen Speaker without any Oppoſition; there were few Whigs returned, againſt whom Petitions were not offered; there were in all about an Hundred; and by the firſt ſteps, the Majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the Houſe of all, who were ſuſpected to be Whigs. They paſſed the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound, before the ſhort Receſs at *Chriſtmaſs*.

1711 The Conduct in *Spain*, cenſured by the Lords.

During that time, the News came of the ill Succeſs in *Spain*; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our Conduct, the Queen was adviſed to lay hold on it; ſo, without ſtaying till ſhe heard from her own Miniſters or her Allies, as was uſual, ſhe laid the Matter before the Parliament, as the publick News brought it from *Paris*; which was afterwards found to be falſe in many Particulars; and told them, what Orders ſhe had given upon it, of which ſhe hoped they would approve. This was a mean Expreſſion from the Sovereign, not uſed in former Meſſages; and ſeemed to be below the Dignity of the Crown; She ordered ſome Regiments to be carried over to *Spain*, and named the Earl of *Peterborough*, to go to the Court of *Vienna*, to preſs them to join in the moſt effectual Meaſures, for ſupporting King *Charles* there. The Lords, in their Anſwer to this Meſſage, promiſed that they would examine into the Conduct of the War in *Spain*, to ſee if there had been any Miſmanagement, in any part of it; And they entered immediately into that Enquiry. They began it with an Addreſs to the Queen, to delay the Diſpatch of the Earl of *Peterborough*, till the Houſe might receive from him ſuch Informations of the Affairs of *Spain*, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the Houſe a long Recital of the Affairs of *Spain*, loading the Earl of *Gallway* with all the Miſcarriages in that War. And in particular he ſaid, that in a Council of War in *Valencia*, in the middle of *January* 1706-7, the Earl of *Gallway* had preſſed the puſhing an offenſive War for that Year; and that the Lord *Tyrawly* and *Stanhope* had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himſelf was for lying on a defenſive War for that Year in *Spain*: He ſaid, this Reſolution was carried by thoſe three, againſt the King of *Spain*'s own Mind; and he imputed all the Misfortunes that followed in *Spain*, to this Reſolution ſo taken. *Stanhope* had given an Account of the Debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, in anſwer to his Letter, had wrote by the Queen's Order, that ſhe approved of their preſſing for an offenſive War; and they were ordered to perſiſt in that. The Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, in that Letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of *Gallway*, Lord *Tyrawly*, and *Stanhope*) were the only Perſons that were for acting offenſively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Oppoſition. Upon the Strength of this Letter the Earl of *Peterborough* affirmed, that the whole Council of War was againſt an offenſive War: He laid the blame, not only of the Battle of *Almanza*, and all that followed in *Spain*, upon thoſe Reſolutions, but likewiſe the Miſcarriage of the Deſign on *Toulon*; for he told them of a great Deſign, he had concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the uſe that might have been made of ſome of the Troops in *Spain*, if a defenſive War had been agreed to there. The Earl of *Gallway* and the Lord *Tyrawly* were ſent for; and they were asked an Account of that Council at *Valencia*: They ſaid, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the *Portugueze* Ambaſſador and General, and the Envoy of the *States* agreed with them in their Opinions, for an offenſive War; and they named ſome *Spaniards*, that were of the ſame mind: They alſo ſaid, that all along, even to the Battle of *Almanza*, in all their Reſolutions, the Majority of the Council of War voted for every thing that was done, and that they

they were directed to perſiſt in their Opinions, by Letters wrote to them, in the Queen's Name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the Words, in the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Letter, that ſpoke of them, as the only Perſons that were of that Opinion; theſe were underſtood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's Subjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who oppoſed that Reſolution, but not to the reſt of the Council of War; for the Majority of them was of their mind. 1711

The Earl of *Gallway* gave in two Papers; the one related to his own Conduct in *Spain*; the other was an Anſwer to the Relation given in writing by the Earl of *Peterborough*. The Houſe of Lords was ſo diſpoſed, that the Majority believed every thing that was ſaid by the Earl of *Peterborough*; and it was carried, that his Account was honourable, faithful, aud juſt; and that all the Misfortunes in *Spain* were the Effect and Conſequence of thoſe Reſolutions, taken in the middle of *January*.

From this Cenſure on the Earl of *Gallway*, the Debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a Cenſure on the Miniſtry here. So it was moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to free thoſe, who were under an Oath of Secrecy, from that Tie, that a full Account might be laid before the Houſe, of all their Conſultations: The Queen granted this readily; and came to the Houſe, which was underſtood to be on deſign to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Cowper* ſhewed that, conſidering the Force ſent over to *Spain* under the Lord *Rivers*, they thought an offenſive War was adviſeable; that the Expence of that War was ſo great, and the Proſpect was ſo promiſing, that they could not but think an offenſive War neceſſary; and that to adviſe a defenſive one, would have made them liable to a juſt Cenſure, as deſigning to protract the War. The Deſign on *Toulon* was no way intermix'd with the Affairs of *Spain*; the Earl of *Peterborough* fancied he was in that Secret, and had indeed propoſed the bringing over ſome Troops from *Spain* on that Deſign, and had offered a Scheme to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which that was mentioned, and had ſent that over to *England*. But tho' the Duke of *Savoy* ſuffered that Lord to amuſe himſelf, with his own Project, which he had concerted for the Attempt on *Toulon*; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmoſt Secrecy, which was ſacredly kept, and communicated only to thoſe, to whom it muſt be truſted for the Execution of it. No Troops from *Spain* were to be imployed in that Service, nor did it miſcarry for want of Men. Theſe Lords farther ſaid, they gave there Opinions in Council, according to the beſt of their Judgment; their Intentions were very ſincere, for the Service of the Queen, and to bring the War to a ſpeedy Concluſion. Yet a Vote paſs'd, that they were to blame for adviſing an offenſive War in *Spain*, upon which the loſs of the Battle of *Almanza* followed; and that this occaſioned the miſcarrying of the Deſign upon *Toulon*.

Here was a new and ſtrange Precedent, of cenſuring a Reſolution taking in Council; and of deſiring the Queen to order all, that had paſs'd in Council, to be laid before the Houſe: In all the hot Debates in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, in which many Reſolutions taken in Council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any Cenſure on them was never attempted by Men, who were no way partial in favour of the Prerogative: But they underſtood well what our Conſtitution was in that point: A Reſolution in Council is only the Sovereign's Act, who upon hearing his Counſellors deliver their Opinions, forms his own Reſolution: A Counſellor may indeed be liable to Cenſure, for what he may ſay at that Board; but the Reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent Reſpect: but by this Precedent, it will be hereafter ſubject to a Parliamentary Enquiry. The Queen was ſo deſirous to have a Cenſure fixed on her former Miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the Wound given to the Prerogative, by the way in which it was done. Reflections made on it

After this was over, another Enquiry was made into the Force we had in *Spain*, at the time of the Battle of *Almanza*; and it was found not to exceed 14000 Men, tho' the Parliament had voted 29000 for the War in *Spain*. This ſeemed to be a crying thing; tragical Declamations were made upon it: But in truth

1711 truth that Vote had paſs'd here only in the *January* before the Battle of *Almanza*, which was fought on the 14th of *April*. Now it was not poſſible to levy and tranſport Men in ſo ſhort a time: It was made appear, that all the Money given by the Parliament for that Service, was iſſued out and applied to it and that extraordinary Diligence was uſed, both in forwarding the Levies and in their Tranſportation: They were ſent from *Ireland*, the Paſſage from thence being both ſafeſt and quickeſt. All this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, was ſaid: But it ſignified nothing; for when Reſolutions are taken up beforehand, the Debating concerning them is only a piece of Form uſed to come at the Queſtion with ſome Decency: And there was ſo little of that obſerved at this time, that the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid in plain Words, that they had the Majority, and would make uſe of it, as he had obſerved done by others, when they had it on their ſide. So, tho' no Examination had been made, but into that ſingle point of the Numbers at *Almanza*, they came to a general Vote, That the late Miniſtry had been negligent, in the Management of the War in *Spain*, to the great prejudice of the Nation; and they then ordered all their Proceedings and Votes to be put in an Addreſs, and laid before the Queen: And tho' they had made no Enquiry into the Expence of that War, nor into the Application of the Money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their Addreſs they mentioned the great Profuſion of Money in that Service. This they thought would touch the Nation very ſenſibly; and they hoped the thing would be eaſily believed on their Word. Proteſts were made againſt every Vote in the whole Progreſs of this Matter: Some of theſe carried ſuch Reflections, on the Votes of the Houſe, that they were expunged.

A ſtrange way of Proceeding.

I never ſaw any thing carried on, in the Houſe of Lords, ſo little to their Honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: They ſaid, ſomewhat was to be done, to juſtify the Queen's change of the Miniſtry; and every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all Cenſure: So the Misfortune of *Almanza*, being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the Load there. The Management of the publick Treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: ſo that the ſingle Misfortune of the whole War was to be magnified; ſome were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe Votes, becauſe by the Act of Grace, all thoſe, who had been concerned in the Adminiſtration, were covered from Proſecution and Puniſhment: So this was repreſented to ſome, as a Compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no Perſon could be hurt, they loaded ſingly the Earl of *Gallway*, with the loſs of the Battle of *Almanza*, tho' it was reſolved on in a Council of War, and he had behaved himſelf in it, with all the Bravery and Conduct that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good Retreat, and ſecured *Catalonia* with unexpreſſible Diligence. They alſo cenſured him for not inſiſting on the Point of Honour, in the Precedence to be given to the *Engliſh* Troops, as ſoon as the *Portugueze* Army entered into *Spain*: But, by our Treaty with that Crown, the Army was to be commanded by a *Portugueze* General; ſo it was not in his power to change the Order of the Army: If he had made the leaſt ſtruggle about it, the *Portugueze*, who were not eaſily prevailed on to enter into *Spain*, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occaſion, which ſuch a Diſpute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And ſo by his inſiſting on ſuch a Punctilio the whole Deſign would have been loſt. We had likewiſe, in our Treaty with them, yielded expreſsly the Point of the Flag in thoſe Seas, for which alone, on other occaſions, we have engaged in Wars; ſo he had no reaſon to conteſt a leſſer point: Yet a Cenſure was likewiſe laid on this. And this was the concluſion of the Enquiries, made by the Houſe of Lords this Seſſion.

Some Abuſes cenſured in the Houſe of Commons.

Harley, in the Houſe of Commons, led them to enquire into ſome Abuſes in the Victualling the Navy: They had been publickly practiſed for many Years, ſome have ſaid ever ſince the Reſtoration: The Abuſe was viſible, but connived at, that ſeveral Expences might be anſwered that way: Some have ſaid, that the Captains Tables were kept out of the Gain made in it. Yet a Member of the Houſe, who was a Whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the Houſe; and a Proſecution was ordered againſt him: But the Abuſe goes on ſtill, as avowedly as ever; here was a ſhew of Zeal, and a ſeeming Diſcovery of fraudulent Practices, by which the Nation was deceived.

The Money did not come into the Treaſury ſo readily as formerly; neither upon the Act of four Shillings in the Pound, nor on the Duty laid on Malt: So, to raiſe a quick Supply, there were two Bills paſs'd, for raiſing three Millions and a half by two Lotteries, the firſt of 1,500,000*l.* and the ſecond of two Millions, to be paid back in thirty-two Years; and for a Fund, to anſwer this, Duties were laid on Hops, Candles, Leather, Cards and Dice, and on the Poſtage on Letters. In one Branch of this, the Houſe of Commons ſeemed to break in upon a Rule, that had hitherto paſſed for a ſacred one. When the Duty upon Leather was firſt propoſed, it was rejected by a Majority, and ſo, by their uſual Orders, it was not to be offered again, during that Seſſion: But after a little Practice upon ſome Members, the ſame Duty was propoſed, with this Variation, that Skins and Tanned Hides ſhould be ſo charged; this was Leather in another Name. The Lotteries were ſoon filled up; ſo, by this means, Money came into the Treaſury: and indeed this Method has never yet failed of raiſing a ſpeedy Supply. There was no more asked, tho' in the beginning of this Seſſion, the Houſe had voted a Million more, than theſe Bills amounted to; which made ſome conclude, there was a ſecret Negotiation and Proſpect of a Peace.

1711

Supplies given for the War.

As the Duke of *Marlborough* was involved in the general Cenſure paſſed on the former Miniſtry, ſo he had not the uſual Compliment of Thanks for the Succeſſes of the former Campaign: When that was moved in the Houſe of Lords, it was oppoſed with ſuch Eagerneſs by the Duke of *Argyle* and others, that it was let fall: For this the Duke of *Marlborough* was prepared by the Queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the Thanks of the two Houſes, as had been formerly: She added, that ſhe expected he ſhould live well with her Miniſters, but did not think fit to ſay any thing of the Reaſons ſhe had, for making thoſe Changes in her Miniſtry: Yet he ſhewed no Reſentments, for all the ill Uſage he met with; and, having been much preſſed by the *States* and our other Allies, to continue in the Command of the Army, he told her, upon that account, he reſolved to be patient, and to ſubmit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the War; and finding the Queen's Prepoſſeſſion againſt his Dutcheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a Surrender of all her Places to the Queen; She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purſe; in all which, ſhe had ſerved with great Oeconomy and Fidelity to the Queen, and Juſtice to thoſe, who dealt with the Crown. The Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* had the two firſt of theſe Employments, and Mrs. *Maſſam* had the laſt.

The Duke of *Marlborough* ſtill commanded our Armies.

The Houſe of Commons found the Encouragement given the *Palatines*, was diſpleaſing to the People, that they ordered a Committee to examine into that Matter. The Truth of this Story was, that in the Year 1708, about fifty *Palatines*, who were *Lutherans*, and were ruined, came over to *England*: Theſe were ſo effectually recommended to Prince *George*'s Chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a Shilling a day, and took care to have them tranſported to the Plantations: They, raviſhed with this good Reception, wrote over ſuch an Account of it, as occaſioned a general Diſpoſition among all the Poor of that Country to come over, in ſearch of better Fortunes: And ſome of our Merchants, who were concerned in the Plantations, and knew the Advantage of bringing over great numbers to people thoſe deſart Countries, encouraged them with the Promiſes of Lands and Settlements there. This being printed, and ſpread thro' thoſe Parts, they came to *Holland* in great Bodies: The Anabaptiſts there were particularly helpful to them, both in ſubſiſting thoſe in *Holland*, and in tranſporting them to *England*. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at firſt; and great Charities were ſent to ſupport them: All the Tories declaimed againſt the good Reception that was given them, as much as the Whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad Seaſon, for Bread was then ſold at double the ordinary Price; ſo the Poor complained, that ſuch Charities went to ſupport Strangers, when they needed them ſo much: The time of our Fleet's ſailing to the Plantations was likewiſe at a great diſtance. The *Palatines* expected to be all kept together in a Colony, and became very uneaſy, when they ſaw that could not be compaſſed: Some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this hightened the Outcry againſt them: Some Papiſts mixed among them, and

Complaints upon the Favour ſhewed the *Palatines*.

1711 came over with them; but they were presently sent back. Great numbers were sent to *Ireland*; but most of them to the Plantations in *North America*, where it is believed their Industry will quickly turn to a good account. The Design was now formed, to load the late Administration all that was possible; so it was pretended, that in all that Affair, there was a Design against the Church, and to encrease the Numbers and Strength of the Dissenters. It has indeed passed for an established Maxim, in all Ages, and in all Governments, that the drawing of Numbers of People to any Nation, did increase its intrinsick Strength; which is only to be measured, by the Multitude of the People, that inhabit and cultivate it: Yet the House of Commons came to a sudden Vote, That those who had encourag'd and brought over the *Palatines*, were Enemies to the Nation: And, because a Letter, wrote by the Earl of *Sunderland*, in the Queen's Name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were order'd to consider of the best Methods of disposing of them, it was moved to lay the Load of that Matter on him, in some severe Votes: Yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by several Adjournments delay'd, till at last it was let fall.

A Bill to repeal the general Naturalization rejected by the Lords.

But while the Heat, raised by this Enquiry, was kept up; the Commons pass'd a Bill to repeal the Act for a general Naturalization of all Protestants, which had pass'd two Years before; pretending that it gave the Encouragement to the *Palatines* to come over, tho' none of them had made use of that Act, in order to their Naturalization. This was sent up to the Lords; and the Lord *Guernsey*, and some others, entertained them with tragical Declamations on the Subject; yet, upon the first reading of the Bill, it was rejected. A Bill, that was formerly often attempted, for disabling Members of the House of Commons to hold Places, had the same Fate.

A Bill qualifying Members to be chosen passed.

Another Bill for qualifying Members, by having 600 *l.* a-year for a Knight of the Shire, and 300 *l.* a-year for a Burgess, succeeded better: The Design of this was to exclude Courtiers, Military Men, and Merchants, from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that this being settled, the Land Interest would be the prevailing Consideration, in all their Consultations. They did not extend these Qualifications to *Scotland*; it being pretended that Estates there, being generally small, it would not be easy to find Men so qualified, capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential Part of our Constitution, touching the Freedom of Elections: And it had been, as oft as it was attempted, opposed by the Ministry, tho' it had a fair Appearance of securing Liberty, when all was lodged with Men of Estates: Yet our Gentry was become so ignorant, and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill Effects of this; and that the Interest of Trade, which indeed supports that of the Land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new Ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it; so it passed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our Security for the future.

An Act for *French* Wine.

Another Bill passed, not much to the honour of those who promoted it, for the Importation of the *French* Wine: The Interest of the Nation lay against this so visibly, that nothing but the delicate Palates of those, who loved that Liquor, could have carried such a Motion thro' the two Houses. But, tho' the Bill pass'd, it was like to have no effect: for it was provided, that the Wine should be imported in neutral Vessels; and the King of *France* had forbid it to be exported, in any Vessels but his own: it seems he reckoned, that our desire of drinking his Wine, would carry us to take it on such Terms, as he should prescribe. In the House of Commons there appeared a new Combination of Tories, of the highest form, who thought the Court was yet in some Management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their heighth, which they imputed to Mr. *Harley*; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their Jealousy of him on several occasions, sometimes publickly. But an odd Accident, that had almost been fatal, proved happy to him; it fell out on the 8th of *March*, the Day of the Queen's Accession to the Crown: One *Guiscard*, who was an Abbot in *France*, had for some enormous Crimes made his escape out of that Kingdom; he printed a formal Story of a Design he was laying, to raise a general Insurrection in the Southern Parts of *France* (in conjunction with those,

An Attempt on *Harley* by *Guiscard*.

who

who were then up in the *Cevennes*) for recovering their ancient Liberties, as well as for reſtoring the Edicts in favour of the *Hugenots*: And he ſeemed very zealous for publick Liberty. He inſinuated himſelf ſo into the Duke of *Savoy*, that he recommended him to our Court, as a Man capable of doing great Service: He ſeemed forward to undertake any thing, that he might be put on; he had a Penſion aſſigned him for ſome Years, but it did not anſwer his Expence; ſo when he was out of hope of getting it increaſed, he wrote to one at the Court of *France*, to offer his Service there; and it was thought, he had a Deſign againſt the Queen's Perſon; for he had tried by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to ſpeak with her in private; which he had attempted that very Morning: but his Letter being opened at the Poſt-houſe, and brought to the Cabinet Council, a Meſſenger was ſent from the Council, to ſeize on him. He found him walking in St. *James*'s Park; and having diſarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then ſitting: As he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a Penknife, which lay among Pens in a Standiſh; when he was queſtioned upon his Letter, he deſired to ſpeak in private with Secretary St. *John*, who refuſed it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas *Harley* ſate near him, he ſtruck him in the Breaſt with the Penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done, with ſo ſmall a Tool. The other Counſellors drew their Swords, and ſtabbed *Guiſcard* in ſeveral Places; and their Attendants being called in, they dragged him out. *Harley*'s Wound was preſently ſearched; it appeared to be a ſlight one, yet he was long in the Surgeon's hands: ſome imputed this to an ill Habit of Body; others thought it was an Artifice, to make it ſeem more dangerous than indeed it was. *Guiſcard*'s Wounds were deeper, and not eaſily managed; for at firſt he was ſullen, and ſeemed reſolved to die; yet after a day, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Surgeons: But did not complain of a Wound in his Back, till it gangreened; and of that he died. It was not known, what Particulars were in his Letter, for various Reports went of it; nor was it known what he confeſſed. 1711

This Accident was of great uſe to *Harley*; for the Party formed againſt him, was aſhamed to puſh a Man, who was thus aſſaſſinated by one, that was ſtudying to recommend himſelf to the Court of *France*, and who was believed to have formed a Deſign againſt the Queen's Perſon. Her Health was at this time much ſhaken. She had three Fits of an Ague; the laſt was a ſevere one: but the Progreſs of the Diſeaſe was ſtopped by the Bark.

A Deſign againſt King *William*'s Grants miſcarries.

The Tories continued ſtill to purſue the Memory of King *William*; they complained of the Grants made by him, tho' theſe were far ſhort of thoſe, that had been made by King *Charles* the Second; but that they might diſtinguiſh between thoſe, whom they intended to favour, and others, againſt whom they were ſet, they brought in a Bill, empowering ſome Perſons to examine all the Grants made by him, and to report both the Value of them, and the Conſiderations upon which they were made: This was the Method, that had ſucceeded with them before, with relation to *Ireland*; ſo the bringing in this Bill was looked on, as a ſure ſtep, for carrying the Reſumption of all the Grants, that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the Deſign appeared to be an unjuſt Malice againſt the Memory of our Deliverer, and againſt thoſe, who had ſerved him beſt; ſo upon the firſt reading of the Bill, it was rejected.

Enquiries into the Accounts.

Their Malice turned next againſt the Earl of *Godolphin*: They found, that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the Accounts of many Millions were not yet paſſed in the *Exchequer*; ſo they paſſed a Vote, that the Accounts of Thirty-five Millions yet ſtood out. This was a vaſt Sum; but to make it up, ſome Accounts in King *Charles*'s time were thrown into the heap; the Lord *Ranelagh*'s Accounts of the former Reign were the greateſt part; and it appeared, that in no time Accounts were ſo regularly brought up, as in the Queen's Reign. Mr. *Bridges*'s Accounts, of fourteen or fifteen Millions, were the great *Item*, of which, not above half a Million was paſſed: But there were Accounts of above eleven Millions brought in, tho' not paſs'd in form, thro' the great Caution and Exactneſs of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, at whoſe Office they

1711 were to pass; and he was very slow, and would allow nothing, without hearing Counsel on every Article. The Truth is, the Methods of passing Accounts were so sure, that they were very slow; and it was not possible, for the proper Officer, to find Time and Leisure to pass the Accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, tho' the Earl of *Godolphin* had managed the Treasury, with an Uncorruptness, Fidelity, and Diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any Censure on his Administration; yet, because many Accounts stood out, they passed some angry Votes on that: But since nothing had appeared, in all the Examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they would not consent to the Motion that was made, for printing that Report; for by that, it would have appeared, who had served well, and who had served ill.

When this Session drew near an end, some were concerned to find, that a Body, chosen so much by the Zeal and Influence of the Clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the Church; so it being apparent, that in the Suburbs of *London*, there were about 200,000 People more, than could possibly worship God in the Churches built there, upon a Message to them from the Queen (to which the Rise was given by an Address to her from the Convocation) they voted that fifty more Churches should be built; and laid the Charge of it, upon that part of the Duty on Coals, that had been reserved for building of St. *Paul*'s, which was now finished.

The Dauphin's Death, and the Emperor's.

In the beginning of *April*, the *Dauphin* and the Emperor both died of the Small Pox; the first on the third, the second on the sixth of the Month: Time will shew what Influence the one or the other will have on publick Affairs. The Electors were all resolved to chuse King *Charles* Emperor. A little before the Emperor's Death, two great Affairs were fully settled; the Differences between that Court and the Duke of *Savoy* were composed, to the Duke's satisfaction: The other was of more Importance; Offers of Amnesty and Concessions were sent to the Malecontents in *Hungary*, with which they were so well satisfied, that a full Peace was like to follow on it: And, lest the News of the Emperor's Death should be any stop to that Settlement, it was kept up from them, till a Body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their Arms, with the Fort of *Cassaw*, and took an Oath of Obedience to King *Charles*, which was the first notice they had of *Joseph*'s Death.

War breaking out between the *Turk* and the *Czar*.

The Effects of this will probably go farther, than barely to the quieting of *Hungary*: For the King of *Sweden*, the *Crim Tartar*, and the Agents of *France* had so animated the *Turks* against the *Muscovites*; that tho' the Sultan had no mind to engage in a new War, till the Affairs of that Empire should be put in a better State; yet he was so apprehensive of the Janizaries, that, much against his own Inclinations, he was brought to declare War against the *Czar*: But both the *Czar* and he seemed inclined to accept the Mediation, that was offered by *England* and by the *States*; to which very probably the *Turks* may the more easily be brought, when they see no hope of any Advantage to be made, from the Distractions in *Hungary*.

It did not yet appear, what would be undertaken on either side in *Spain*: King *Philip* had not yet opened the Campaign; but it was given out, that great Preparations were made for a Siege: On the other hand, King *Charles* had great Reinforcements sent him; so that his Force was reckoned not inferior to King *Philip*'s: Nor was it yet known, what Resolutions he had taken, since he received the News of the Emperor's Death.

The Campaign was now opened on both sides in the *Netherlands*, tho' later than was intended: The Season continued long so rainy, that all the Ways in those parts were impracticable: Nothing was yet attempted on either side; both Armies lay near one another; and both were so well posted, that no Attack was yet made: And this was the present State of Affairs abroad, at the end of *May*. At home Mr. *Harley* was created Earl of *Oxford*, and then made Lord High Treasurer, and had now the supreme Favour: The Session of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great Project carried on, for

for a Trade into the *South-Sea*; and a Fund was projected, for paying the Intereſt of nine Millions, that were in Arrear for our Marine Affairs.

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The Convocation met.

From our temporal Concerns, I turn to give an account of thoſe, which related to the Church: The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was opened, the 25th of *November*, the ſame day in which the Parliament met: And *Atterbury* was choſen Prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen ſent a Licence to the Convocation, empowering them to enter upon ſuch Conſultations, as the preſent State of the Church required, and particularly to conſider of ſuch Matters, as ſhe ſhould lay before them; limiting them to a *Quorum*, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, or the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* ſhould be preſent, and agree to their Reſolutions. With this Licence, there was a Letter directed to the Archbiſhop, in which the Convocation was ordered, to lay before the Queen an Account of the late exceſſive growth of Infidelity and Hereſy among us; and to conſider how to redreſs abuſes in Excommunications; how rural Deans might be made more effectual; how Terriers might be made and preſerved more exactly; and how the abuſes in Licences for Marriage might be corrected.

Exceptions to the Licence ſent them.

In this whole Matter, neither the Archbiſhop nor any of the Biſhops were ſo much as conſulted with; and ſome things in the Licence were new: The Archbiſhop was not named the Preſident of the Convocation, as was uſual in former Licences; and in theſe, the Archbiſhop's Preſence and Conſent alone was made neceſſary, except in caſe of Sickneſs, and then the Archbiſhop had named ſome Biſhops to preſide, as his Commiſſaries: And in that caſe, the Convocation was limited to his Commiſſaries, which ſtill lodged the Preſidentſhip and the Negative with the Archbiſhop: This was according to the primitive Pattern, to limit the Clergy of a Province to do nothing, without the Conſent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own Body, who had no Deputation from the Archbiſhop. So a Report of this being made, by a Committee that was appointed to ſearch the Records, it was laid before the Queen: And ſhe ſent us a Meſſage to let us know, that ſhe did not intend, that thoſe whom ſhe had named to be of the *Quorum*, ſhould either preſide or have a Negative upon our Deliberations, tho' the contrary was plainly inſinuated in the Licence. The Archbiſhop was ſo ill of the Gout, that after our firſt Meetings, he could come no more to us; ſo was the Biſhop of *London*: upon which, the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, ſeeing how invidiouſly he was diſtinguiſhed from his Brethren, in which he had not been conſulted, pretended ill Health; and we were at a ſtand, till a new Licence was ſent us, in which the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Briſtol*, and *St. Davids*, were added to be of the *Quorum*. The two laſt were newly conſecrated, and had been in no Functions in the Church before: So the Queen, not only paſſed over all the Biſhops, made in King *William*'s Reign, but a great many of thoſe named by her ſelf, and ſet the two laſt in a Diſtinction above all their Brethren. All this was directed by *Atterbury*, who had the Confidence of the chief Miniſter; and becauſe the other Biſhops had maintained a good Correſpondence with the former Miniſtry, it was thought fit to put Marks of the Queen's Diſtruſt upon them, that it might appear, with whom her Royal Favour and Truſt was lodged.

A new Licence.

A Repreſentation drawn for the Queen.

The Convocation entred on the Conſideration of the Matters referred to them by the Queen: And a Committee was appointed, to draw a Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Church, and of Religion among us; but after ſome Heads were agreed on, *Atterbury* procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a moſt virulent Declamation, defaming all the Adminiſtration, from the time of the Revolution: Into this he brought many impious Principles and Practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before the Queen. The Lower Houſe agreed to his Draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another Repreſentation to be drawn, in more general and more modeſt Terms. It was not ſettled, which of theſe Draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or whether any Repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the Deſign in asking one was only to have an Aſperſion caſt, both on the former Miniſtry and on the former Reign. Several Proviſions were prepared, with relation

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Whiſton revived *Arianiſm.*

to the other Particulars in the Queen's Letter: But none of theſe were agreed to by both Houſes.

An incident happened, that diverted their Thoughts to another matter: Mr. *Whiſton*, the Profeſſor of Mathematicks in *Cambridge*, a learned Man, of a ſober and exemplary Life, but much ſet on hunting for Paradoxes, fell on the reviving the *Arian* Hereſy, tho' he pretended to differ from *Arius*, in ſeveral Particulars. Yet upon the main he was partly *Appollinariſt*, partly *Arian*; for he thought the *Nous* or *Word* was all the Soul that acted in our Saviour's Body. He found his Notions favoured by the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions; ſo he reckoned them a Part, and the chief Part of the Canon of the Scriptures. For theſe Tenets, he was cenſured at *Cambridge*, and expelled the Univerſity: Upon that, he wrote a Vindication of himſelf and his Doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promiſing a larger Work on theſe Subjects. The unconteſted way of proceeding in ſuch a caſe was, that the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, in which he lived, ſhould cite him into his Court, in order to his Conviction or Cenſure, from whoſe Sentence an Appeal lay to the Archbiſhop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbiſhop might proceed in the firſt inſtance in a Court of Audience: But we ſaw no clear Precedents, of any Proceedings in Convocation, where the Juriſdiction was conteſted; a Reference made by the High Commiſſion to the Convocation, where the Party ſubmitted to do Penance, being the only Precedent that appeared in Hiſtory; and even of this we had no Record: ſo that it not being thought a clear Warrant for our proceeding, we were at a ſtand. The Act, that ſettled the courſe of Appeals in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, made no mention of Sentences in Convocation; and yet, by the Act in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, that defined what ſhould be judged Hereſy, that Judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbiſhop laid before the Biſhops in a Letter, that he wrote to them on this occaſion) it ſeemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the firſt inſtance, proceed againſt a Man for Hereſy: And their Proceedings, if they were not warranted by Law, might involve them in a *Præmunire*. So the Upper Houſe, in an Addreſs, prayed the Queen to ask the Opinions of the Judges, and ſuch others as ſhe thought fit, concerning theſe Doubts, that they might know how the Law ſtood in this matter.

The different Opinions of the Judges concerning the Power of the Convocation.

Eight of the Judges, with the Attorney and Sollicitor-General, gave their Opinion, that We had a Juriſdiction, and might proceed in ſuch a caſe; but brought no expreſs Law nor Preſident to ſupport their Opinion: They only obſerved, that the Law-Books ſpoke of the Convocation, as having Juriſdiction; and they did not ſee that it was ever taken from them: They were alſo of Opinion, that an Appeal lay from the Sentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reſerved to themſelves a Power to change their mind, in caſe, upon an Argument that might be made for a Prohibition, they ſhould ſee cauſe for it. Four of the Judges were poſitively of a contrary Opinion, and maintained it from the Statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received theſe different Opinions, ſent them to the Archbiſhop, to be laid before the two Houſes of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diverſity between them, ſhe wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our Juriſdiction, ſhe did expect, that we ſhould proceed in the Matter before us. In this it was viſible, that Thoſe who adviſed the Queen to write that Letter, conſidered more their own Humours than her Honour. Yet two great Doubts ſtill remained, even ſuppoſing we had a Juriſdiction: The firſt was, of whom the Court was to be compoſed; whether only of the Biſhops, or what ſhare the Lower Houſe had in this Judiciary Authority: The other was, by what Delegates, in caſe of an Appeal, our Sentence was to be examined: Were no Biſhops to be in the Court of Delegates? Or was the Sentence of the Archbiſhop and his twenty-one Suffragan Biſhops, with the Clergy of the Province, to be judged by the Archbiſhop of *York* and his three Suffragan Biſhops? Theſe Difficulties appearing to be ſo great, the Biſhops reſolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's Licence, an Undiſputable Authority; which was to examine and cenſure the Book, and to ſee if his Doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the firſt four General Councils, which is the Meaſure ſet by Law, to judge Hereſy.

resy. They drew out some Propositions from his Book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of *Arianism*; and censured them as such. These they sent down to the Lower House, who, tho' they excepted to one Proposition, yet censured the rest in the same manner. This the Archbishop (being then disabled by the Gout) sent by one of the Bishops to the Queen for her Assent, who promised to consider of it: But to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in Winter, no Answer being come from the Queen, two Bishops were sent to ask it; but she could not tell, what was become of the Paper, which the Archbishop had sent her; so a new Extract of the Censure was again sent to her: But she has not yet thought fit, to send any Answer to it. So *Whiston*'s Affair sleeps, tho' he has published a large Work in four Volumes in Octavo, justifying his Doctrine, and maintaining the Canonicalness of the Apostolical Constitutions, preferring their Authority not only to the Epistles, but even to the Gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any *Proselytes*, tho' he has set himself much to support that Paradox. 1711 *Whiston*'s Doctrines condemned.

The Lower House would not enter into the Consideration of the Representation, sent down to them by the Bishops; so none was agreed on, to be presented to the Queen: But both were printed, and severe Reflections were made, in several Tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower House, or rather by *Atterbury*. The Bishops went thro' all the Matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a Scheme of Regulations on them all: But neither were These agreed to, by the Lower House; for their Spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the Bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the Session of Parliament and Convocation came to an end.

The last thing settled by the Parliament was, the creating a new Fund for a Trade in the *South-Sea*: There was a great Debt upon the Navy, occasioned partly, by the Deficiency of the Funds appointed for the Service at Sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such Supplies as were given, without appropriating Clauses, to the Service abroad; where it was impossible to carry it on by Credit, without ready Money, so it was judged necessary to let the Debt of the Navy run on upon Credit: This had risen up to several Millions; and the Discount on the Navy-Bills ran high. All this Debt was thrown into one Stock; and a Fund was formed, for paying the Interest at 6 *per Cent*. An Act for the *South-Sea* Trade.

The Flatterers of the new Ministers made great use of this, to magnify them, and to asperse the old Ministry: But a full Report of that matter was soon after published, by which it appeared, that the publick Money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not Money enough to answer all the Expence of the War, it was necessary to apply it to that, which pressed most, and where the Service could not be carried on by Credit: So this Debt was contracted by an inevitable Necessity; and all reasonable Persons were fully satisfied with this Account of the Matter. The Earl of *Godolphin*'s unblemish'd Integrity was such, that no Imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a Clamour, they reflected on the Expence he had run the Nation into, upon the early Successes in the Year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding Session, as was formerly told: But that was now revived; and it was said to be an Invasion of the great Right of the Commons in giving Supplies, to enter on Designs and to engage the Nation in an Expence, not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated, with many tragical Expressions, as a Subversion of the Constitution; so with this, and that of the thirty-five Millions, of which the Accounts were not yet pass'd, and some other Particulars, they made an inflaming Address to the Queen, at the end of the Sessions. And this was artificially spread thro' the Nation, by which weaker Minds were so possessed, that it was not easy to undeceive them, even by the fullest and clearest Evidences; the Nation seemed still infatuated beyond the power of Conviction. With this the Session ended, and all considering Persons had a very melancholy Prospect, when they saw what might be apprehended from the two Sessions, that were yet to come of the same Parliament. Reflections on the old Ministry fully cleared.

I now turn to Affairs abroad. The Business of *Spain* had been so much pressed from the Throne, and so much insisted on all this Session, and the Commons had Affairs in *Spain*.

1711 given 1,500,000*l.* for that Service (a Sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding Seſſion) ſo that it was expected, Matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of *Argyle* was ſent to command the Queen's Troops there, and he ſeemed full of Heat: But all our Hopes failed. The Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Army was in ſo ill a condition, that if *Starembergh* had been ſupported, he promiſed himſelf great Advantages: It does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the Parliament has not yet taken this into Examination. It is certain the Duke of *Argyle* did nothing; neither he nor his Troops were once named during the whole Campaign; he wrote over very heavy Complaints, that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the Remittances, that he expected: But what ground there was for that, does not yet appear: For, tho' he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a good Underſtanding with the Miniſters. *Starembergh* drew out his Forces; and the two Armies lay for ſome time looking on one another, without coming to any Action: *Vendoſme* ordered a Siege to be laid to two ſmall Places, but without Succeſs. That of *Cardona* was perſiſted in obſtinately, till near the end of *December*, and then *Starembergh* ſent ſome Bodies to raiſe the Siege, who ſucceeded ſo well in their Attempt, that they killed 2000 of the Beſiegers, and forced their Camp; ſo that they not only raiſed the Siege, but made themſelves Maſters of the Enemies Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage; and the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Army was ſo diminiſhed, that if *Starembergh* had received the Aſſiſtance, which he expected from *England*, he would have pierced far into *Spain*. But we did nothing, after all the Zeal we had expreſs'd for retrieving Matters on that ſide.

The Election of King *Charles* to be Emperor.

The Emperor's Death, as it preſently opened to King *Charles* the Succeſſion to the Hereditary Dominions; ſo a Diſpoſition appeared unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor: Yet he ſtaid in *Barcelona* till *September*; and then leaving his Queen behind, to ſupport his Affairs in *Spain*, he ſailed over to *Italy*: He ſtaid ſome Weeks at *Milan*, where the Duke of *Savoy* came to him; and we were told, that all Matters in debate were adjuſted between them. We hoped this Campaign would have produced ſomewhat in thoſe Parts, of advantage to the common Cauſe, upon the Agreement made before the Emperor *Joſeph*'s Death. And Mr. *St. John*, when he moved in the Houſe of Commons, for the Subſidies to the Duke of *Savoy*, ſaid, all our hopes of Succeſs this Year lay in that Quarter; for in *Flanders* we could do nothing. The Duke came into *Savoy*, and it was given out that he was reſolved to preſs forward; but upon what Views, it was not then known, he ſtopp'd his Courſe; and after a ſhort Campaign, repaſſed the Mountains.

The Election of the Emperor came on at *Francfort*, where ſome Electors came in Perſon, others ſent their Deputies; ſome Weeks were ſpent in preparing the Capitulations; great Applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*; but they were rejected, for they were under the *Ban* of the Empire; nor were they pleaſed, with the Interpoſition of the Pope's *Nuncio*, who gave them much trouble in that Matter; but they perſiſted in refuſing to admit them. *Francfort* lay ſo near the Frontier of the Empire, that it was apprehended, the *French* might have made an Attempt that way; for they drew ſome Detachments from their Army in *Flanders*, to encreaſe their Forces on the *Rhine*. This obliged Prince *Eugene*, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Marlborough*, had opened the Campaign in *Flanders*, to draw off a Detachment from thence, and march with it towards the *Rhine*; and there he commanded the Imperial Army; and came in good time, to ſecure the Electors at *Francfort*; who being now ſafe, from the fear of any Inſult, went on ſlowly in all that they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an Election; and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe *Charles*, who was now declared Emperor by the Name of *Charles* the Sixth: He went from *Milan* to *Inſpruck*, and from thence to *Francfort*, where he was crowned with the uſual Solemnity. Thus that Matter was happily ended, and no Action happened on the *Rhine* all this Campaign.

The Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *French* Lines.

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army was not only weakened by the Detachment, that Prince *Eugene* carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling over 5000 Men of the

the best Bodies of his Army, for an Expedition designed by Sea; so that the *French* were superior to him in number: They lay behind Lines, that were looked on as so strong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was said, that *Villars* had wrote to the *French* King, that he had put a *Ne plus ultra* to the Duke of *Marlborough*: But contrary to all expectation, he did so amuse *Villars* with faint Motions, that at last, to the surprize of all *Europe*, he pass'd the Lines near *Bouchain*, without the loss of a Man. 1711

This raised his Character, beyond all that he had done formerly; the Design was so well laid, and was so happily executed, that in all Mens Opinions, it pass'd for a Master-piece of military Skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of *Marlborough*, no other Person having any share, except in the Execution. When our Army was now so happily got within the *French* Lines, the *Dutch* Deputies proposed the attacking the *French*, and venturing a Battle, since this Surprize had put them in no small Disorder. The Duke of *Marlborough* differed from them, he thought there might be too much Danger in that Attempt; the Army was much fatigued with so long a March, in which their Cavalry had been eight and forty Hours on horseback, alighting only twice, about an Hour at a time, to feed their Horses; for they marched eleven Leagues in one Day: The *French* were fresh; and our Army was in no condition to enter upon Action, till some time was allowed for Refreshment: And the Duke of *Marlborough* thought that, in case of a Misfortune, their being within the *French* Lines might be fatal.

He besieg'd *Bouchain*.

He proposed the besieging *Bouchain*; which he thought might oblige the *French* to endeavour to raise the Siege; and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal Terms; or it would bring both a Disreputation and a Disheartening on their Army, if a Place of such Importance should be taken in their sight: Both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General Officers thought the Design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the Matter: It seemed impracticable to take a Place, situated in a Moras, well fortified, with a good Garrison in it, in the sight of a superior Army; for the *French* lay within a Mile of them: There was also great danger from the Excursions, that the Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé* might make, to cut off their Provisions, which were to come to them from *Tournay*. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an Undertaking; since a Misfortune in his Conduct would have furnished his Enemies with the Advantages, that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the Scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it: The *French* tried to throw more Men into the Place, by a narrow Causeway thro' the Moras, but he took his Measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing: He saw what the Event of the Siege might be; so he bestirred himself with unusual Application, and was more fatigued in the course of this Siege, than he had been at any time, during the whole War. He carried on the Trenches, and by his Batteries and Bombs the Place was soon laid in Ruins. *Villars* seemed to be very busy, but to no purpose; yet, seeing he could not raise the Siege, he tried to surprize *Doway*; but they discovered the Design, and forced the Body that was sent thither, to retreat in all haste. After twenty Days, from the opening the Trenches, the Garrison of *Bouchain* capitulated; and could have no better Terms than to be made Prisoners of War. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole History of the War, so the Honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of *Marlborough*; as the Blame of a Miscarriage in it must have fallen singly on him. *Villars*'s Conduct on this occasion was much censured; but it was approved by the King of *France*: And with this the Campaign ended in those parts.

And took it.

No Action happened at Sea, for the *French* had no Fleet out: An Expedition was designed by Sea for taking *Quebec* and *Placentia*; and for that end, 5000 Men were brought from *Flanders*: *Hill*, who was Brother to the Favourite, had the Command. There was a strong Squadron of Men of War ordered, to secure the Transport Fleet; they were furnished from hence with Provisions, only for three Months; but they designed to take in a second Supply at *New England*. A Commissioner of the Victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them be sent out so ill furnished; for they had Stores, lying on their

An Expedition by Sea to *Canada*.

1711 hands, for a full Supply. They ſailed, ſoon after the end of the Seſſion, and had a quick Paſſage to *New England*; but were forced to ſtay many Weeks on that Coaſt, before they could be ſupplied with Proviſions: They ſailed near the end of *Auguſt* into the River of *Canada*, which was thirty Miles broad: But they were ill ſerved with Pilots; and at that Seaſon, Storms were ordinary in thoſe parts: One of theſe broke upon them, by which ſeveral Ships were overſet, and about 2500 Men were loſt. Thus the Deſign of *Quebec* miſcarried; and their Proviſions were too ſcanty, to venture an Attempt on *Placentia*: So they returned home unproſperous.

It miſcarried.

This was a great Mortification to the new Miniſtry; it being their firſt Undertaking, ill projected, and worſe executed, in every ſtep of it: It was the more liable to Cenſure, becauſe at the very time, that the old Miniſtry were charged with entring on Deſigns, that had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no Supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Seſſion was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas, what the former Miniſtry had done this way, was upon Emergents, and Succeſſes, after the end of the Seſſion: But this Matter has not yet been brought under a Parliamentary Examination, ſo the Diſcoveries, that may be made if that happens, muſt be referred to their proper place. This was the State of our Affairs during this Campaign; the Merchants complained, of great Loſſes made at Sea, by the ill Management of Convoys and Cruizers.

Affairs in Turkey.

The War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* came to a quick end: The *Czar* advanced with his Army ſo far into *Moldavia*, that he was cut off from his Proviſions: An Engagement followed, in which both ſides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the *Czar* found he was reduced to great Extremities; for he propoſed, in order to a Peace, to ſurrender *Azuph*, with ſome other Places, and demanded that the King of *Sweden* might be ſent home to his own Country. The *Grand Vizier* was glad to arrive at ſo ſpeedy a Concluſion of the War; and, notwithſtanding the great Oppoſition made by the King of *Sweden*, he concluded a Peace with the *Muſcovite*, not without Suſpicion of his being corrupted by Money to it. The King of *Sweden* being highly offended at this, charged the *Grand Vizier*, for neglecting the great Advantages he had over the *Czar*, ſince he and his whole Army were at mercy; and he prevailed ſo far at the *Port*, that upon it the *Grand Vizier* was depoſed, and there was an appearance of a War ready to break out the next Year: for the *Czar* delayed the rendring *Azuph* and the other Places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of *Sweden* was not ſent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new War, all the Places were at length delivered up: What Effect this may have, muſt be left to farther time.

And in Pomerania.

Towards the end of the Year the *Danes* and *Saxons* broke in by concert upon *Pomerania*, reſolving to beſiege *Stralſund*; but every thing neceſſary for a Siege came ſo ſlowly from *Denmark*, that no Progreſs was made, tho' the Troops lay near the Place, for ſome Months; and in that time the *Swedes* landed a conſiderable Body of Men, in the Iſle of *Rugen*: At laſt the Beſiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raiſe the Siege, and to retire from that Neighbourhood, in the beginning of *January*. They ſate down next before *Wiſmar*, but that Attempt likewiſe miſcarried, which rendered the Conduct of the King of *Denmark* very contemptible; who thus obſtinately carried on a War (at a time that a Plague ſwept away a third part of the People of *Copenhagen*) with as little Conduct as Succeſs. Having thus given a ſhort View of Affairs abroad;

Harley made an Earl, and Lord Treaſurer.

I come next to give the beſt Account I can, of a ſecret and important Tranſaction at home; The Miniſters now found, how hard it was to reſtore Credit, and by conſequence to carry on the War; Mr. *Harley*'s Wound gave the Queen the occaſion, which ſhe ſeemed to be waiting for; upon his Recovery ſhe had created him an Earl, by a double Title, of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. Preambles to Patents of Honour uſually carry in them a ſhort Account of the Dignity of the Family, and of the Services of the Perſon advanced: But his Preamble was very pompous, and ſet him out in the moſt extravagant Characters that Flatterers could invent; in particular it ſaid, that he had redeemed the Nation from Rob-

bery

bery, had reſtored Credit, and had rendered the Publick great Service in a courſe of many Years: All this was ſet out in too fulſome Rhetorick, and being prepared by his own Direction, pleaſed him ſo much, that whereas all other Patents had been only read in the Houſe of Lords, this was printed. He was at the ſame time made Lord Treaſurer, and became the chief, if not ſole Miniſter, for every thing was directed by him. It ſoon appeared, that his Strength lay in managing Parties, and in engaging weak People by Rewards and Promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the Buſineſs of the Treaſury, nor the Conduct of foreign Affairs. But he truſted to his Intereſt in the Queen and in the Favourite. 1711

He ſaw the Load, that the carrying on the War muſt bring upon him; ſo he reſolved to ſtrike up a Peace as ſoon as was poſſible. The Earl of *Jerſey* had ſome Correſpondence in *Paris* and at St. *Germains*, ſo he truſted the Conduct of the Negotiation to him. The Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who was Lord Privy Seal, died of an Apoplexy in *July*, being the richeſt Subject that had been in *England* for ſome Ages; he had an Eſtate of above 40000 *l.* a-year, and was much ſet on encreaſing it. Upon his Death it was reſolved to give the Earl of *Jerſey* the Privy Seal; but he died ſuddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that it was conferred on *Robinſon*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, who was deſigned to be the Plenipotentiary in the Treaty, that was projected. One *Prior*, who had been *Jerſey*'s Secretary, upon his Death, was imployed to proſecute that, which the other did not live to finiſh. *Prior* had been taken a Boy, out of a Tavern, by the Earl of *Dorſet*, who accidentally found him reading *Horace*; and he, being very generous, gave him an Education in Literature: He was ſent to the Court of *France* in *September*, to try on what Terms we might expect a Peace; his Journey was carried on ſecretly; but upon his Return, he was ſtopt at *Dover*; and a Packet, that he brought, was kept, till an Order came from Court to ſet him free: And by this Accident the Secret broke out. Soon after that, one *Meſnager* was ſent over from *France*, with Preliminaries; but very different from thoſe, that had been concerted at the *Hague*, two Years before.

Negotiations for a Peace with *France*.

By theſe, the King of *France* offered, to acknowledge the Queen, and the Succeſſion to the Crown, according to the preſent Settlement; and that he would *bona fide* enter into ſuch Meaſures, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never belong to the ſame Perſon; that he would ſettle a ſafe and proper Barrier to all the Allies; that he would raze *Dunkirk*, provided an Equivalent ſhould be given, for deſtroying the Fortifications, he had made there, at ſo great an Expence; and that he would procure both to *England* and to the *States* the re-eſtabliſhing of their Commerce. The Court was then at *Windſor*: Theſe Propoſitions were ſo well entertained at our Court, that a Copy of them was ordered to be given to Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Miniſter; he treated theſe Offers with much Scorn, and printed the Preliminaries in one of our News-Papers; ſoon after that, he was ordered to come no more to Court, but to make haſte out of *England*.

Preliminaries offered by *France*.

The proceeding was ſevere and unuſual; for the common Method, when a Provocation was given by a Publick Miniſter, was to complain of him to his Maſter, and to deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was ſurmized was, that his Secretary *Gualtier* (who was a Prieſt) betrayed him; and diſcovered his ſecret Correſpondence, and the Advertiſements he ſent the Emperor, to give him ill Impreſſions of our Court; for which Treachery he was rewarded with an Abbey in *France*. But of this I have no certain Information.

Count *Gallas* ſent away with Diſgrace.

When our Court was reſolved on this Project; they knew the Lord *Townſhend* ſo well, that they could not depend on his ſerving their ends; ſo he was both recalled and diſgraced: And the Lord *Raby* was brought from the Court of *Pruſſia*, and advanced to be Earl of *Strafford*, and ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland*. It was not then known, how far our Court carried the Negotiations with *France*; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of theſe Preliminaries, as a Foundation for a Treaty, to be opened upon them; or if any private Promiſe or Treaty was ſigned: This laſt was very poſitively given out, both in *France* and *Spain*. The very Treating, without the concurrence of our Allies, was certain-

Earl of *Strafford* ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland*.

1711 ly an open Violation of our Alliances, which had expreſly provided againſt any ſuch Negotiation.

Many Libels againſt the Allies.

Many mercenary Pens were ſet on work, to juſtify our Proceedings, and to defame our Allies, more particularly the *Dutch*; this was done with much Art, but with no regard to Truth, in a Pamphlet entitled the *Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Miniſtry*; to which very full Anſwers were written, detecting the Thread of Falſhood, that ran thro' that Work. It was now ſaid, *England* was ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the War: And when King *Charles* was choſen Emperor, it was alſo ſaid, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his Neighbours, if *Spain* were join'd to the Emperor and to the Hereditary Dominions: It was alſo zealouſly, tho' moſt falſely, infuſed into the Minds of the People, that our Allies, moſt particularly the *Dutch*, had impoſed on us, and failed us on many occaſions. The *Jacobites* did, with the greateſt Joy entertain this Proſpect of Peace, becauſe the *Dauphin* had, in a Viſit to St. *Germains*, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the *Pretender*'s Affairs.

Earl *Rivers* ſent to *Hanover*, but ſucceeded not.

Our Court denied this; and ſent the Earl of *Rivers* to *Hanover*, to aſſure the Elector, that the Queen would take eſpecial care, to have the Succeſſion to the Crown ſecured to his Family, by the Treaty that was to be opened: This made little impreſſion on that Elector; for he ſaw clearly, that if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, the *French* would ſoon become the ſuperiour Power to all the reſt of *Europe*; that *France* would keep *Spain* in ſubjection, and by the Wealth they would fetch from the *Indies*, they would give Law to all about them, and ſet what King they pleaſed on the Throne of *England*. Earl *Rivers* ſtaid a few days there, and brought an Anſwer from the Elector in Writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſtifled; therefore he ordered his Miniſter to give a full Memorial, to the ſame purpoſe, of which our Court took no notice: But the Memorial was tranſlated and printed here, to the great ſatisfaction of all thoſe, who were afraid of the ill Deſigns, that might be hid, under the pretence of the Treaty then propoſed.

The States are forced to open a Treaty.

The Earl of *Strafford* preſſed the *States*, to comply with the Queen's Deſire, of opening a Treaty: They anſwered very ſlowly, being deſirous to ſee how the Parliament was inclined; but the Parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of *November*, and from that to the 7th of *December*. It was alſo reported in *Holland*, that the Earl of *Strafford* (ſeeing the *States* ſlow in granting the Paſſports, and upon that apprehending theſe Delays flowed from their expecting to ſee, how the Parliament of *England* approved of theſe Steps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a Treaty, and granted the Paſſports, the Seſſion ſhould not be opened: So they granted them, and left the Time and Place of Treaty, to the Queen's Determination. She named *Utrecht* as the Place of Congreſs, and the firſt of *January* O. S. for opening it; and wrote a circular Letter to all the Allies, inviting them to ſend Plenipotentiaries to that Place. The Emperor ſet himſelf vehemently to oppoſe the Progreſs of this Matter; he ſent Prince *Eugene*, to diſſuade the *States* from agreeing to it, and offered a new Scheme of the War, that ſhould be eaſier to the Allies, and lie heavier on himſelf: But the Paſſports were now ſent to the Court of *France*; that Court demanded Paſſports likewiſe, for the Plenipotentiaries of King *Philip*, and of the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*: this was offered by our Court to the *States*, they refuſed it, but whether our Miniſters then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours uſed by the Court before they opened the Parliament.

Before the opening the Seſſion, Pains were taken on many Perſons, to perſuade them to agree to the Meaſures the Court were in; the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, ſpoke very plainly to the Queen againſt the Steps, that were already made; but he found her ſo poſſeſſed, that what he ſaid made no Impreſſion, ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to Council, ſince he muſt oppoſe every ſtep, that was made in that Affair. Among others, the Queen ſpoke to myſelf; ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped Biſhops would not be againſt Peace: I ſaid, a good Peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by *France* gave no hopes of ſuch an one; and the truſting to the King of *France*'s Faith, after all that had paſs'd, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we ſhould have a Peace upon ſuch a bottom, that

that we ſhould not at all rely on the King of *France*'s Word; but we ought to ſuſpend our Opinions, till ſhe acquainted us with the whole Matter. I asked leave to ſpeak my Mind plainly; which ſhe granted: I ſaid any Treaty by which *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, muſt in a little while deliver up all *Europe* into the hands of *France*; and, if any ſuch Peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in leſs than three Years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the Fires would be again raiſed in *Smithfield:* I purſued this long, till I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy; ſo I withdrew. 1711

The Queen's Speech to the two Houſes.

On the ſeventh of *December*, ſhe opened the Parliament: In her Speech ſhe ſaid, notwithſtanding the Arts of thoſe who delighted in War, the Time and Place were appointed for treating a general Peace; her Allies, eſpecially the *States*, had by their ready concurrence expreſſed an entire Confidence in her; and ſhe promiſed, to do her utmoſt to procure reaſonable ſatisfaction to them all: She demanded of the Houſe of Commons the neceſſary Supplies, for carrying on the War; and hoped that none would envy her the Glory of ending it by a juſt and honourable Peace; ſhe in particular recommended Unanimity, that our Enemies might not think us a divided People, which might prevent that good Peace, of which ſhe had ſuch reaſonable Hopes, and ſo near a View.

Reflections on it.

The Speech gave occaſion to many Reflections; *The Arts of thoſe who delighted in War* ſeemed to be levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Preliminaries concerted at the *Hague*; her ſaying, that the Allies repoſed an entire Confidence in her, amazed all thoſe who knew, that neither the Emperor nor the Empire had agreed to the Congreſs, but were oppoſing it with great Vehemence; and that even the *States* were far from being cordial or eaſy, in the ſteps that they had made.

Earl of *Nottingham* moved, that no Peace could be ſafe, unleſs *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were taken from the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

After the Speech, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, to make an Addreſs of Thanks to the Queen for her Speech; upon this, the Earl of *Nottingham* did very copiouſly ſet forth the neceſſity of having *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, out of the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; he moved that, with their Addreſs of Thanks, they ſhould offer that as their Advice to the Queen; he ſet forth the Miſery that all *Europe*, but *England* moſt particulary, muſt be under, if the *Weſt-Indies* came into a *French* Management; and that King *Philip*'s poſſeſſing them was, upon the Matter, the putting them into the hands of *France*. This was much oppoſed by the Miniſters; they moved the referring that Matter to another occaſion, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid, it was not fit to clog the Addreſs with it. Some officious Courtiers ſaid, that ſince Peace and War belonged, as Perogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any Advice in thoſe Matters, 'till it was asked: But this was rejected with Indignation, ſince it was a conſtant Practice in all Seſſions of Parliament, to offer Advices; no Prerogative could be above Advice; this was the end ſpecified in the Writ, by which a Parliament was ſummoned; nor was the Motion for a Delay received. The Eyes of all *Europe* were upon the preſent Seſſion; and this was a Poſt-Night: So it was fit they ſhould come to a preſent Reſolution, in a matter of ſuch importance. The Queſtion was put, whether this Advice ſhould be part of the Addreſs; and the previous Queſtion being firſt put, it was carried by one Voice to put it; and the main Queſtion was carried by three Voices: ſo this Point was gained, tho' by a ſmall Majority. The ſame Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, but was rejected by a great Majority; yet in other reſpects their Addreſs was well couched: for they ſaid, they hoped for a juſt, honourable, and laſting Peace, to her Majeſty and to all her Allies.

Agreed to by the Lords.

When the Addreſs of the Lords was reported to the Houſe, by the Committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be conteſted over again, pretending that the Debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they ſhould agree to the Draught, prepared by the Committee: But that part of it, which contained the Advice, was conceived in the very Words, in which the Vote had paſs'd; and it was a ſtanding Rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into queſtion, during that Seſſion. This was ſo ſacred a Rule, that many of thoſe, who voted with the Court the Day before, expreſſed their Indignation againſt it, as ſubverting the very Conſtitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and

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unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a Diviſion was called for; but the Majority appearing ſo evidently againſt the Motion, it was yielded, without counting the Houſe.

The Queen's Anſwer.

When the Addreſs was preſented to the Queen, her Anſwer was; ſhe was ſorry, that any ſhould think, ſhe would not do her utmoſt to hinder *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, from remaining in the hands of a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*: And the Lords returned her Thanks for this gracious Anſwer; for they underſtood, by the doing her utmoſt, was meant the continuing the War. The Court was much troubled to ſee the Houſe of Lords ſo backward; and both ſides ſtudied to fortify themſelves, by bringing up their Friends, or by getting their Proxies.

A Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity.

The next Motion was made by the Earl of *Nottingham*, for leave to bring in a Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. He told thoſe, with whom he now joined, that he was but one Man come over to them, unleſs he could carry a Bill to that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he ſhould be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more eaſily, becauſe they knew that the Court had offered, to the high Men in the Houſe of Commons, to carry any Bill that they ſhould deſire in that Matter: The Earl of *Nottingham* promiſed to draw it with all poſſible Temper. It was thus prepared; that all Perſons in Places of Profit and Truſt, and all the Common-Council Men in Corporations, who ſhould be at any Meeting for Divine Worſhip (where there were above ten Perſons, more than the Family) in which the Common-Prayer was not uſed, or where the Queen and the Princeſs *Sophia* were not prayed for, ſhould upon Conviction forfeit their Place of Truſt or Profit, the Witneſſes making Oath within ten Days, and the Proſecution being within three Months after the Offence; and ſuch Perſons were to continue incapable of any Imployment, 'till they ſhould depoſe, that for a whole Year together they had been at no Conventicle. The Bill did alſo enact, that the Toleration ſhould remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any Perſon ſhould be brought into Trouble, for not having obſerved the Rules, that were preſcribed by the Act that firſt granted the Toleration, all ſuch Proſecution ſhould ceaſe, upon their taking the Oath preſcribed by that Act: And a Teacher, licenſed in any one County, was by the Bill qualified, to ſerve in any licenſed Meeting in any part of *England*; and by another Clauſe, all who were concerned in the Practice of the Law in *Scotland* were required to take the *Abjuration*, in the Month of *June* next.

Paſſed without oppoſition.

No oppoſition was made to this in the Houſe of Lords; ſo it paſſed in three Days; and it had the ſame fate in the Houſe of Commons; only they added a Penalty on the Offender of forty Pounds, which was to be given to the Informer: and ſo it was offered to the Royal Aſſent, with the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound. Great Reflections were made on the fate of this Bill, which had been formerly ſo much conteſted, and was ſo often rejected by the Lords, and now went thro' both Houſes, in ſo ſilent a manner, without the leaſt oppoſition: Some of the Diſſenters complained much, that they were thus forſaken by their Friends, to whom they had truſted; and the Court had Agents among them, to inflame their Reſentments, ſince they were ſacrificed by thoſe, on whom they depended. All the excuſe that the Whigs made, for their eaſineſs in this Matter was, That they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the Fears of thoſe, who ſeemed to think the Church was ſtill in danger, 'till that Act paſs'd; and thereby to engage theſe, to concur with them, in thoſe important Matters that might come before them. It muſt be left to Time to ſhew, what good effect this Act may have on the Church, or what bad ones it may have on the Diſſenters.

Duke *Hamilton*'s Patent examined.

The next point that occaſioned a great Debate in the Houſe of Lords, which was eſpouſed by the Court with great Zeal, was a Patent creating Duke *Hamilton*, a Duke in *England*: Lawyers were heard for the Patent, the Queen's Prerogative in conferring Honours was clear; all the Subjects of the United Kingdom had likewiſe a Capacity of receiving Honour; the Commons of *Scotland* had it unqueſtionably; and it ſeemed a ſtrange Aſſertion, that the Peers of that Nation ſhould be the only Perſons, incapable of receiving Honour: By the Act of Union the Peers of *Scotland* were, *by virtue of that Treaty*, to have a Repreſentation,

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tation of Sixteen, for their whole Body; theſe Words, *by virtue of that Treaty*, ſeemed to intimate, that by Creation or Succeſſion they might be made capable. And, in the Debate that followed in the Houſe, the *Scotch* Lords, who had been of the Treaty, affirmed that theſe Words were put in on that deſign: And upon this, they appealed to the *Engliſh* Lords: This was denied by none of them. It was alſo urged, that the Houſe of Lords had already judged the Matter, when they not only received the Duke of *Queensbury*, upon his being created Duke of *Dover*; but had ſo far affirmed his being a Peer of *Great-Britain*, that upon that account, they had denied him the Right of Voting in the Election of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*. But in oppoſition to all this, it was ſaid, That the Prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an Act of Parliament; the Act of Union had made all the Peers of *Scotland*, Peers of *Great-Britain*, as to all Intents, except the Voting in the Houſe of Lords, or ſitting in Judgment on a Peer; and as to their Voting, that was veſted in their Repreſentatives, by whom they voted: The Queen might give them what Titles ſhe pleaſed; but this Incapacity of Voting, otherwiſe than by theſe ſixteen, being ſettled by Law, the Prerogative was by that limited as to them: They had indeed admitted the Duke of *Queensbury* to ſit among them, as Duke of *Dover*; but that Matter was never brought into Debate; ſo it was only paſſed over in ſilence: And he was mentioned in their Books, upon the occaſion of his Voting in the Choice of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in Terms that were far from determining this; for it was there ſaid, that he claiming to be Duke of *Dover*, could not vote as a *Scotch* Peer. The *Scotch* Lords inſiſted, in arguing for the Patent, with great vehemence, not without Intimations of the diſmal Effects, that might follow, if it ſhould go in the Negative. The Court put their whole Strength to ſupport the Patent; this heightened the Zeal of thoſe who oppoſed it: For they apprehended, that conſidering the Dignity and the Antiquity of the *Scotch* Peers, and the Poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourſe to this, as a ſure Expedient to have a conſtant Majority in the Houſe of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the Prerogative, as to the Creation of new Peers, yet theſe were generally Men of Eſtates, who could not be kept in a conſtant dependance, as ſome of the *Scotch* Lords might be.

The Queen heard all the Debate, which laſted ſome Hours; in concluſion, when it came to the final Vote, fifty-two voted for the Patent, and fifty-ſeven againſt it. The Queen and the Miniſters ſeemed to be much concerned at this, and the *Scotch* were enraged at it: They met together, and ſigned a Repreſentation to the Queen, complaining of it as a Breach of the Union, and a Mark of Diſgrace put on the whole Peers of *Scotland*, adding ſolemn Promiſes of maintaining her Prerogative, either in an united or ſeparated State. This made the Miniſters reſolve on another Method to let the Peers, and indeed the whole World ſee, that they would have that Houſe kept in a conſtant dependance on the Court, by creating ſuch a number of Peers at once, as ſhould give them an unqueſtionable Majority. On the twenty-ſecond of *December* the Bill for four Shillings in the Pound was ready for the Royal Aſſent; yet the Houſe of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January*, which was a long Receſs in ſo critical a Time.

Judged againſt him.

A Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, by the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for leave to bring in a Bill, to give the Prince Electoral of *Hanover*, as Duke of *Cambridge*, the Precedence of all Peers; this was granted, and ſo was like to meet with no oppoſition. The Earl of *Nottingham* moved next, that before their Receſs, they ſhould make an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to order her Plenipotentiaries to concert, with the Miniſters of the Allies, the Grounds upon which they were to proceed in their Treaties, and to agree on a mutual Guaranty to ſecure them to us, as well as to all *Europe*, and in particular to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion to *England*. All the oppoſition that the Court made to this was, to ſhew it was needleſs, for it was already ordered: And the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, the Lords might, in order to their ſatisfaction, ſend to examine their Inſtructions. To this it was anſwered, that the offering ſuch an Addreſs would fortify the Plenipotentiaries, in executing their Inſtructions. The

The Lords Addreſs that our Allies might be carried along with us in the Treaty.

1711 Court moved, that these Words might be put in the Address, *if the Queen had not ordered it*; so, this being agreed to, the thing passed; and the Lords adjourned to the second of *January*.

Discoveries of Bribery pretended.

But a new Scene was ready to be opened in the House of Commons; the Commissioners for examining the Publick Accounts made some Discoveries, upon which they intendeded to proceed, at their next Meeting. *Walpole*, who had been Secretary of War, and who had appeared with great Firmness in the defence of the late Ministry, was first aimed at; a Bill had been remitted to him of 500 *l.* by those who had contracted to forage the Troops, that lay in *Scotland*; this made way to a Matter of more Importance: A *Jew*, concerned in the Contract for furnishing Bread to the Army in *Flanders*, made a Present yearly to the Duke of *Marlborough* of between 5 and 6000 *l.* The General of the *States* had the like Present, as a Perquisite to support his Dignity, and to enable him to procure Intelligence: The Queen ordered 10000 *l.* a-year more to the Duke of *Marlborough*, for the same Service: The late King had also agreed, that Two and a half *per Cent.* should be deducted out of the Pay of the foreign Troops, which amounted to 15000 *l.* This the Queen had by a Warrant appointed the Duke of *Marlborough* to receive, on the same account.

The Duke of of *Marlborough* aimed at.

He heard his Enemies had discovered the Present made him by the *Jew*, while he was beyond Sea; so he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to be true, and added, that he had applied these Sums to the procuring good Intelligence, to which, next to the Blessing of God and the Bravery of the Troops, their constant Successes were chiefly owing. This did not satisfy the Commissioners; but, tho' no Complaints were brought from the Army, of their not being constantly supplied with good Bread, yet they saw here was Matter to raise a Clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; so this was reported to the House of Commons before their Recess.

He is turned out of all his Imployments.

A few Days after this, the Queen wrote him a Letter, complaining of the ill Treatment she received from him, and discharged him of all his Imployments: This was thought very extraordinary, after such long and eminent Services; such Accidents, when they happen, shew the Instability of all human things; this was indeed so little expected, that those who looked for Precedents, could find none since the Disgrace of *Belisarius* in *Justinian*'s time: The only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being considered as the Head of those, who opposed the Peace, on which the Court seemed to set their Hearts.

Twelve new Peers made.

But they, finding the Majority of the House of Lords could not be brought to favour their Designs, resolved to make an Experiment, that none of our Princes had ventured on in former Times: A Resolution was taken up very suddenly of making twelve Peers all at once; three of these were called up by Writ, being eldest Sons of Peers; and nine more were created by Patent. Sir *Miles Wharton*, to whom it was offered, refused it: He thought it looked like the serving a Turn; and that, whereas Peers were wont to be made for Services they had done, he would be made for Services to be done by him; so he excused himself, and the Favourite's Husband, Mr. *Massam*, was put in his Room. And whereas formerly *Jefferies* had the Vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief Justice, which had not been practised for some Ages; yet the Precedent set by him was followed, and *Trevor*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a Peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted Part of the Prerogative; so there was no ground in Law to oppose the receiving the new Lords into the House: Nor was it possible to raise, in the ancient Peers, a sense of the Indignity that was now put upon their House; since the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in absolute Submission and Obedience.

1712 When the second of *January* came, they were all introduced into the House of Lords without any opposition; and when that was over, the Lord Keeper delivered a Message from the Queen, commanding them to adjourn forthwith to the fourteenth; for by that time her Majesty would lay Matters of great Importance before the two Houses. Upon this a great Debate arose; it was said, that the Queen could not send a Message to any one House to adjourn, when the like Message was not sent to both Houses: the Pleasure of the Prince, in convening,

The Queen's Message to the Lords to adjourn, disputed, but obeyed.

dissolving

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diſſolving, proroguing, or ordering the Adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both Houſes; but never to any one Houſe, without the ſame Intimation was made, at the ſame time, to the other. The conſequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one Houſe to adjourn, while the other was left to ſit ſtill; and this might end in a total disjoynting of the Conſtitution: The Vote was carried for adjourning, by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the Odds in the Books is thirteen; but that was, becauſe one of the Peers, who had a Proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the Proxies were called for.

Prince *Eugene* came to *England*.

At this time Prince *Eugene* was ſent by the Emperor to *England*, to try if it was poſſible to engage our Court, to go on with the War; offering a new Scheme, by which he took a much larger ſhare of it on himſelf, than the late Emperor would bear. That Prince's Character was ſo juſtly high, that all People for ſome Weeks preſſed about the Places, where he was to be ſeen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted at ſeveral times, to much diſcourſe with him; his Character is ſo univerſally known, that I will ſay nothing of him, but from what appeared to my ſelf. He has a moſt unaffected Modeſty, and does ſcarcely bear the Acknowledgments, that all the World pay him: He deſcends to an eaſy Equality with thoſe, with whom he converſes; and ſeems to aſſume nothing to himſelf, while he reaſons with others: He was treated with great Reſpect by both Parties; but he put a diſtinguiſhed Reſpect on the Duke of *Marlborough*, with whom he paſſed moſt of his Time. The Queen uſed him civilly, but not with the Diſtinction, that was due to his high Merit: Nor did he gain much ground with the Miniſters.

A Meſſage to both Houſes.

When the fourteenth of *January* came, the Houſes were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then a Meſſage was ſent to both Houſes; the Queen told them, the Congreſs was opened, and that ſhe would ſet a day for ending it, as well as ſhe had done for opening it. She had ordered her Plenipotentiaries, to agree with the Miniſters of her Allies, according to all her Treaties with them; to obtain reaſonable ſatisfaction to their Demands; in particular concerning *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; by which, the falſe Reports of ill-deſigning Men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a ſeparate Peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the leaſt Colour given for this. She alſo promiſed, that the Articles of the Treaty ſhould be laid before the Houſes, before any thing ſhould be concluded. Upon this, the Houſe of Lords agreed to an Addreſs, thanking her Majeſty, for communicating this to them, and for the Promiſes ſhe had made them, repeating the Words in which they were made: it was moved to add the Words, *Conform to her Alliance*; but it was ſaid, the Queen aſſured them of that, ſo the repeating theſe Words ſeemed to intimate a Diſtruſt; and that was not carried. But, becauſe there ſeemed to be an Ambiguity in the mention made of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, the Houſe expreſſed, in what ſenſe they underſtood them, by adding theſe Words, *Which were of the greateſt importance to the Safety and Commerce of theſe Nations*. The Commons made an Addreſs to the ſame purpoſe, in which they only named *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

A Bill giving Precedence to the Houſe of *Hannover*.

The Lord Treaſurer prevented the Duke of *Devonſhire*, who had prepared a Bill for giving Precedence to the Duke of *Cambridge*; for he offered a Bill, giving Precedence to the whole Electoral Family, as the Children and Nephews of the Crown; and it was intimated, that Bills relating to Honours and Precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of *Devonſhire* would make no diſpute on this head; if the thing paſſed, he acquieſced in the manner of paſſing it, only he thought it lay within the Authority of the Houſe. On this occaſion, the Court ſeemed, even to an Affectation, to ſhew a particular Zeal in promoting this Bill: For it paſſed thro' both Houſes in two Days, it being read thrice in a Day, in them both. For all this haſte, the Court did not ſeem to deſign any ſuch Bill, till it was propoſed by others, out of whoſe hands they thought fit to take it. There were two other Articles, in the Queen's Meſſage; by the one, ſhe deſired their Advice and Aſſiſtance, to quiet the Uneaſineſs, that the Peers of *Scotland* were under, by the Judgment lately given: By the other, ſhe complained of the Licence of the Preſs, and deſired ſome Reſtraint might be put upon it. The Lords entred upon the Conſideration of that part of the Queen's

1712 Meſſage, that related to the Peers of *Scotland*; and it took up almoſt a whole Week. The Court propoſed, that an Expedient might be found, that the Peers of *Scotland* ſhould not ſit among them by Election, but by Deſcent, in caſe the reſt of the Peers of that Nation ſhould conſent to it: : A Debate followed concerning the Articles of the Union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was ſaid, that by the Union no private Right could be taken away, but by the Conſent of the Perſons concerned; therefore no Alteration could be made in the Right of the Peers of *Scotland*, unleſs they conſented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an Alteration might be made with this condition, in caſe they ſhould conſent to it; or whether the firſt Riſe to any ſuch Alteration ought not to be given, by a previous Deſire. This was not ſo ſubject to an ill Management; the Court ſtudied to have a ſubſequent Conſent received as ſufficient; but a previous Deſire was inſiſted on, as viſibly fairer and juſter.

Debates concerning the *Scotch* Peers.

Walpoles's Caſe and Cenſure.

The Houſe of Commons, after the Receſs, entred on the Obſervations of the Commiſſioners for taking the Publick Accounts; and began with *Walpole*, whom they reſolved to put out of the way of diſturbing them in the Houſe. The thing laid to his charge ſtood thus; after he, as Secretary of War, had contracted with ſome for Forrage to the Horſe, that lay in *Scotland*; he, finding that the two Perſons who contracted for it made ſome gain by it, named a Friend of his own as a third Perſon, that he might have a ſhare in the Gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in, to know the Secret of their Management; ſo they offered him 500*l.* for his Share; he accepted of it, and the Money was remitted. But they, not knowing his Addreſs, directed their Bill to *Walpole*, who endorſed it, and the Perſon concerned received the Money; this was found out, and *Walpole* was charged with it as a Bribe, that he had taken for his own uſe, for making the Contract. Both the Perſons that remitted the Money, and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that *Walpole* was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the Matter; but the Houſe inſiſted upon his having endorſed the Bill, and not only voted this a Corruption, but ſent him to the Tower, and expelled him the Houſe.

The Cenſure put on the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The next Attack was on the Duke of *Marlborough*: The Money received from the *Jew*, was ſaid to be a Fraud; and that, deducted out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, was ſaid to be Publick Money, and to be accounted for: The Debate held long; it appeared, that during the former War, King *William* had 50000*l.* a year for Contingencies; it was often reckoned to have coſt much more. The Contingency was that Service, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring Intelligence; the Duke of *Marlborough* had only 10000*l.* for the Contingencies; that and all the other *Items* joined together, amounted but to 30000*l.* a Sum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate Expence, he had procured ſo good Intelligence, that he was never ſurprized, and no Party he ſent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this Intelligence, all his Deſigns were ſo well concerted, that he ſucceeded in every one of them, and by many Inſtances, the exactneſs of his Intelligence was fully demonſtrated. It was proved, both by Witneſſes, and by formal Atteſtations from *Holland*, that ever ſince the Year 1672, the *Jews* had made the like Preſent to the General of the *States* Army; and it was underſtood as a Perquiſite belonging to that Command: No Bargain was made with the *Jews* for the *Engliſh* Troops, that made by the *States* being applied to them; ſo that it appeared, that the making ſuch a Preſent to the General was cuſtomary; but that was denied: And they voted, the taking that Preſent to be illegal; and, tho' he had the Queen's Warrant to receive the Sixpence in the Pound, or Two and a half *per Cent.* deducted from the Pay of the foreign Troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The Court eſpouſed this with ſuch Zeal, and paid ſo well for it, that it was carried by a great Majority: Upon this, many virulent Writers (whether ſet on to it, or officiouſly ſtudying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory Libels, a great deal of their Malice againſt the Duke of *Marlborough*: They compared him to *Catiline*, to *Craſſus*, and to *Anthony*; and ſtudied to repreſent him as a Robber of the Nation, and as a publick Enemy. This gave an Indignation to all, who had a ſenſe of Gratitude, or a regard to Juſtice; in one of

Many Libels againſt him.

of these scurrilous Papers, wrote on design to raise the Rabble against him, one of the Periods began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate.* I took occasion to let Prince *Eugene* see the Spite of these Writers, and mentioned this Passage; upon which he made this pleasant Reflection, That it was the greatest Commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single Instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other Successes were owing to his Conduct. I upon that said, that single Instance must be then his escaping out of the hands of the Party, that took him, when he was sailing down the *Maese* in the Boat. But their Ill-will rested not in Defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to send an Order to the Attorney-General, to prosecute him for the 1500*l.* that was deducted yearly out of the Pay of the Foreign Troops, which he had received by her own Warrant: But what this will end in, must be left to Time. 1712

The Duke of *Ormond* was declared General, and had the first Regiment of Guards; and the Earl of *Rivers* was made Master of the Ordnance, in his room.

Secret Enquiries were made, in order to the laying more Load on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to see whether Posts in the Army, or in the Guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: He had suffered a Practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting Officers sell their Commissions; but he had never taken any part of the Price to himself: Few thought that he had been so clear in that Matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his Enemies were confident, that some Discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the Endeavours used, to search into those Matters, producing nothing, raised the Reputation of his incorrupt Administration, more than all his Well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does sometimes the Malice of an Enemy prove! In this whole Transaction we saw a new Scene of Ingratitude, acted in a most imprudent manner; when the Man, to whom the Nation owed more, than it had ever done in any Age to any Subject, or perhaps to any Person whatsoever, was for some Months pursued with so much Malice: He bore it with Silence and Patience, with an Exteriour that seemed always calm and cheerful; and, tho' he prepared a full Vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, till the Nation should return to its Senses, and be capable of examining these Matters, in a more impartial manner.

His Innocence appeared evidently.

The *Scotch* Lords, seeing no Redress to their Complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Peers; but the Court was sensible, that their Strength in that House consisted chiefly in them, and in the new Peers: So Pains were taken, and secret forcible Arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few Days Absence, they came back, and continued, during the Session, to sit in the House. They gave it out, that an Expedient would be found, that would be to the Satisfaction of the Peers of *Scotland*: But, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded, that the Satisfaction was private, and personal. The great Arrear, into which all the regular Payments, both of the Houshold and of Salaries and Pensions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the Income for the Civil List, tho' it exceeded the Establishment very far, was applied to other Payments, which the Ministers durst not own. And, tho' secret Practice on Members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed, with an extraordinary Profusion.

The *Scotch* Lords put in good Hopes.

Those, who were suspected to have very bad Designs, applied themselves with great Industry to drive on such Bills, as they hoped would give the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* such Alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the Union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same Design was pursued in them all.

A Toleration was proposed for the Episcopal Clergy, who would use the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; this seemed so reasonable, that no Opposition was made to it; one Clause put in it, occasioned great Complaints; the Magistrates, who by the Laws were obliged to execute the Sentences of the Judicatories of their *Kirk*, were by this Act required, to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no Sentences, that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this Act; but the carrying this to a general

A Toleration to the *English* Liturgy in *Scotland*.

1712 neral Clauſe, took away the Civil Sanction, which in moſt Places is looked on as the chief, if not the only, Strength of Church Power. Thoſe, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a Day limited in the Act, to take the Oath of Abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that Oath; ſo to cover them from it, a Clauſe was put in this Act, requiring all the *Preſbyterian* Miniſters to take it; ſince it ſeemed reaſonable, that thoſe of the legal Eſtabliſhment ſhould be required to take that, which was now to be impoſed on thoſe, who were only to be Tolerated. It was well underſtood, that there were Words in the Oath of Abjuration, to which the *Presbyterians* excepted. In the Act of Succeſſion, one of the Conditions on which the Succeſſor was to be received, was, his being of the Communion of the Church of *England*; and by the Oath of Abjuration, the Succeſſion was ſworn to, as limited by that Act: The Word *Limitation* imported only the Entail of the Crown; but it was ſuggeſted, that the Particle *As*, related to all the Conditions in that Act. This was ſpread among ſo many of that Perſuaſion, that it was believed a great Party among them, would refuſe to take it: So a ſmall Alteration was made by the Houſe of Lords of theſe Words, *As was limited*, into Words of the ſame ſenſe, *Which was limited*; but thoſe, who intended to excuſe the Epiſcopal Party, who they knew were in the *Pretender*'s Intereſts, from taking the Oath, were for keeping in thoſe Words, which the *Presbyterians* ſcrupled. The Commons accordingly diſagreed to the Amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the Bill paſs'd, as it had been ſent up from the Commons. Another Act paſſed for diſcontinuing the Courts of Judicature, during ſome Days at *Chriſtmas*, though the obſerving of Holidays was contrary to their Principles: This was intended only to irritate them.

Deſigns to provoke the *Presbyterians* there.

Patronages reſtored.

After that, an Act was brought in, for the reſtoring of Patronages; theſe had been taken away by an Act in King *William*'s Reign; it was ſet up by the *Presbyterians*, from their firſt Beginning, as a Principle, that Pariſhes had, from Warrants in Scripture, a Right to chuſe their Miniſters; ſo that they had always look'd on the Right of Patronage, as an Invaſion made on that: it was therefore urged, that ſince, by the Act of Union, *Presbytery*, with all its Rights and Privileges, was inalterably ſecured, and ſince their Kirk-Seſſion was a Branch of their Conſtitution, the taking from them the Right of chuſing their Miniſters was contrary to that Act: Yet the Bill paſſed thro' both Houſes, a ſmall oppoſition being only made in either. By theſe Steps the *Presbyterians* were alarmed, when they ſaw the Succeſs of every Motion that was made, on deſign to weaken and undermine their Eſtabliſhment.

The Barrier Treaty.

Another Matter, of a more publick nature, was at this time ſet on foot; both Houſes of Parliament had, in the Year 1709, agreed in an Addreſs to the Queen, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion might be ſecured by a Guaranty, in the Treaty of Peace; and this was ſettled at the *Hague*, to be one of the Preliminaries: But when an end was put to the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, the Lord *Townſhend* was ordered to ſet on a Treaty with the *States* to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the ſame time they propoſed, that *England* ſhould enter into a Guaranty with them, to maintain their Barrier; which conſiſted of ſome Places they were to garriſon, the Sovereignty of which was ſtill in the Crown of *Spain*; and of other Places, which had not belonged to that Crown, at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, but had been taken in the Progreſs of the War: for, by their Agreements with us, they bore the Charge of the Sieges, and ſo the Places taken were to belong to them: Theſe were chiefly *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, and *Doway*; and were to be kept ſtill by them. But as for thoſe Places, which, from the time of the Treaty with the *Pyrenees*, belonged to the *Spaniards*; they had been ſo ill looked after, by the *Spaniſh* Governors of *Flanders*, who were more ſet on enriching themſelves, and keeping a magnificent Court at *Bruſſels*, than on preſerving the Country; that neither were the Fortifications kept in due Repair, nor the Magazines furniſhed, nor the Soldiers paid: So that whenſoever a War broke out, the *French* made themſelves very eaſily Maſters of Places ſo ill kept. The *States* had therefore propoſed, during this War, that the Sovereignty of thoſe Places ſhould continue ſtill to belong to the Crown of *Spain*; but they ſhould keep Garriſons in the ſtrongeſt and the moſt expoſed, in

in particular thoſe that lay on the *Lys* and the *Scheld*; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100000*l.* a-year from thoſe Provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the *Spaniards*: They alſo asked a free Paſſage for all the Stores, that they ſhould ſend to thoſe Places. This ſeemed to be ſo reaſonable, that ſince the Intereſt of *England*, as well as of the *States*, required that this Frontier ſhould be carefully maintained, the Miniſtry were ready to hearken to it: It was objected, that in caſe of a War between *England* and the *States*, the Trade of thoſe Provinces would be wholly in the hands of the *Dutch*; but this had been ſettled in the great Truce, which, by the Mediation of *France* and *England*, was made between the *Spaniards* and the *States*: There was a proviſional Order therein made, for the Freedom of Trade in thoſe Provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the Peace of *Munſter*. King *Charles* of *Spain* had agreed to the main of the Barrier; ſome Places on the *Scheld* were not neceſſary for a Frontier, but the *States* inſiſted on them, as neceſſary to maintain a Communication with the Frontier; the King of *Pruſſia* excepted likewiſe to ſome Places in the *Spaniſh Guelder*. The Lord *Townſhend* thought, that theſe were ſuch inconſiderable Objections, that tho' his Inſtructions did not come up to every Particular, yet he ſigned the Treaty, known by the Name of the *Barrier Treaty*: By it the *States* bound themſelves to maintain the Queen's Title to her Dominions and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, with their whole Force; and *England* was reciprocally bound to aſſiſt them in maintaining this Barrier. 1714

The mercenary Writers, that were hired to defend the Peace, then projected with *France*, attacked this Treaty with great Virulence, and by Arguments that gave juſt Suſpicions of black Deſigns: They ſaid, it was a Diſgrace to this Nation, to engage any other State to ſecure the Succeſſion among us, which perhaps we might ſee cauſe to alter: Whereas by this Treaty, the *States* had an Authority given them, to interpoſe in our Counſels. It was alſo ſaid, that if the *States* were put in poſſeſſion of all thoſe ſtrong Towns, they might ſhut us out from any ſhare of Trade in them, and might erect our Manufactures in Provinces, very capable of them: But it was anſwered, that this could not be done, as long as this Treaty continued in force, unleſs the Sovereign of the Country ſhould join with them againſt us. Some objected to the Settlement made at *Munſter*, as a Tranſaction when we were in ſuch Confuſion at home, that we had no Miniſter there; but that Treaty had only rendred the Truce, and the proviſional Settlement made before, by the Mediation of *England*, perpetual; and we had ſince acquieſced in that Settlement for above Sixty Years. By examining into the Particulars of the Treaty it appeared, that in ſome inconſiderable Matters the Lord *Townſhend* had gone beyond the Letter of his Inſtructions, in which he had ſo fully ſatisfied the Miniſtry, that tho' upon his firſt ſigning it, ſome Exceptions had been taken, yet theſe were paſſed over, and the Treaty was ratified in form. It was complained of

But the preſent Miniſtry had other Views: They deſigned to ſet the Queen at liberty from her Engagements by theſe Alliances, and to diſengage her from Treaties. The Houſe of Commons went now very haſtily into ſeveral Reſolutions, that were very injurious to the *States*: They pretended, they had failed in the Performance of all Agreements, with relation to the Service, both at Sea and Land; and as to the Troops, that were to have been furniſhed in *Portugal* and *Savoy*, as well as the Subſidies due to thoſe Princes. They fell next on the *Barrier Treaty*; they gave it out, that the old Miniſtry deſigned to bring over an Army from *Holland*, whenſoever they ſhould, for other ends, pretend that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger; and it was ſaid, there was no need of any foreign Aſſiſtance to maintain it. In the Debate, it was inſiſted on, that it could be maintained ſafely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of *France* would aſſiſt the *Pretender*; *England* was not inclined to keep up a Standing Army, in time of Peace, to reſiſt him: So that we could not be ſo ſafe any other way, as by having the *States* engaged, to ſend over their Army, if it ſhould be neceſſary. But Reaſon is a feeble thing, to bear down Reſolutions already taken; ſo the Houſe of Commons voted the Treaty diſhonourable, and injurious to *England*; and that the Lord *Townſhend* had gone beyond his Inſtructions And condemned by the Houſe of Lords.

1713 in ſigning it; and that he and all, who had adviſed and ratified that Treaty, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom. Theſe Votes were carried by a great Majority, and were looked on as ſtrange Preludes to a Peace. When the *States* heard, what Exceptions were taken to the *Barrier Treaty*, they wrote a very reſpectful Letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it, that was wrong underſtood; but the Managers of the Houſe of Commons got all their Votes to be digeſted, into a well-compoſed inflaming Repreſentation, which was laid before the Queen; by it all the Allies, but moſt particularly the *States*, were charged for having failed in many Particulars, contrary to their Engagements: They alſo laid before the Queen the Votes they had made with relation to the *Barrier Treaty*; and that they might name a great Sum, that would make a deep Impreſſion on the Nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they ſaid *England* had been, during the War, overcharged nineteen Millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was caſt on the old Miniſtry.

The *States* juſtify themſelves.

The *States*, in anſwer to all this, drew up a large Memorial, in which every Particular in the Repreſentation was examined, and fully anſwered: They ſent it over to their Envoy, who preſented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it; the End was already ſerved; and the entring into a Diſcuſſion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound thoſe who drew it. The two firſt Heads of the *States* Memorial, that related to the Service at Sea and in *Flanders*, were printed here, and contained a full Anſwer to all that was charged on them, as to thoſe Matters; to the ample Conviction of all, who examined the Particulars. The Houſe of Commons ſaw the effect this was like to have; ſo they voted it a falſe, malicious, ſcandalous, and injurious Paper, and that the printing it was a Breach of Privilege: And to ſtop the printing the other Heads, they put the Printer in priſon; this was a Confutation, to which no Reply could be made; yet it ſeemed to be a Confeſſion, that their Repreſentation could not be juſtified, when the Anſwer to it was ſo carefully ſtifled. The Houſe of Commons went next to repeal the Naturalization Act, in which they met with no oppoſition.

The Self-denying Bill loſt.

The ſelf-denying Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, and, as was ordinary, it paſſed eaſily there: the Scandal of Corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed Men were not only bribed for a whole Seſſion, but had new Bribes for particular Votes. The twelve new Peers being brought into the Houſe of Lords, had irritated ſo many there, that for two Days, by all the Judgments that could be made of the Houſe, the Bill was likely to have paſs'd that Houſe: But upon ſome prevailing Arguments, ſecretly and dextrouſly applied to ſome Lords, an Alteration was made in it, by which it was loſt: For whereas the Bill, as it ſtood, was to take place after the Determination of the preſent Parliament, this was altered, ſo as that it ſhould take place after the Demiſe of the Queen; ſo it was no more thought on.

The Houſe of Commons voted two Millions to be raiſed by a Lottery; for which a Fund was created that might pay both Principal and Intereſt in thirty-two Years.

The Treaty at *Utrecht* opened.

I look next to *Utrecht*, where the Treaty was opened: The Emperor and the Empire ſent their Miniſters very late and unwillingly thither; but they ſubmitted to the Neceſſity of their Affairs; yet with this Condition, that the *French* Propoſals (for ſo the Propoſitions, that were formerly called Preliminaries, came to be named) ſhould be no ground to proceed on; and that a new Treaty ſhould be entred on, without any regard to them. It was alſo agreed, to ſave the loſs of time in ſettling the Ceremonial, that the Plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſume no Character of Dignity, 'till all matters were adjuſted, and made ready for ſigning. The firſt of *January* was the Day named for opening the Congreſs; but they waited ſome time for the Allies: In the beginning of *February* O. S. the *French* made their Propoſals in a very high ſtrain.

The *French* Propoſals.

They promiſed, that at the ſigning of the Treaty they would own the Queen and the Succeſſion to the Crown, as ſhe ſhould direct; *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were to remain with King *Philip*; the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands, except *Sicily*, were to go to the Emperor, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to the Elector

tor of *Bavaria*: The Trade was to be regulated, as it was before the War; some Places in *Canada* were to be reſtored to *England*, with the freedom of Fiſhery in *Newfoundland*; but *Placentia* was to remain with the *French*: *Dunkirk* was offered to be demoliſhed; but *Liſle* and *Tournay* were to be given for it: The *States* were to have their Demands for the Barrier; and the Frontier between *France*, the Empire, and *Italy*, was to be the ſame, that it was before the War; by which *Landau*, *Feneſtrella*, and *Exiles*, were to be reſtored to *France*. Theſe Demands were as extravagant, as any that *France* could have made, in the moſt proſperous State of their Affairs: This filled the Allies with Indignation, and heightned the Jealouſy they had of a ſecret Underſtanding, between the Courts of *England* and *France*. 1712

The Death of the two *Dauphins*.

But a great Change happened in the Affairs of *France*, at this very time, that their Plenipotentiaries were making theſe Demands at *Utrecht*: The *Dauphineſs* was taken ſuddenly ill of a Surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the *Dauphin* himſelf died; and in a few days after him, his eldeſt Son, about five or ſix Years old, died likewiſe; and his ſecond Son, then about three Years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: Theſe Deaths coming ſo quick one after another, ſtruck that Court: The King himſelf was for ſome days ill, but he ſoon recovered. Such repeated Strokes were look'd on with amazement: Poiſon was ſuſpected, as is uſual upon all ſuch occaſions; and the Duke of *Orleans* was generally charged with it: He was believed to have dealt much in Chymiſtry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in *Spain*, at the head of King *Philip*'s Army, he formed a Project to ſet him aſide, and to make himſelf King of *Spain*; in which, as the Lord *Townſhend* told me, he went ſo far, that he try'd to engage Mr. *Stanhope*, to preſs the Queen and the *States* to aſſiſt him, promiſing to break with *France*, and to marry King *Charles*'s Dowager. This came to be diſcovered: He was upon that called out of *Spain*; and it was thought, that the only thing that ſaved him, was the King's kindneſs to his Natural Daughter, whom he had married. The King not only paſt it over; but ſoon after, he obliged the Duke of *Berry* to marry his Daughter: ſuch care had that old King taken, to corrupt the Blood of *France*, with the mixture of his ſpurious Iſſue. King *Philip* was not at all pleaſed with the Alliance; but wrote to his elder Brother, expoſtulating for his not oppoſing the Marriage more vigorouſly; with which he profeſt himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This Letter was ſent from *Madrid* to *Paris*; but was intercepted, and ſent to *Barcelona*, and from thence to the *Hague*; Dr. *Hare* told me, he read the original Letter.

The Character of the *Dauphin*.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, when he became *Dauphin*, upon his Father's death, had been let into the underſtanding the Secrets of Government; and, as was given out, he had on many occaſions expreſſed a deep Senſe of the Miſeries of the People, with great Sentiments of Juſtice: He had likewiſe, in ſome Diſputes that Cardinal *de Noailles* had with the Jeſuits, eſpouſed his Intereſts, and protected him. It was alſo believed, that he retained a great Affection to the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, whoſe Fable of *Telemachus* carried in it the nobleſt Maxims poſſible, for the Conduct of a wiſe and good Prince, and ſet forth that Station in ſhining Characters, but which were the Reverſe of *Lewis* the XIVth's whole Life and Reign. Theſe Things gave the *French* a juſt Senſe of the Loſs they had in his Death; and the Apprehenſions of a Minority, after ſuch a Reign, ſtruck them with a great Conſternation. Theſe Deaths, in ſo critical a time, ſeemed to portend, that all the vaſt Scheme which the King of *France* had formed, with ſo much perfidy and bloodſhed, was in a fair way to be ſoon blaſted. But I will go no further in ſo dark a proſpect.

An Indignation, when the *French* Propoſals came over, appeared in both Houſes.

The *French* Propoſitions raiſed, among the true *Engliſh*, a juſt Indignation; more particulary their putting off the owning the Queen, 'till the Treaty came to be ſigned: The Lord Treaſurer, to ſoften this ſaid, he ſaw a Letter, in which the King of *France* acknowledged her Queen; this was a Confeſſion that there was a private Correſpondence between them; yet the doing it by a Letter was no legal Act. In excuſe of this it was ſaid, that the late King was not owned by the *French*, till the Treaty of *Ryſwick* came to be ſigned: But there was a Mediator in that Treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no Mediator at *Utrecht*: ſo that the Queen was now, without any

1712 Interpoſition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her Right to the Crown. The Propoſitions made by the *French* were treated here with the greateſt Scorn; nor did the Miniſters pretend to ſay any thing in excuſe for them: And an Addreſs was made to the Queen, expreſſing a juſt Indignation at ſuch a Proceeding, promiſing her all Aſſiſtance in carrying on the War, 'till ſhe ſhould arrive at a juſt and honourable Peace.

The Demands of the Allies.

The Allies did offer their Demands next, which ran as high another way: The Emperor asked the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; *England* asked the reſtoring *Newfoundland*, and the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*; the *States* asked their whole *Barrier*; and every Ally asked Satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himſelf: *England* and the *States* declared, that they demanded *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* for the Emperor; ſo the high Pattern ſet by the *French*, in their Demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The *French* ſet a Day, for offering their Anſwer; but when the Day came, inſtead of offering an Anſwer in Writing, they propoſed to enter into verbal Conferences, upon the Demands made on both ſides: This had indeed been practiſed in Treaties, where Mediators interpoſed; but that was not done, 'till the main Points were ſecretly agreed to. The Allies rejected this propoſition, and demanded ſpecifick Anſwers in Writing; ſo, 'till the beginning of *May*, the Treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitleſs Meetings, the *French* always ſaying, they had yet received no other Orders: ſo that the Negotiation there was at a full ſtand.

Preparations for the Campaign.

The Preparations for the Campaign were carried on, by the Emperor and the *States*, with all poſſible Vigour: Prince *Eugene* ſtaid three Months in *England* in a fruitleſs Negotiation with our Court, and was ſent back with general and ambiguous Promiſes: The *States* gave him the ſupreme Command of their Army, and aſſured him that, in the Execution of the Project that was concerted among them, he ſhould be put under no reſtraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be ordered, 'till all was ſettled by a General Peace. The Duke of *Ormond* followed him in *April*, well ſatisfied both with his Inſtructions and his Appointments; for he had the ſame Allowances, that had been lately Voted Criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The *Pretender*'s Siſter died.

At this time the *Pretender* was taken ill of the Small-Pox: He recovered of them; but his Siſter, who was taken with the ſame Diſeaſe, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a moſt extraordinary Perſon in all reſpects; inſomuch that a very great Character was ſpread of her, by thoſe who talked but indifferently of the *Pretender* himſelf: Thus he loſt a great Strength, which ſhe procured to him, from all who ſaw or convers'd with her. I turn next to give an account of the Convocation.

Proceedings in Convocation.

There was a Doubt ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's Licence did ſtill ſubſiſt, after a Prorogation by a Royal Writ: The Attorney-General gave his Opinion, that it was ſtill in force; upon which, the Biſhops went on with the Reſolution, in which the former Seſſion had ended, and ſent back to the Lower Houſe a Paper, which had been ſent to them from that Houſe in the former Seſſion, with ſuch Amendments, as they thought proper: But then *Atterbury* ſtarted a new Notion, That as, in a Seſſion of Parliament, a Prorogation put an end to all Matters not finiſhed, ſo that they were to begin all anew; the ſame Rule was to be applied to Convocations, in purſuance of his favourite Notion, that the Proceedings in Parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved amongſt them. The Biſhops did not agree to this; for, upon ſearching their Books, they found a Courſe of Precedents to the contrary: And the Schedule, by which the Archbiſhop prorogued them, when the Royal Writ was ſent him, did in expreſs Words continue all things, in the State in which they were then, to their next Meeting. Yet this did not ſatisfy *Atterbury* and his Party; ſo the Lower Houſe ordered him to lay the Matter before the Attorney-General for his Opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not ſhew him the Paper ſent down by the Biſhops; he only gave him a very defective Abſtract of it: whereupon the Attorney-General gave him ſuch an Anſwer as he deſired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Biſhops reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations, and not to begin Matters afreſh, that had been formerly near finiſhed. By this means they were at a full ſtop, ſo that they could not determine

termine thoſe Points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones; there was then a Bill, in the Houſe of Parliament, for building fifty new Churches, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*; ſo an Office, for conſecrating Churches and Church-yards, was prepared: and probably this will be all the Fruit, that the Church will reap from this Convocation. 1712

Cenſure on *Whiſton*'s Book not confirmed by the Queen.

The Cenſure that was paſs'd on *Whiſton*'s Book, in the former Seſſion, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her Approbation: But at the opening of this Seſſion in *December*, the Biſhops finding that no Return was come from the Throne in that Matter, ſent two of their number, to receive her Majeſty's Pleaſure in it; the Archbiſhop being ſo ill of the Gout, that he came not among us all that Winter. The Queen had put the Cenſure, that we had ſent her, into the hands of ſome of her Miniſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave it; ſo a new Extract of it was ſent to her; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſend her Pleaſure upon it very ſpeedily: but none came during the Seſſion, ſo all further Proceedings againſt him were ſtopped, ſince the Queen did not confirm the ſtep, that we had made. This was not unacceptable to ſome of us, and to my ſelf in particular; I was gone into my Dioceſs, when that Cenſure was paſſed; and I have ever thought, that the true Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion was beſt conſulted, when nice diſputing about Myſteries was laid aſide and forgotten.

An Inclination in ſome of the Clergy towards Popery.

There appeared at this time an Inclination, in many of the Clergy, to a nearer Approach towards the Church of *Rome*; *Hicks*, an ill-tempered Man, who was now at the Head of the *Jacobite* Party, had in ſeveral Books promoted a Notion, that there was a proper Sacrifice made in the *Euchariſt*, and had on many occaſions ſtudied to leſſen our Averſion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and the Method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one *Brett* had preached a Sermon, in ſeveral of the the Pulpits of *London*, which he afterwards printed; in which he preſſed the neceſſity of Prieſtly Abſolution, in a ſtrain beyond what was pretended to even in the Church of *Rome*: He ſaid no Repentance could ſerve without it, and affirmed, that the Prieſt was veſted, with the ſame power of Pardoning, that our Saviour himſelf had. A Motion was made in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to cenſure this; but it was ſo ill ſupported, that it was let fall. Another Conceit was taken up, of the Invalidity of Lay-Baptiſm, on which ſeveral Books have been writ; nor was the Diſpute a trifling one, ſince by this Notion, the Teachers among the Diſſenters paſſing for Lay-Men, this went to the re-baptizing them and their Congregations.

Dodwell's Notions.

Dodwell gave the Riſe to this Conceit; he was a very learned Man, and led a ſtrict Life; he ſeemed to hunt after Paradoxes in all his Writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be ſaved, but thoſe who, by the Sacraments, had a federal Right to it; that theſe were the Seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted Mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a Right to give the Sacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it; and theſe were the Apoſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments adminiſtred by others were of no Value. He purſued theſe Notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the Souls of Men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing Virtue was conveyed by Baptiſm, given by Perſons Epiſcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the Epiſcopal Function ſo high, he did not lay the Original of that Government, on any Inſtruction or Warrant in the Scripture; But thought it was ſet up, in the beginning of the ſecond Century, after the Apoſtles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the Time, in which the Canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled; he thought it was not before the ſecond Century, and that an extraordinary Inſpiration was continued in the Churches to that very Time, to which he aſcribed the Original of Epiſcopacy. This ſtrange and precarious Syſtem was in great credit among us; and the Neceſſity of the Sacrament, and the Invalidity of Eccleſiaſtical Functions, when performed by Perſons, who were not Epiſcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great Applauſe: This made the Diſſenters paſs for no Chriſtians, and put all Thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And ſeveral little Books were ſpread about the Nation, to prove the neceſſity of re-baptizing

1712 them, and that they were in a State of Damnation 'till that was done; but few were, by theſe Arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This ſtruck even at the Baptiſm by Midwives in the Church of *Rome*; which was practiſed and connived at here in *England*, 'till it was objected in the Conference, held at *Hampton-Court*, ſoon after King *James* the Firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown, and Baptiſm was not 'till then limited to Perſons in Orders: Nothing of this kind was ſo much as mentioned in the Year 1660, when a great part of the Nation had been baptized by Diſſenters; but it was now promoted with much heat.

The Biſhops deſigned to condemn the rebaptizing Diſſenters.

The Biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new and extravagant Doctrine; ſo a Declaration was agreed to, firſt againſt the Irregularity of all Baptiſm by Perſons, who were not in Holy Orders; but that yet, according to the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the conſtant Uſage of the Church of *England*, no Baptiſm (in or with Water, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. The Archbiſhop of *York* at firſt agreed to this; ſo it was reſolved to publiſh it, in the Name of all the Biſhops of *England*; but he was prevailed on to change his Mind; and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptiſm: So the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with moſt of the Biſhops of his Province, reſolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper Houſe, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* only diſſenting: But when it was ſent to the Lower Houſe, they would not ſo much as take it into conſideration, but laid it aſide; thinking that it would encourage thoſe, who ſtruck at the Dignity of the Prieſthood. This was all that paſs'd in Convocation.

But the Clergy did not agree to it.

Great Supplies given.

The Supplies demanded were given, in all about ſix Millions; there were two Lotteries of 1,800,000*l.* apiece, beſides the Four Shillings in the Pound, and the Malt-Bill. A Motion was made for a Clauſe, to be put in one of the Lottery Bills, for a Commiſſion to enquire into the Value and Conſideration of all the Grants, made by King *William*. The Miniſters apprehended the difficulty of carrying a Money-Bill, with a Tack to it, thro' the Houſe of Lords; ſo they prevailed to get it ſeparated from the Money-Bill, and ſent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the Houſe of Lords, a great Party was made againſt it; thoſe who continued to pay a Reſpect to the Memory of King *William*, thought it was a very unbecoming Return to him, who had delivered the Nation from Slavery and Popery, to caſt ſo particular an Indignity on his Grants: The Bill made all its Steps thro' the Houſe of Lords to the laſt, with a ſmall Majority of one or two. The Earl of *Nottingham* was abſent the firſt two Days, but came to the Houſe on the laſt; he ſaid, he always thought thoſe Grants were too large, and very unſeaſonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that Matter; they ought either to reſume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal Compoſition: He therefore could not approve of this Bill, which by a very clear Conſequence would put it in the power of a Fellow-ſubject, to reſume or to cover Grants, at his pleaſure; and ſo it would put the Perſons, concerned in the Grants, into too great a Dependance on him. At the laſt reading of the Bill ſeventy-eight, in Perſon or by Proxy, were for the Bill; and as many were againſt it: The Votes being equal, by the Rule of the Houſe, the Negative carried it: So, for that time, the Bill was loſt.

The Duke of *Ormond* ordered not to act offenſively.

During the Seſſion, Reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the Treaty was as good as finiſhed: But new Stories were ſet on foot, and pretended Delays, to put off the Expectation of Peace; however, in the end of *May*, we were ſurprized with Letters from the Camp, which told us, that the Army of the Allies being joined, was 25000 Men ſtronger than the *French*; an Advantage that they never had before, during the whole courſe of the War. That Prince *Eugene* therefore propoſed, that they ſhould march towards the Head of the *Scheld*, where the *French* Army lay, and upon their advancing the *French* would be obliged, either to venture on Action, or to retire; and in that caſe *Cambray* would be left open to the Allies, to ſit down before it. The Council of War agreed to this, but to their great ſurprize, the Duke of *Ormond* ſhewed Orders, not to act offenſively againſt the *French*; he ſeemed to be very uneaſy with theſe Orders, but ſaid he muſt obey them. This was much reſented by the

the whole Army, and by the Miniſters of the Allies at the *Hague* and at *Utrecht*: And it ſtruck us here in *England* with Amazement. 1712

Motions were made upon it, in both Houſes of Parliament; for it ſeemed, we were neither to have Peace nor War: So it was propoſed, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, that ſhe would ſet the Duke of *Ormond* at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other Generals, and carry on the War, ſo as to obtain a good Peace. Thoſe who oppoſed this, asked, what Proofs they had, of what was ſaid, concerning the Duke of *Ormond*'s Orders; they had only private Letters, which were not produced: So, it was ſaid, there was not ground enough to found an Addreſs upon; which ought not to be made, on bare Reports. The Miniſters would neither confeſs, nor deny the Matter, pretending the Oath of Secrecy; yet they affirmed the Duke of *Ormond* was at liberty to cover the Siege.

That which prevailed in both Houſes, to hinder the Addreſs, was, that the Miniſters in both did affirm, that the Peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four Days: It was upon that ſuggeſted, that this muſt be a ſeparate Peace, ſince the Allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treaſurer ſaid, a ſeparate Peace was ſo baſe, ſo knaviſh, and ſo villainous a thing, that every one who ſerved the Queen knew, they muſt anſwer it with their Heads to the Nation; but it would appear to be a ſafe and a glorious Peace, much more to the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, than the Preliminaries that were agreed to, three Years before: He alſo affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were ſatisfied with it; ſo the Motion fell: And all were in great expectation, to ſee what a few Days would produce. In order to this, it was propoſed to examine into all the Proceedings at the *Hague*, and at *Gertruydenberg*, in the Years 1709 and 1710; this was ſet on by a Repreſentation made by the Earl of *Straſford*; for he affirmed in the Houſe of Lords, that thoſe Matters had not been fairly repreſented; he ſaid, he had his Information from one of the two, who had been imployed in thoſe Conferences: By this, it was plain he meant *Buys*. Lord *Townſhend* had informed the Houſe, that thoſe who treated with the *French* at *Gertruydenberg* did, at their return, give an Account of their Negotiation to the Miniſters of the Allies, in the Penſioner's preſence, before they reported it to the *States* themſelves: But upon this, the Earl of *Strafford* ſaid, they had been firſt ſecretly with the Penſioner, who directed them both what to ſay, and what to ſuppreſs. Upon this, the Houſe made an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to lay before them all that paſſed at that Time, and in that Negotiation: But nothing followed upon this; for it was ſaid to be deſigned only to amuſe the Houſe.

A ſeparate Peace diſowned by the Lord Treaſurer.

Surprizes came at this time quick one after another: At *Utrecht*, on the ſecond of *June* N. S. the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* expoſtulated with the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, upon the Orders ſent to the Duke of *Ormond*: He anſwered, he knew nothing of them, but ſaid, he had received a Letter, two Days before, from the Queen, in which ſhe complained that, notwithſtanding all the Advances ſhe had made, to engage the *States* to enter with her upon a Plan of Peace, they had not anſwered her as they ought, and as ſhe hoped they would have done: Therefore ſhe did now think herſelf at liberty, to enter into ſeparate Meaſures, to obtain a Peace for her own Convenience. The Plenipotentiaries ſaid, this was contrary to all their Alliances and Treaties; they thought that, by the Deference they had ſhewed Her, on all occaſions, they had merited much better Uſage from her: They knew nothing of any Advances made to them, on a Plan of Peace. The Biſhop replied, that conſidering the Conduct of the *States*, the Queen thought herſelf diſengaged from all Alliances and Engagements with them: The Biſhop did not in expreſs Words name the *Barrier Treaty*; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included in the general Words he had uſed. This did not agree, with what the Lord Treaſurer had ſaid in the Houſe of Lords: And when the *States* Envoy complained to him, of theſe Declarations made them by the Biſhop, all the Anſwer he made was, *that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.*

The Queen, by the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, ſaid ſhe was free from all her Treaties with the *States*.

On the fifth of *June*, the Queen came to the Parliament, and told them on what Terms a Peace might be had: King *Philip* was to renounce the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, if it ſhould devolve on him; and this was to execute it-

The Queen laid before the Parliament the Plan of the Peace.

1712

ſelf, by putting the next to him in the Succeſſion: *Sicily* was to be ſeparated from *Spain*, tho' it was not yet ſettled, who ſhould have it. The Proteſtant Succeſſion was to be ſecured; and he, who had pretended to the Crown, was no more to be ſupported. *Dunkirk* was to be demoliſhed, and *Newfoundland* to be delivered to *England*. *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* were to remain in our hands: We were alſo to have the *Aſſiento*, a Word importing, the furniſhing the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* with Slaves from *Africa*. The *Dutch* were to have their *Barrier*, except two or three Places: And due regard would be had to all our Allies.

Addreſſes of both Houſes upon it.

Both Houſes agreed to make Addreſſes of Thanks to the Queen, for communicating this Plan to them, deſiring her to *finiſh it:* An Addition to theſe laſt Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, was moved in both Houſes; that ſo there might be a Guaranty ſettled for the maintaining the Terms of the Treaty: But it was rejected, by a great Majority in both Houſes. It was ſaid, in oppoſition to it, that it would ſubject the Queen and the whole Treaty, to the Pleaſure of the Allies, who might prove backward and intractable: And ſince *England* had born the greateſt ſhare of the Burthen of the War, it was reaſonable that the Queen ſhould be the Arbiter of the Peace. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if the Allies did not enter into a Guaranty, we muſt depend on the Faith of the *French*, and be at their Mercy; and ſo have nothing to truſt to, but the Promiſes of a Court noted, in a courſe of many Years, for a Train of Perfidy: But many had formed an obſtinate Reſolution to get out of the War on any Terms: So nothing that was offered, that ſeemed to obſtruct the arriving ſpeedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the Faith of Treaties: Yet both Houſes obſerved one Caution, not to expreſs their being ſatisfied with the Plan of the Peace, tho' it was covertly inſinuated. Mention was alſo made of our Treaties with our Allies, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion: The Lords, who had all along proteſted againſt the Steps, that the Court had taken, entred the Reaſons of their proteſting againſt the Negative, put on adding the Words, *in conjunction with her Allies*, and on the former Vote, concerning the Orders ſent to the Duke of *Ormond*: Theſe carried in them ſuch juſt and ſevere Reflections on the Miniſtry, as running the Nation into an open Breach of all publick Truſt, and putting every thing into the hands of the *French*; that by the Strength of the Majority they were expunged: Yet they were printed, and Copies of them were ſent over the Nation; but nothing could break thro' that Inſenſibility, which had ſtupified the People. A new Set of Addreſſes ran about, full of groſs Flattery, magnifying the preſent Conduct, with ſevere Reflections on the former Miniſtry, which ſome carried back to King *William*'s Reign: Some of theſe Addreſſes mentioned the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the Houſe of *Hanover*, with Zeal; others did it more coldly; and ſome made no mention at all of it. And it was univerſally believed, that no Addreſſes were ſo acceptable to the Miniſters, as thoſe of the laſt ſort.

The end of the Seſſion of Parliament.

About the middle of *June*, the Seſſion of Parliament came to an end: The Queen in her Speech ſaid, ſhe was glad to find they approved of her Scheme of Peace, tho' that was in none of the Addreſſes; many who intended to merit by their officious Zeal, had indeed magnified it in both Houſes, but it was not in either of their Addreſſes. The Earl of *Strafford* was again ſent over, to induce the *States* to accept the Offers, that the *French* were making, and to conſent to a Ceſſation of Arms.

The Duke of *Ormond* proclaims a Ceſſation of Arms, and left Prince *Eugene*'s Army.

Prince *Eugene* ordered *Queſnoy* to be beſieged; and he, in conjunction with the Duke of *Ormond* covered the Siege; but, when the Place was ſo ſtreightened, that it could not hold out above two or three Days, the Duke of *Ormond* ſent Prince *Eugene* word, that he had Orders to proclaim a Ceſſation of Arms for two Months. Prince *Eugene* diſagreeing to this, he ſignified his Orders to all the *German* Troops, that were in the Queen's Pay: But the *States* and the Emperor had foreſeen that this might happen, and had negotiated ſo effectually with the Princes, to whom theſe Troops belonged, that they had ſent Orders to their Generals, to continue with Prince *Eugene*, and to obey his Command. This they repreſented to the Duke of *Ormond*; and he upon that told them, they ſhould have neither Bread nor Pay, nor their Arrears, if they refuſed to obey his Orders: This laſt ſeemed unjuſt, ſince they had ſerved hitherto, according to Agree-

ment; so that their Arrears could not be detained, with any colour of Justice. *Quesnoy* capitulated, and the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. It was said, that the Court of *France* had promised, to put *Dunkirk* in the Queen's hands, as a sure Pledge of performing all that they had stipulated, in order to a general Peace; this was executed, in the beginning of *July*; and a Body of our Troops, with a Squadron of Ships, were sent to take possession of the Place. The Duke of *Ormond* made a second Attempt, on the Generals of the *German* Troops, to see if they would agree to the Cessation of Arms: But they excused themselves, upon the Orders they had received from their Masters: So he proclaimed the Cessation, at the Head of the *English* Troops; upon which, he separated himself from Prince *Eugene*'s Army, and retired to *Ghendt* and *Bruges*, possessing himself of them: The fortified Places, near the Frontier, had Orders to let the Officers pass through, but not to suffer the Troops to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the *English* Forces in this manner, from the Confederate Army, was censured, not only as a manifest Breach of Faith and of Treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. The Duke of *Ormond* had given the *States* such Assurances, of his going along with them thro' the whole Campaign, that he was let into the Secrets of all their Councils, which by that Confidence were all known to the *French*: And, if the auxiliary *German* Troops had not been prepared to disobey his Orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the *French* Army, would have forced the *States* to come into the new Measures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this Conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, just and wise; and our People were led to think it a kind of Triumph, upon *Dunkirk*'s being put into our Hands; not considering, that we had more truly put ourselves into the Hands of the *French*, by this open Breach of Faith; after which, the Confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the Act of the Court and Ministry, but it became the Act of the Nation, which by a general Voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

1712 *Quesnoy* taken.

Prince *Eugene*'s next Attempt was upon *Landrecy*, in which it seemed probable that he would succeed; but this Prospect, and indeed the whole Campaign, had a fatal Reverse: There was a Body of 8000 or 10000 Men posted at *Denain*, on the *Scheld*, commanded by the Earl of *Albemarle*, to secure the conveying Bread and Ammunition to the Army, and to the Siege. *Villars* made a Motion, as if he designed to give Prince *Eugene* Battle; but after a Feint that way, he turned quick upon this Body, that lay on both sides of the River, with only one Bridge of Pontoons: The rest had been sent to the Siege of *Landrecy*; and there was not a Supply of more brought. That Bridge, with the Weight that was on it, broke; so the Bodies could not be joined: but Militaty Men assured me, that, if it had not been for that Misfortune, *Villar*'s Attempt might have turned fatally on himself, and to the Ruin of his whole Army. But in conclusion, he gave them a total Defeat, and so made himself Master of those Posts, which they were to defend. This opened a new Scene; it not only forced the raising the Siege of *Landrecy*, but gave *Villars* an occasion to seize on *Marchiennes*, and some other Places, where he found great Stores of Artillery and Ammunition; and furnished him likewise, with an opportunity of sitting down before *Doway*. What Errors were committed, either in the Counsels or Orders, or in the Execution of them, and at whose door these ought to be laid, is far above my Understanding in Military Matters: But be that as it will, this Misfortune served not a little to raise the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Character, under whose Command no such thing had ever happened. The Effects of this Disgrace were great; *Doway* was taken; after a long and brave Defence; Prince *Eugene* tryed to raise the Siege, but did not succeed in it; indeed the *States* would not put things to so great a venture, after such a Loss; the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. *Quesnoy* was next besieged; the great Artillery, that had been employed in the Siege, were left in the place: The Garrison improved that Advantage; so that the taking it cost the Enemy very dear.

Landrecy besieged.

A great Loss at *Denain* brought a Reverse on the Campaign.

These Losses created a great Distraction in the Counsels at the *Hague*; many were inclined to accept of a Cessation; the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire made great Offers to the *States*, to persuade them to continue the War; at

Distractions at the *Hague*.

1712 the ſame time, the *French* grew very inſolent upon their Succeſſes, and took Occaſion, from a Quarrel between the Footmen of one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant Reparation; which the *Dutch* not complying with, a full ſtop was put to all Proceedings at *Utrecht*, for ſome Months. Our Court took ſome pains to remove that Obſtruction; but the *French* King's Pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable: *St. John*, being made Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, was ſent over with ſecret Inſtructions, to the Court of *France*; where, as it was believed, the Peace was fully concluded: But all, that was publiſhed upon his Return, was a new Ceſſation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, for four Months longer. Duke *Hamilton* was named to go Ambaſſador to *France*, and Lord *Lexington* to *Spain*. The Earl of *Strafford* continued to preſs the *States*, to come into the Queen's Meaſures, which 'twas ſaid he managed with great Imperiouſneſs: The *States* reſolved to offer their Plan to the Queen, in which they preſſed the reſtoring *Strazbourg* to the Empire, to have *Valenciennes* demoliſhed, and *Condé* added to their Barrier, and that the old *Tariff* for Trade ſhould be again reſtored.

The Renunciation of the Succeſſions in Spain and France.

The Lord *Lexington* went firſt to *Spain*, where the *Cortes* were ſummoned, in which that King did ſolemnly renounce, for himſelf and his Heirs, the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*; and limited the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, after his own Poſterity, to the Houſe of *Savoy*. The like Renunciation was made ſome Months after that, by the Princes of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*: And *Philip* was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*. It was ſomething ſtrange, to ſee ſo much Weight laid on theſe Renunciations, ſince the King of *France* had ſo often, and ſo ſolemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the Right of his Queen, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; when the Renunciation made by his Queen before the Marriage, purſuant to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, of all Rights of Succeſſion to her Father's Dominions, was objected to him) that no Renunciation, which was but a civil Act, could deſtroy the Rights of Blood, founded on the Laws of Nature: But this was now forgot, or very little conſidered. At this time the Order of the Garter had nine vacant Stalls; ſo ſix Knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Hamilton*, and *Kent*; and the Earls of *Oxford*, *Powlet*, and *Strafford*. The Duke of *Hamilton*'s being appointed to go to the Court of *France*, gave melancholy Speculations to thoſe, who thought him much in the *Pretender*'s Intereſt: He was conſidered, not only in *Scotland*, but here in *England*, as the Head of his Party; but a diſmal Accident put an end to his Life, a few Days before he intended to have ſet out on his Embaſſy.

Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun both killed in a Combat.

He and the Lord *Mohun* were engaged in ſome Suits of Law; and a violent Hatred was kindled between them: So that, upon a very high Provocation, the Lord *Mohun* ſent him a Challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried, by thoſe falſe Points of Honour, they fatally went out to *Hyde-Park*, in the middle of *November*, and fought with ſo violent an Animoſity, that neglecting the Rules of Art, they ſeemed to run on one another, as if they tried who ſhould kill firſt; in which they were both ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that the Lord *Mohun* was killed outright, and Duke *Hamilton* died in a few Minutes after. I will add no Character of him: I am ſorry I cannot ſay ſo much good of him as I could wiſh, and I had too much kindneſs for him to ſay any Evil without Neceſſity. Nor ſhall I make any Reflections on the deplorable effect of thoſe unchriſtian and barbarous Maxims, which have prevailed ſo univerſally, that there is little hope left of ſeeing them rooted out of the Minds of Men; the falſe Notions of Honour and Courage being too ſtrong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious Conſiderations.

The Duke of Shrewsbury ſent to France, and Duke de Aumont came to England.

The Duke of *Shrewsbury* was, upon Duke *Hamilton*'s Death, named for the Embaſſy to *France*, and went over in the end of *December*: The ſame Yacht, that carried him to *Calais*, brought over the Duke *de Aumont*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who was a good-natured and generous Man, of profuſe Expence, throwing handfuls of Money often out of his Coach, as he went about the Streets: He was not thought a Man of Buſineſs, and ſeemed to employ himſelf chiefly, in maintaining the Dignity of his Character, and making himſelf acceptable to the Nation. I turn next to foreign Affairs.

The

1712

The War in *Pomerania* went on but ſlowly, tho' the *Czar* and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* joined their Forces; upon which it was thought, the Intereſt of *Sweden* muſt have ſunk in thoſe Parts: But the Feebleneſs of one or other of thoſe Princes loſt them great Advantages. *Steinbock*, the *Swediſh* General, ſeeing the *Danes* were ſeparated from their Allies, made a quick March toward them; and, tho' the *Saxons* had joined them, before he came up, yet he attacked them. The Action was hot, and laſted ſome Hours; but it ended in a compleat Victory on the *Swediſh* ſide. At the ſame time the *Swedes* were animated, by Reports from *Conſtantinople*, which gave them Hopes of the War, between the *Turks* and the *Czar*, being like to break out again, which the King of *Sweden* continued to ſollicit, and in which he had all the Aſſiſtance, that the *French* could give him.

The Affairs in the *North*.

This gave the Emperor great Apprehenſions, that Diſorders in *Hungary* might follow upon it, which would defeat the Meaſures he had taken to ſettle Matters in that Kingdom, ſo that being ſafe on that ſide, he might turn his whole Force againſt *France*, and by that means, encourage the *States* to continue the War. Thoſe in *Holland*, who preſſed the accepting the Offers that *France* made them, repreſented That as a thing not poſſible to be ſupported: The Promiſes of the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire had ſo often failed them, that they ſaid, they could not be relied on: And the Diſtractions in the *North* made them apprehend, that thoſe Princes might be obliged to recall their Troops, which were in the Service of the *States*.

The Emperor prepares for the War with *France*.

The Earl of *Strafford* was ſent back to the *Hague*, with the *French* Plan, which came to be called the Queen's Plan: But to draw them in the more, he was ordered to enter upon a new *Barrier Treaty* with them, by which the former was to be ſet aſide: By it the *States* were to maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown, when required to it by the Queen, but not otherwiſe. This gave ſtill new occaſions for Jealouſy: For whereas, by the former Treaty, they were ſtrictly bound to maintain the Succeſſion, ſo that they were obliged to oppoſe any Attempts they ſaw made againſt it: They were by this Treaty obliged to ſtay, 'till they were ſent to: And if our Miniſters ſhould come to entertain ill Deſigns that way, they would take care no notice ſhould be given to the *States*. The *Barrier* for the *Dutch* came far ſhort of the former; the *States* wrote another Letter to the Queen, deſiring her to interpoſe, for reſtoring *Strazbourg* to the Empire, for adding *Condé* to their *Barrier*, and for ſettling the Commerce on the foot of the ancient *Tariff*; as alſo for obtaining more reaſonable Terms for the Emperor: But things were ſo fixed between the Court of *France* and ours, that there was no room for Interceſſion.

A new *Barrier Treaty* with the *States*.

The Earl of *Godolphin* died of the Stone in *September*: He was the Man of the cleareſt Head, the calmeſt Temper, and the moſt incorrupt of all the Miniſters of State, I have ever known. After having been thirty Years in the Treaſury, and during nine of thoſe Lord Treaſurer, as he was never once ſuſpected of Corruption, or of ſuffering his Servants to grow rich under him, ſo in all that time his Eſtate was not increaſed by him to the Value of 4000 *l.* He ſerved the Queen with ſuch a particular Affection and Zeal, that he ſtudied to poſſeſs all People with great perſonal Eſteem for her: And ſhe herſelf ſeemed to be ſo ſenſible of this for many Years, that if Courts were not different from all other Places in the World, it might have been thought, that his wiſe Management at home, and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s glorious Conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their Poſts, above the little Practices of an artful Favourite, and the Cunning of a Man, who has not hitherto ſhewed any Token of a great Genius, and is only eminent in the Arts of deluding thoſe that hearken to him.

The Death of the Earl of *Godolphin*. His Character.

Upon the Earl of *Godolphin*'s Death, the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to go and live beyond Sea; he executed it in the end of *November*; and his Dutcheſs followed him in the beginning of *February*. This was variouſly cenſured; ſome pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the Concerns of his Country; and they repreſented it as the effect of Fear, with too anxious a care to ſecure himſelf: Others were glad he was ſafe out of ill Hands; whereby, if we ſhould fall into the Convulſions of a Civil War, he would be able to aſſiſt the Elector of *Hanover*, as being ſo entirely beloved and confided in, by all our military

The Duke of *Marlborough* went to live beyond Sea.

1713 Men; whereas if he had ſtaid in *England*, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the leaſt Shadow of Suſpicion, he would have been immediately ſecured; whereas now he would be at Liberty, being beyond Sea, to act as there might be occaſion for it.

There were two Suits begun againſt him; the one was for the two and a half *per Cent.* that the foreign Princes were content ſhould be deducted for Contingencies, of which an Account was formerly given; the other was, for Arrears due to the Builders of *Blenheim* Houſe. The Queen had given Orders for building it with great Magnificence; all the Bargains with the Workmen were made in her Name, and by Authority from her; and in the Preambles of the Acts of Parliament, that confirmed the Grant of *Woodſtock* to him and his Heirs, it was ſaid the Queen built the Houſe for him: Yet now, that the Tradeſmen were let run into an Arrear of 30000 *l.* the Queen refuſed to pay any more; and ſet them upon ſuing the Duke of *Marlborough* for it, tho' he had never contracted with any of them: Upon his going beyond Sea, both thoſe Suits were ſtaid, which gave occaſion to People to imagine, that the Miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much publick Reſpect put on a Man, whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe Proſecutions on foot, only to render his Stay in *England* uneaſy to him.

We poſſeſs Dunkirk in a very precarious manner

Our Army continued this Winter about *Ghendt* and *Bruges*; and we kept a ſort of Garriſon in *Dunkirk*: But that was ſo ill ſupplied with Artillery and Ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a Condition to keep the Place, any longer than the *French* were willing to let them ſtay in it. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a Place to worſhip God, nor to bury their Dead in, tho' by a Mortality that raged there ſome Thouſands died. Our Miniſters continued ſtill to preſs the *States* and the Emperor to come into the Queen's Meaſures; the Emperor, on ſome occaſions, talked in a very poſitive Strain, as if he was reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than ſubmit to ſuch hard Conditions; but the Apprehenſions of a War in the Neighbourhood of *Hungary*, and the low State of his Treaſure, forced him to come down from that heighth, and engage the *States* to procure better Terms for him: The Demand of *Strazbourg* was rejected by the *French*, with ſo poſitive an Air, that our Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one Condition of the *French*, but what was offered in their own Project.

The Barrier Treaty ſigned.

In concluſion, the *States* were forced to yield in every Particular; and then our Miniſters, to give ſome ſeeming Content to the Nation, and to bring the *States* into ſome Confidence with them, ordered the new *Barrier Treaty* to be ſigned: And it was given out by their Creatures, that the *French* were highly offended at their ſigning this; making it previous to a general Peace, and a ſort of Guaranty for it. Thus, after all the Declamations that were made on the firſt *Barrier Treaty*, the Miniſters came into a new one, which tho' not ſo ſecure as the former, yet was liable to all the Objections, that were made againſt that. The *French*, as we were aſſured, in the Progreſs of the Treaty uſed all that courſe of *Chicane*, for which they have been ſo long famous: And, after all the Steps our Court had made, to get them a Treaty of their own projecting, we were not at laſt able to gain any one point upon them: They ſeemed to reckon, that now we had put ourſelves in their hands, and that they might uſe us as they pleaſed.

1713 Seven Prorogations of Parliament.

A Proclamation was ſet out in the end of *November*, giving notice that the Seſſion of Parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of *January*: But tho' the proroguing the Parliament, after ſuch a Proclamation, was without a Precedent, yet we were put off by ſeven Prorogations, ſome for a Fortnight, and ſome for three Weeks: It was ſaid, we were daily expecting a ſudden Concluſion of the Treaty; and 'till all was finiſhed, the Miniſters could not know what Aids were to be demanded. What occaſioned all theſe Delays, is yet a Secret to me; ſo I can write nothing of it. Many Expreſſes were ſent to *Vienna*, and the Returns to thoſe could not come quick. The Demands for reſtoring the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, together with a Compenſation for their Loſſes, were inſiſted on. The Emperor could not do the former of theſe, without the Diet, by

by whoſe Authority they were put under the Imperial *Ban:* But neither the Emperor nor Diet could anſwer the other Demand, it roſe ſo high. 1713

Affairs of *Sweden.*

While we were at home uneaſy at the many Prorogations and Delays, the News from beyond Sea opened a new Scene. The *Swedes* broke into *Holſtein*, but were ſo cloſely followed by the *Danes* and *Muſcovites*, that their Retreat by Land was cut off, and the *Daniſh* Ships ſhut them from the *Baltick* Sea: they made great waſte in the King of *Denmark*'s Share of *Holſtein*, and burnt *Altona*, a great and rich Village, within a Mile of *Hambourg*, which being an open Place, in no ſort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the Laws of War.

The King of *Pruſſia's* Death.

The King of *Pruſſia* died in *February*; he was in his own Perſon a virtuous Man, and full of Zeal in the Matters of Religion; he raiſed above two hundred new Churches in his Dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his Miniſters and Flatterers; but was ſo apt to hearken to Whiſpers, that he changed twice the whole Set of his Miniſtry: His aſſuming the Title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary Magnificence in his Court, brought a great Charge on himſelf, and on all about him, which made him a ſevere Maſter to his Subjects, and ſet him on many Pretenſions, chiefly thoſe relating to the Prince of *Frizeland*, which were not thought well grounded. He was ſucceeded in his Dignity by his Son, who had hitherto appeared to affect a Roughneſs of Behaviour, and ſeemed fond of his Grenadiers, not only beyond all other Military Men, but beyond all Men whatſoever: He ſeemed to have a Warlike Inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the Throne, muſt be left to Time.

The King of *Sweden's* Misfortunes.

The Appearances of a new War between the *Turk* and the *Czar* varied ſo oft, that it was doubtful in what it might end: The King of *Sweden* uſed all poſſible means to engage the *Turk* into it; but he threw himſelf, by his intractable Obſtinacy, into great Dangers: The Party at the *Port*, that oppoſed the War, ſtudied to get rid of that King, and of his Importunities. Orders were ſent him to march back into his Kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a ſafe Paſſage to it; but he treated the Perſon, that was ſent with this Meſſage, with great Inſolence, and fortified himſelf, as well as he could, with the *Swedes* that were about him, and reſolved to defend himſelf. A Force much ſuperior to his, was brought againſt him; but he maintained himſelf ſo reſolutely in his Houſe, that ſome Hundreds of thoſe who attacked him were killed: The *Turks* upon that ſet fire to the Houſe, whereupon he was forced to ſurrender, and was put under a Guard; and moſt of his *Swedes* were ſold for Slaves; he was carried to a Houſe near *Adrianople*, but not ſuffered to come to Court; only the *Sultan* diſowned the Violence uſed to his Perſon. In the mean while, the *Czar* ſhipped an Army from *Petersburgh*, that landed in *Finland:* The *Swedes* were not able to ſtand before him; every Place, as he advanced, ſubmitted to him; and he was now Maſter of *Abo*, the Capital of *Finland*, and of that whole Province. *Steinbock*, with his Army, maintained himſelf in *Tonningen*, as long as their Proviſion laſted: But, all Supplies being carefully ſtopp'd, he was forced at laſt to deliver up himſelf and his Army Priſoners of War; and theſe were the beſt Troops the *Swedes* had, ſo that *Sweden* was ſtruck with a general Conſternation: In this diſtracted State has that furious Prince abandoned his own Kingdom. And there I muſt leave it, to return to our own Affairs.

The Treaties ſigned, and the Seſſion of Parliament opened

After a long Expectation we at laſt knew, that on the thirteenth of *March* the Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and the *States* was ſigned: Upon this, the Parliament was opened on the ninth of *April*. The Queen in her Speech told the two Houſes, that ſhe had now concluded a Peace, and had obtained a further Security for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and that ſhe was in an intire Union with the Houſe of *Hanover*; ſhe asked of the Commons the neceſſary Supplies, and recommended to both Houſes, the cultivating the Arts of Peace, with a Reflection upon Faction. Upon this Speech, a Debate aroſe in the Houſe of Lords, concerning ſome Words, that were moved to be put in the Addreſs, (which of courſe was to be made to the Queen) applauding the Conditions of the Peace, and the Security for the Proteſtant Succeſſion: This was oppoſed, ſince we did not yet know what the Conditions of the Peace were, nor what that Security was; all that appeared was, that the *Pretender* was gone out of *France*

1713 into the *Barrois*, a Part of *Lorrain*, for which that Duke did Homage to the Crown of *France*. An Addreſs of Congratulation was agreed to, but without any Approbation of the Peace. The Houſe of Commons obſerved the ſame Caution in their Addreſs. But upon this, a new Set of Addreſſes ran thro' the Nation, in the uſual Strains of Flattery and falſe Eloquence. The Parliament ſate above a Month, before the Articles of Peace (and of a Treaty of Commerce, made at that ſame time) were laid before them. It was given out, that, till the Ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publiſh them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both Houſes, and printed.

The Subſtance of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce.

By the Treaty of Peace, the *French* King was bound to give neither Harbour nor Aſſiſtance to the *Pretender*, but acknowledged the Queen's Title and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as it was ſettled by ſeveral Acts of Parliament: *Dunkirk* was to be razed in a Time limited, within five Months, after the Ratifications; but that was not to be begun, till an Equivalent for it was put in the hands of *France*. *Newfoundland*, *Hudſon's Bay*, and St. *Chriſtopher's* were to be given to *England*; but *Cape Breton* was left to the *French*, with a Liberty to dry their Fiſh on *Newfoundland*: This was the main Subſtance of the Articles of Peace. The Treaty of Commerce ſettled a free Trade, according to the *Tariff* in the Year 1664, excepting ſome Commodities, that were ſubjected to a new *Tariff* in the Year 1699, which was ſo high, that it amounted to a Prohibition: All the Productions of *France* were to come into *England* under no other Duties, but thoſe that were laid on the ſame Productions from other Countries; and when this was ſettled, then Commiſſaries were to be ſent to *London*, to agree and adjuſt all Matters relating to Trade: The Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* was not yet finiſhed. As for the Allies, *Portugal* and *Savoy* were ſatisfied; the Emperor was to have the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: *Sicily* was to be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Title of King: And *Sardinia*, with the ſame Title, was to be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in lieu of his Loſſes: The *States* were to deliver up *Liſle*, and the little Places about it: And, beſides the Places of which they were already poſſeſſed, they were to have *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Luxembourg*, *Ypres*, and *Newport*: The King of *Pruſſia* was to have the *Upper Guelder*, in lieu of *Orange* and the other Eſtates, which the Family had in *Franche Comté*: This was all that I think neceſſary to inſert here, with relation to our Treaty: The Emperor was to have time to the firſt of *June*, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what Equivalent the King of *France* was to have for *Dunkirk*: No mention was made of it in the Treaty; ſo the Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring to know what that Equivalent was. Some Weeks paſſed before they had an Anſwer; at laſt the Queen by a Meſſage ſaid, the *French* King had that Equivalent already in his own hands; but we were ſtill in the dark as to that, no further Explanation being made of it. As to *Newfoundland*, it was thought that the *French* ſettling at *Cape Breton*, inſtead of *Placentia*, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the Fiſhery, which is the only thing, that makes Settlements in thoſe Parts of any Value. The *Engliſh* have always pretended that, the firſt Diſcovery of *Newfoundland* being made in *Henry* the Seventh's Time, the Right to it was in the Crown of *England*. The *French* had leave given them in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time to fiſh there, paying Tribute, as an Acknowledgment of that Licence: It is true, they carried this much further, during the Civil Wars; and this grew to a much greater heighth in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: But in King *William's* Time, an Act of Parliament paſſed, aſſerting the Right of the Crown to *Newfoundland*, laying open the Trade thither to all the Subjects of *Great Britain*, with a poſitive and conſtant Excluſion of all Aliens and Foreigners: Theſe were the Reflections on the Treaty of Peace; but there were more important Objections made to the Treaty of Commerce. During King *Charles* the Second's Reign, our Trade with *France* was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the Nation; there was a Commiſſion appointed in the Year 1674, to adjuſt the Conditions of our Commerce with that Nation, and then it appeared, in a Scheme that was prepared by very able Merchants, that we loſt every Year a Million of Money by our Trade thither. This was then ſo well received, that

the Scheme was entred into the Journals of both Houſes of Parliament, and into the Books of the Cuſtom-Houſe: But the Court at that time favoured the Intereſts of *France* ſo much, preferably to their own, that the Trade went ſtill on till the Year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all *French* Commodities, ſuch a Duty as amounted to a Prohibition, and was to laſt for three Years, and to the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament: At the end of the three Years, King *Charles* called no more Parliaments; and that Act was repealed in King *James*'s Parliament: But, during the whole laſt War, high Duties were laid on all the Productions and Manufactures of *France*; which by this Treaty were to be no higher charged, than the ſame Productions from other Countries. It was ſaid that, if we had been as often beat by the *French*, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard Treaty; and if the Articles of our Commerce had been ſettled, before the Duke of *Ormond* was ordered to ſeparate his Troops from the Confederates, the *French* could not have pretended to draw us into ſuch Terms, as they had inſiſted on ſince that time, becauſe we put ourſelves into their power. We were engaged by our Treaty with *Portugal*, that their Wines ſhould be charged a third part lower than the *French* Wines; but if the Duties were, according to this Treaty of Commerce, to be made equal, then conſidering the Difference of Freight, which is more than double from *Portugal*, the *French* Wines would be much cheaper; and the Nation generally liking them better, by this means we ſhould not only break our Treaties with *Portugal*, but if we did not take off their Wines, we muſt loſe their Trade, which was at preſent the moſt advantageous, that we drove any where: For beſides a great Vent of our Manufactures, we brought over yearly great Returns of Gold from thence; four, five, and ſix hundred thouſand Pounds a-year. We had brought the Silk Manufacture here to ſo great Perfection, that about 300000 People were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great Quantities of Silk from *Italy* and *Turky*, by which People in thoſe Countries came to take off as great Quantities of our Manufactures: So that our Demand for Silk had opened good Markets for our Woollen Goods abroad, which muſt fail, if our Manufacture of Silk at home ſhould be loſt: Which, if once we gave a free Vent for Silk Stuffs from *France* among us, muſt ſoon be the caſe; ſince the Cheapneſs of Proviſions and of Labour in *France*, would enable the *French* to underſell us, even at our own Markets. Our Linnen and Paper Manufactures would likewiſe be ruined by a free Importation of the ſame Goods from *France*. Theſe things came to be ſo generally well underſtood; that even, while flattering Addreſſes were coming to Court from all the Parts of the Iſland, Petitions came from the Towns and Counties concerned in Trade, ſetting forth the Prejudice they apprehended from this Treaty of Commerce. The Miniſters uſed all poſſible Arts to bear this Clamour down; they called it Faction, and decried it with a Boldneſs, that would have ſurprized any, but thoſe who had obſerved the Methods, they had taken for many Years, to vent the fouleſt Calumnies, and the falſeſt Miſrepreſentations poſſible. But the Matter came to be ſo univerſally apprehended, that it could not be diſguiſed. 1713

Aid given by the Commons.

The Houſe of Commons gave an Aid of Two Shillings in the Pound, tho' the Miniſters hoped to have carried it higher; but the Members durſt not venture on that, ſince a new Election was ſoon to follow the Concluſion of the Seſſion: They went next to renew the Duty on Malt, for another Year; and here a Debate aroſe, that was kept up ſome Days in both Houſes of Parliament, whether it ſhould be laid on the whole Iſland: It was carried in the Affirmative, of which the *Scots* complained heavily, as a Burden that their Country could not bear: And whereas it was ſaid, that thoſe Duties ought to be laid equally on all the Subjects of the United Kingdom, the *Scots* inſiſted on an Article of the Union, by which it was ſtipulated, that no Duty ſhould be laid on the Malt in *Scotland* during the War, which ought to be obſerved religiouſly. They ſaid, it was evident, the War with *Spain* was not yet ended; no Peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor ſo much as ſigned: And, tho' it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a Maxim in the Conſtruction of all Laws, that odious Matters ought to be ſtrictly underſtood, whereas Matters of Favour

The *Scots* oppoſe their being charged with the Duty on Malt.

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were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther ſaid on the *Scotch* ſide, that this Duty was, by the very Words of the Act, to be applied to Deficiencies during the War; So this Act was, upon the Matter, making *Scotland* pay that Duty during the War, from which the Articles of the Union did by expreſs Words exempt them. A great number of the *Engliſh* were convinced of the Equity of theſe Grounds, that the *Scots* went on; but the Majority was on the other ſide. So, when the Bill had paſſed thro' the Houſe of Commons, all the *Scots* of both Houſes met together, and agreed to move for an Act, diſſolving the Union; they went firſt to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this Duty would be to their Country, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen ſeemed uneaſy at the Motion; ſhe ſtudied to divert them from it, and aſſured them that her Officers ſhould have Orders to make it eaſy to them. This was underſtood to imply that the Duty ſhould not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, and moſt of the Lords of that Nation ſpoke to it: They ſet forth all the Hardſhips, that they lay under ſince the Union; they had no more a Council in *Scotland*; their Peers at preſent were the only Perſons in the whole Iſland, that were judged incapable of Peerage by Deſcent; their Laws were altered in Matters of the higheſt Importance, particularly in Matters of Treaſon; and now an Impoſition was to be laid on their Malt, which muſt prove an intolerable Burden to the Poor of that Country, and force them to drink Water. Upon all theſe Reaſons they moved for liberty to bring in a Bill, to diſſolve the Union, in which they would give full Security, for maintaining the Queen's Prerogative, and for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion. This was oppoſed with much Zeal by the Miniſters, but was ſupported by others; who, tho' they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reaſonable to give a Hearing to this Motion, that they might ſee how far the Proteſtant Succeſſion could be ſecured, in caſe it ſhould be entertained; but the Majority were for rejecting the Motion: When the Malt-Bill was brought up to the Lords, there was ſuch an oppoſition made to it, that fifty-ſix voted againſt it, but ſixty-four were for it, and ſo it paſſed.

And moved to have the Union diſſolved.

A Bill for rendring the Treaty of Commerce with *France* effectual.

The Matter of the greateſt Conſequence in this Seſſion was, a Bill for ſettling the Commerce with *France*, according to the Treaty, and for taking off the Prohibitions and high Duties, that were laid on the Productions of *France*. The Traders in the City of *London*, and Thoſe in all the other Parts of *England* were alarmed, with the great Prejudice this would bring on the whole Nation. The *Turkey* Company, thoſe that traded to *Portugal* and *Italy*, and all who were concerned in the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, appeared before both Houſes, and ſet forth the great Miſchief, that a Commerce with *France*, on the foot of the Treaty, would bring upon the Nation; while none appeared on the other ſide, to anſwer their Arguments, or to ſet forth the Advantage of ſuch a Commerce. It was manifeſt, that none of the trading Bodies had been conſulted in it; and the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations had made very material Obſervations on the firſt Project, which was ſent to them for their Opinion: And afterwards, when this preſent Project was formed, it was alſo tranſmitted to that Board by the Queen's Order, and they were required to make their Remarks on it: but *Arthur Moor*, who had riſen up from being a Footman without any Education, to be a great Dealer in Trade, and was the Perſon of that Board, in whom the Lord Treaſurer confided moſt, moved that they might firſt read it every one apart, and then debate it; and he deſired to have the firſt Peruſal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who carried it to *Paris*, and there it was ſettled. The Bill was very feebly maintained by thoſe who argued for it; yet the Majority went with the Bill 'till the laſt day; and then the oppoſition to it was ſo ſtrong, that the Miniſters ſeemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a Feint, or whether the Inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſador, and the Engagements, that our Miniſters were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the laſt Step; and then a great many of thoſe, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this Matter, and

and beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that when it came to the laſt Diviſion, 185 were for the Bill, and 194 were againſt it: By ſo ſmall a Majority was a Bill of ſuch great Importance loſt. But the Houſe of Commons, to ſoften the ill Conſtructions that might be made of their rejecting this Bill, made an Addreſs to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the Peace ſhe had concluded, and for the Foundation laid for ſettling our Commerce; and prayed her to name Commiſſaries to regulate and finiſh that Matter. 1713

To this the Queen ſent an Anſwer, of a ſingular Compoſition: She ſaid, ſhe was glad to ſee they were ſo well pleaſed with the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, that ſhe had made; and aſſured them that ſhe would uſe her beſt Endeavours to ſee all the Advantages, that ſhe had ſtipulated for her Subjects, performed: This was ſurprizing, ſince the Houſe of Commons had ſufficiently ſhewed, how little they were pleaſed with the Treaty of Commerce, by their rejecting the Bill, that was offered to confirm it; and this was inſinuated in their Addreſs itſelf: But it was pleaſantly ſaid, that the Queen anſwered them, according to what ought to have been in their Addreſs, and not according to what was in it; beſides it was obſervable, that her Promiſe, to maintain what was already ſtipulated, did not at all anſwer the Prayer of their Addreſs. This was all that paſſed in this Seſſion of Parliament with relation to the Peace. It was once apprehended, that the Miniſters would have moved for an Act, or at leaſt for an Addreſs, approving the Peace; and upon that I prepared a Speech, which I intended to make on the Subject: It was the only Speech, that I ever prepared beforehand; but ſince that Matter was never brought into the Houſe, I had no occaſion to make it; yet I think proper to inſert it here, that I may deliver down my Thoughts of this great Tranſaction to Poſterity.

A Speech I prepared when the Approbation of the Peace ſhould be moved in the Houſe of Lords.

" MY LORDS, this Matter now before you, as it is of the greateſt Importance, ſo it may be ſeen in very different Lights; I will not meddle with the Political View of it; I leave that to Perſons, who can judge and ſpeak of it much better than I can: I will only offer to you what appears to me, when I conſider it, with relation to the Rules of Morality and Religion; in this I am ſure I act within my proper Sphere. Some things ſtick ſo with me, that I could have no Quiet in my Conſcience, nor think I had anſwered the Duty of my Function, if I did not make uſe of the Freedom of Speech, that our Conſtitution and the Privileges of this Houſe allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, becauſe the bringing thoſe of our Order into Publick Councils, in which we have now ſuch a ſhare, was originally intended for this very end, that we ſhould offer ſuch Conſiderations, as ariſe from the Rules of our Holy Religion, in all Matters that may come before us. In the opening my Senſe of things, I may be forced to uſe ſome Words, that may perhaps appear ſevere: I cannot help it, if the Nature of theſe Affairs is ſuch, that I cannot ſpeak plainly of them, in a ſofter ſtrain: I intend not to reflect on any Perſon: And I am ſure I have ſuch a profound Reſpect for the Queen, that no part of what I may ſay, can be underſtood to reflect on her in any ſort: Her Intentions are, no doubt, as ſhe declares them to be, all for the Good and Happineſs of her People; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe can read long Treaties, or carry the Articles of them in her Memory: So if things have been either concealed from her, or miſrepreſented to her, *She can do no Wrong:* And, if any ſuch thing has been done, we know on whom our Conſtitution lays the Blame.

" The Treaties that were made ſome Years ago with our Allies are in Print; both the Grand Alliance, and ſome ſubſequent ones: We ſee many things in theſe, that are not provided for by this Peace; it was in particular ſtipulated, that no Peace ſhould be treated, much leſs concluded, without the Conſent of the Allies. But, before I make any Obſervations on this, I muſt deſire you will conſider how ſacred a thing the publick Faith, that is engaged in Treaties and Alliances, ſhould be eſteemed.

" I hope, I need not tell you, that even Heathen Nations valued themſelves upon their Fidelity, in a punctual obſerving of all their Treaties, and with how much Infamy they branded the Violation of them: If we conſider that, which Revealed Religion teaches us to know, that Man was made after the

1713 " Image of God, the God of all Truth, as we know who is the Father of Lies; " *God hates the deceitful Man, in whose Mouth there is no Faithfulness.* In that " leſs perfect Religion of the *Jews*, when the *Gibeonites* had, by a fraudulent " Proceeding, drawn *Joſhua* and the *Iſraelites* into a League with them, it was " ſacredly obſerved; and the Violation of it, ſome Ages after, was ſeverely " puniſhed. And, when the laſt of the Kings of *Judah* ſhook off the Fidelity, " to which he had bound himſelf to the King of *Babylon*, the Prophet thereup- " on ſaid with Indignation, *Shall he break the Oath of God, and proſper?* The " Swearing deceitfully is one of the worſt Characters; and *He who ſwears to his* " *own hurt, and changes not,* is among the beſt. It is a Maxim of the wiſeſt of " Kings, that *the Throne is eſtabliſhed by Righteouſneſs.* Treaties are of the na- " ture of Oaths; and when an Oath is asked to confirm a Treaty, it is never " denied. The beſt Account that I can give of the diſuſe of adding that Sacred " Seal to Treaties is this:

" The Popes had for ſome Ages poſſeſſed themſelves of a Power, to which " they had often recourſe, of diſſolving the Faith of Treaties, and the Obliga- " tion of Oaths: The famous, but fatal Story of *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*, " breaking his Faith to *Amurath* the *Turk*, by virtue of a Papal Diſpenſation, is " well known. One of the laſt publick Acts of this ſort was, when Pope *Cle-* " *ment* the Seventh abſolved *Francis* the Firſt, from the Treaty made and ſworn " to at *Madrid*, while he was a Priſoner there: The ſevere Revenge that *Charles* " the Fifth took of this, in the Sack of *Rome*, and in keeping that Pope for ſome " Months a Priſoner, has made Popes more cautious, ſince that time, than they " were formerly: This alſo drew ſuch heavy but juſt Reproaches, on the Papa- " cy, from the Reformers, that ſome ſtop ſeems now to be put to ſuch a bare- " faced Protection of Perjury. But the late King told me, that he underſtood " from the *German* Proteſtant Princes, that they believed the Confeſſors of Po- " piſh Princes had Faculties from *Rome*, for doing this as effectually, tho' more " ſecretly: He added, that they knew it went for a Maxim among Popiſh Prin- " ces, that their Word and Faith bound them as they were Men, and Members " of Society; but that their Oaths, being Acts of Religion, were ſubject to " the Direction of their Confeſſors; and that they, apprehending this, did, in " all their Treaties with the Princes of that Religion, depend upon their Ho- " nour, but never asked the Confirmation of an Oath, which had been the Prac- " tice of former Ages. The Proteſtants of *France* thought they had gained an " additional Security, for obſerving the Edict of *Nantes*, when the ſwearing to " obſerve it was made a part of the Coronation Oath: But it is probable, this " very thing undermined and ruined it.

" *Groſius*, *Puffendorf*, and others who have wrote of the Law of Nations, lay " this down for a rule, that the Nature of a Treaty, and the Tie that ariſes out " of it, is not altered by the having or not having an Oath; the Oath ſerves " only to heighten the Obligation. They do alſo agree in this, that Confede- " racies do not bind States, to carry on a War to their *Utter Ruin*; but that " Princes and States are bound to uſe their *Utmoſt Efforts*, in maintaining them: " And it is agreed by all, who have treated of theſe Matters, that the common " Enemy, by offering to any one Confederate all his Pretenſions, cannot juſtify " *his* departing from the Confederacy; becauſe it was entered into with that " View, that all the Pretenſions, upon which the Confederacy was made, ſhould " be inſiſted on or departed from, by common Conſent.

Pernicies, Summus Conatus.

" It is true, that in Confederacies, where Allies are bound to the Perfor- " mance of ſeveral Articles, as to their *Quota's* or Shares, if any one fails in the " Part he was bound to, the other Confederates have a right to demand a Re- " paration for his Non-performance: But even in that caſe, Allies are to act " as Friends, by making allowances for what could not be helped, and not as " Enemies by taking Advantages, on deſign to diſengage them from their Allies. " It is certain, Allies forfeit their Right to the Alliance, if they do not perform " their Part: But the Failure muſt be evident, and an Expoſtulation muſt be " firſt made: And, if upon Satisfaction demanded, it is not given, then a Pro- " teſtation ſhould be made, of ſuch Non-performance; and the reſt of the Con- " federates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his part: Theſe are reckoned

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" among the Cuſtoms and Laws of Nations: And, ſince nothing of this kind has " been done, I cannot ſee how it can be made out, that the Tie of the Confe- " deracy, and by conſequence, that the Publick Faith has not been firſt broken " on our ſide.

" My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a Treaty with the *French*, " without the Knowledge and Concurrence of the other Confederate States " and Princes, and the concluding it, without the Conſent of the Emperor, the " principal Confederate, not to mention the viſible Uneaſineſs that has appeared " in the others, who ſeem to have been forced to conſent, by Declarations, if not " by Threatnings, from hence: I ſay, I cannot reconcile this, with the Arti- " cles of the Grand Alliance, and the other later Treaties, that are in Print: " This ſeems to come within the Charge of the Prophet againſt thoſe *who deal* " *treacherouſly, with thoſe who had not dealt treacherouſly with them*; upon which, " the Threatning that follows may be juſtly apprehended: It will have a ſtrange " Sound among all Chriſtians, but more particularly among the Reformed, when " it is reported, that the Plenipotentiary of the Head of the Reformed Princes, " ſaid openly to the other Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herſelf free " from all her Treaties and Alliances: If this be ſet for a Precedent, here is a " ſhort way of diſpenſing with the Publick Faith; and if this was ſpoken by " one of our Prelates, I am afraid it will leave a heavy Reproach on our " Church; and, to ſpeak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much heavier Curſe " after it. My Lords, there is a God in Heaven, who will judge all the World, " without reſpect of Perſons: Nothing can proſper without his Bleſſing: He " can blaſt all the Counſels of Men, when laid in Fraud and Deceit, how cun- " ningly ſoever they may be either contrived or diſguiſed: And I muſt think " that a Peace made, in oppoſition to the expreſs Words of ſo many Treaties, " will prove a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing to us: God is provoked by ſuch Pro- " ceedings, to pour heavy Judgments on us, for the Violation of a Faith ſo often " given, which is ſo openly broken: By this our Nation is diſhonoured, and " our Church diſgraced: And I dread to think, what the Conſequence of thoſe " things is like to prove. I would not have expreſſed myſelf in ſuch a manner, " if I had not thought, that I was bound to it by the Duty that I owe to Almigh- " ty God, by my Zeal for the Queen, and the Church, and by my Love to my " Country. Upon ſo great an occaſion, I think my Poſt in the Church and in this " Houſe lays me under the ſtricteſt Obligations to diſcharge my Conſcience, and " to ſpeak plainly without Fear or Flattery, let the effect of it, as to myſelf, " be what it will: I ſhall have the more quiet in my own Mind, both living and " dying, for having done that, which ſeemed to me an indiſpenſable Duty.

" I hope this Houſe will not bring upon themſelves and the Nation, the " Blame and Guilt of approving that, which ſeems to be much more juſtly cen- " ſurable: The Reproach that may belong to this Treaty, and the Judgments " of God, that may follow on it, are now what a few only are concerned in. A " national Approbation is a thing of another nature, the publick Breach of " Faith, in the Attack that was made on the *Smyrna* Fleet forty Years ago, " brought a great Load of Infamy on thoſe, who adviſed and directed it; but " they were more modeſt than to ask a publick Approbation of ſo opprobrious " a Fact: It lay on a few, and the Nation was not drawn in to a ſhare in the " Guilt of that, which was then univerſally deteſted, tho' it was paſſed over in " ſilence: It ſeems enough, if not too much, to be ſilent on ſuch an Occaſion. " I can carry my Compliances no further."

A Demand of Money for the Civil Liſt Debts.

I now go on with the Account of what was farther done in this Seſſion: The Houſe of Commons was, as to all other things except the Matter of Commerce, ſo entirely in the hands of the Miniſters, that they ventured on a new Demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The Civil Liſt, which was eſtimated at 600,000 *l.* a-year, and was given for the ordinary Support of the Government, did far exceed it: And this was ſo evi- dent that, during the three firſt Years of the Queen's Reign, 100,000 *l.* was every Year applied to the War; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of *Blenheim* Houſe,

1713 and the entertaining the *Palatines* had coſt the Queen 100,000 *l.* So that here was apparently a large Overplus, beyond what was neceſſary towards the Support of the Government. Yet theſe extraordinary Expences had put the ordinary Payments into ſuch an Arrear, that at *Midſummer* 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But upon a new Account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* leſs; and at that time, there was an Arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the Civil Liſt; theſe two Sums together amounting to 270,000 *l.* the Debt that remained was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the Seſſion, when, upon the rejecting the Bill of Commerce, moſt of the Members were gone into the Country, ſo that there were not 180 of them left, a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, deſiring a power to mortgage a Branch of the Civil Liſt, for thirty-two Years, in order to raiſe upon it 500,000 *l.*

Reaſons againſt it.

This was thought a Demand of very bad conſequence, ſince the granting it to one Prince would be a Precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and, as the Account of the Debt was deceitfully ſtated, ſo it was known, that the Funds ſet off for the Civil Liſt would increaſe conſiderably in times of Peace: So an Oppoſition was made to it, with a great Superiority in point of Argument, but there was a great Majority for it: And all People concluded, that the true end of getting ſo much Money into the Hands of the Court, was to furniſh their Creatures ſufficiently, for carrying their Elections.

But it was granted.

The Lords were ſenſible, that the method of procuring this Supply was contrary to their Privileges, ſince all publick Supplies were either asked from the Throne, or by a Meſſage which was ſent to both Houſes at the ſame time: This Practice was enquired into by the Lords; no Precedents came up to it; but ſome came ſo near it, that nothing could be made of the Objection. But the Miniſters, apprehending that an oppoſition would be made to the Bill, if it came up alone, got it conſolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of theſe two joined together, made them both paſs in the Houſe of Lords, without oppoſition.

Addreſs of both Houſes to get the *Pretender* removed from *Lorrain.*

While this was in agitation, the Earl of *Wharton* ſet forth, in the Houſe of Lords, the Danger the Nation was in by the *Pretender*'s being ſettled in *Lorrain*; ſo he moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, deſiring her, to uſe her moſt preſſing Inſtances, with the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove him, and with all Princes, that were in Amity or Correſpondence with her, not to receive the *Pretender*, nor to ſuffer him to continue in their Dominions: This was oppoſed by none, but the Lord *North*; ſo it was carried to the Queen. The Day after the Lords had voted this, *Stanhope* made a Motion to the ſame Purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons, and it was agreed to, *Nemine Contradicente.* The Queen, in her Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Lords, ſaid, ſhe would repeat the Inſtances, ſhe had already uſed, to get that Perſon removed, according to their Deſire in the Addreſs: This ſeemed to import, that ſhe had already preſſed the Duke of *Lorrain* on that Subject, tho' the Miniſters, in the Houſe of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no Applications made to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and thought the Words of the Anſwer related only to the Inſtances ſhe had uſed, to get the *Pretender* to be ſent out of *France*: But the natural Signification of the Words, ſeeming to relate to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Lords made a ſecond Addreſs, in which they ſaid, they were ſurprized to find, that thoſe Inſtances had not their full effect, notwithſtanding the Kings of *France* and *Spain* had ſhewed their Compliance with her Deſire, on that occaſion: All the Anſwer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciouſly. She anſwered the Commons more plainly, and promiſed to uſe her Endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* did not conſent to receive him, till he ſent one over, to know the Queen's Pleaſure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of That.

The Death of ſome Biſhops.

In the end of *May*, *Spratt*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, died; his Parts were very bright in his Youth, and gave great Hopes; but theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine Courſe of Life, to which his Temper and Good nature carried him, without conſidering the Duties or even the Decencies of his Profeſſion: He was juſtly

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justly esteemed a great Master of our Language, and one of our correctest Writers. *Atterbury* succeeded him in that See, and in the Deanery of *Westminster*: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the Flame, that he had raised in our Church. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, died in the beginning of *July*, in the eighty-first Year of his Age: He was a generous and good-natured Man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others: He was succeeded by *Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*. On the eighteenth of *July*, the Queen came to the House of Lords, to pass the Bills, and to put an end to the Session: She made a Speech to her Parliament, in which, after she had thanked them for the Service they had done the Publick, and for the Supplies that the Commons had given; she said, she hoped the Affair of Commerce would be so well understood at their next Metting, that the advantageous Conditions, she had obtained from *France*, would be made effectual, for the Benefit of our Trade: She enlarged on the Praises of the present Parliament; she said, at their first Meeting they had eased the Subjects of more than Nine Millions, without any further Charge on them, not to mention the Advantage, which the way of doing it, might bring to the Nation; and now they had enabled her likewise to pay her Debts: They had supported the War, and strengthened her hands, in obtaining a Peace: She told them, at her first coming to the Crown, she found a War prepared for her: And that she had now made her many Victories useful, by a safe and honourable Peace. She promised herself, that with their Concurrence, it would be lasting: She desired they would make her Subjects sensible, what they gained by the Peace, and endeavour to dissipate all the groundless Jealousies, which had been too industriously fomented; that so our Divisions might not endanger the Advantages, she had obtained for her Kingdoms: There were some (very few she hoped)that would never be satisfied with the Government; she hoped they would exert themselves to obviate the Malice of the Ill-minded, and to undeceive the Deluded: She recommended to them the adhering to the Constitution in Church and State; such Persons had the best Title to her favour; she had no other Aim, but their Advantage, and the securing our Religion, and Libery; she hoped to meet a Parliament next Winter, that should act upon the same Principles, and with the same Prudence and Vigour, to support the Liberies of *Europe* abroad, and to reduce the Spirit of Faction at home. Few Speeches from the Throne have in my time been more severely reflected on, than this was: It seemed strange that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand Matters of Trade, should pass such a Censure on both Houses, for their not understanding the Affair of Commerce; since at the Bar of both Houses, and in the Debates within them upon it, the Interest of the Nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the Treaty of Commerce, that it looked like a Contempt put on them, to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those, who had opposed it, among the Ill-minded, or at least among the Deluded. Nor did it escape Censure, that She should affirm, that the Nation was by them eased of the load of Nine Millions, without any further Charge, since the Nation must bear the constant Charge of Interest at Six *per Cent*, till the Capital should be paid off. *The Sharpness* with which she expressed herself was singular, and not very well suited to her Dignity or her Sex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying, that she found a War prepared for her, at her coming to the Crown; since she herself began it, upon the Addresses of both Houses. It was also observed,that there was not, in all her Speech, one Word of the *Pretender*, or of the Protestant Succession; but that, which made the greatest Impression on the whole Nation was, that this Speech discovered plainly, that the Court was resolved to have the Bill of Commerce pass in the next Session: All People concluded, the Ministers were under Engagements to the Court of *France* to get it settled: And this was taken to be the Sense of the Queen's Words concerning the making the Peace lasting; what Effect this may have on the next Elections, which are quickly to follow, must be left to Time.

I am now come to the end of the War, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst Parliament I ever saw, so no Assembly, but one composed as this was,

1713 could have ſate quiet under ſuch a Peace: But I am now arrived at my full Period, and ſo ſhall cloſe this Work: I had a noble Proſpect before me, in a courſe of many Years, of bringing it to a Glorious Concluſion; now the Scene is ſo fatally altered, that I can ſcarce reſtrain myſelf from giving vent to a juſt Indignation, in ſevere Complaints: But an Hiſtorian muſt tell things truly as they are, and leave the deſcanting on them to others: So I here conclude this Hiſtory of above three and fifty Years.

I pray God it may be read with the ſame Candor and Sincerity, with which I have written it, and with ſuch a degree of Attention, as may help thoſe who read it, to form juſt Reflections, and ſound Principles of Religion and Virtue, of Duty to our Princes, and of Love to our Country, with a ſincere and incorruptible Zeal to preſerve our Religion, and to maintain our Liberty and Property.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.



I HAVE now ſet out the State of Affairs for above half a Century, with all the Care and Attention that I was capable of: I have enquired into all Matters among us, and have obſerved them, during the Courſe of my Life, with a particular Application and Impartiality. But my Intention in writing was not ſo much, to tell a fine Tale to the World, and to amuſe them with a Diſcovery of many Secrets and of Intrigues of State, to blaſt the Memory of ſome and to exalt others, to diſgrace one Party and to recommend another: My chief Deſign was better formed, and deeper laid: It was to give ſuch a Diſcovery of Errors in Government, and of the Exceſſes and Follies of Parties, as may make the next Age wiſer, by what I may tell them of the laſt. And I may preſume, that the Obſervations I have made, and the Account that I have given, will gain me ſo much Credit, that I may ſpeak with a plain Freedom to all ſorts of Perſons: This not being to be publiſhed 'till after I am dead, when Envy, Jealouſy or Hatred will be buried with me in my Grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to ſucceeding Ages, may be better heard, and leſs cenſured, than any thing I could offer to the preſent: So that this is a ſort of Teſtament or Dying Speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and conſidered when I can ſpeak no more: I do moſt earneſtly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it ſuch an effect on the Minds of thoſe who read it, that I may do more Good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My Thoughts have run moſt, and dwelt longeſt on the Concerns of the Church and Religion: Therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true Zeal for the Church of *England*; I have lived in its Communion with great Joy, and have purſued its true Intereſts with an unfeigned Affection: Yet I muſt ſay there are many things in it, that have been very uneaſy to me. My Zeal for the Church of *England*.

The requiring Subſcriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles is a great Impoſition, I believe them all my ſelf: But as thoſe, about Original Sin and Predeſtination, might be expreſſed more unexceptionably, ſo I think it is a better way, to let ſuch Matters continue to be ſtill the Standard of Doctrine, with ſome few Corrections, and to cenſure thoſe who teach any contrary Tenets; than to oblige all, The Doctrine.

that ſerve in the Church, to ſubſcribe them: The greater Part ſubſcribe without ever examining them; and others do it becauſe they muſt do it, tho' they can hardly ſatisfy their Conſciences about ſome things in them. Churches and Societies are much better ſecured by Laws, than by Subſcriptions: It is a more reaſonable, as well as a more eaſy Method of Government.

The Worſhip.

Our Worſhip is the perfecteſt Compoſition of Devotion, that we find in any Church, ancient or modern: Yet the Corrections that were agreed to, by a Deputation of Biſhops and Divines in the Year 1689, would make the whole Frame of our Liturgy ſtill more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at ſome time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am perſuaded they are ſuch, as would bring in the much greater part of the Diſſenters to the Communion of the Church, and are in themſelves deſirable, tho' there were not a Diſſenter in the Nation.

And Diſcipline.

As for the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, it has been the Burden of my Life, to ſee how it was adminiſtred: Our Courts are managed under the Rules of the Canon Law, dilitory and expenſive: And as their Conſtitution is bad, ſo the Buſineſs in them is ſmall; and therefore all poſſible Contrivances are uſed, to make the moſt of thoſe Cauſes, that come before them: So that they are univerſally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble Deſign, ſo near being perfected in King *Edward* the Sixth's Days, of the *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, may be reviewed and eſtabliſhed: That ſo Matrimonial and Teſtamentary Cauſes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the Lay Hands of Chancellors and other Officers; but that the whole Correction of the Manners of the Laity, and the Inſpection into the Lives and Labours of the Clergy, may be brought again into the hand of Spiritual Men, and be put into a better Method. It would be well if, after the poor Clergy are relieved by the Tenths and Firſt Fruits, a Fund were formed (of Twenty or Thirty Pound a-year) for the Rural Deans; and that they, with at leaſt three of the Clergy of the Deanery, named by the Biſhop, examined into the Manners both of Clergy and Laity; and after the Methods of private Admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's Rule, but without effect, that the Matter ſhould be laid before the Biſhop, who, after his Admonitions were alſo ineffectual, might proceed to Cenſures, to a Suſpenſion from the Sacrament, and to a full Excommunication, as the Caſe ſhould require. This would bring our Church indeed into a primitive Form, in which at preſent the Clergy have leſs Authority, and are under more Contempt, than in any Church, that I have yet ſeen. For, tho' in the Church of *Rome* the publick Authority is in general managed, according to the Method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the Council of *Trent*; whereas we, by that unhappy Proviſo in the Act, authorizing the Thirty-two Commiſſioners to reform our Courts, are fatally tied down to all, that was in uſe in the Twenty-fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Beſides, in that Church the Clergy have, by auricular Confeſſion, but too great an Authority over the People; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a deſirable thing: But ſince that is not to be thought of, we are in a woful Condition, in which the Clergy are, as it were, ſhut out from any ſhare of the main Parts of the Care of Souls.

My Zeal againſt Separation.

The want of a true well-regulated Diſcipline is a great Defect, own'd to be ſo in the Preface to the Office of Commination: And, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect State. But this did never appear to me, to be a juſt ground of Separation; which I could never think lawful, unleſs the Terms of Communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a Man to ſin: That ſeems to me, the only juſtifiable Cauſe of Separation, of leaving the Eſtabliſhed Church, and of ſetting up a diſtinct or oppoſite Communion. Nothing under this ſeems to be a juſt Ground of rending the Body of Chriſt, or of diſturbing the Order of the World and the Peace of Mankind, thereby drawing on that Train of ill Conſequences, that muſt and do follow upon ſuch a disjointing the Society of Chriſtians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the Sequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being conſumed one of another.

I do wiſh, and will pray for it as long as I live, that ſome regard may be had to thoſe Scruples, with which the Diſſenters are entangled: And, tho' I think they are not all well grounded, yet for Peace ſake I wiſh ſome things may be taken away, and that other things may be ſoftened and explained: Many of theſe things were retained at the Reformation, to draw the People more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, eſpecially in times of Ignorance, by outward Appearances, more than by the real Value of Things: So the preſerving an Exterior, that looked ſomewhat like what they had been formerly accuſtomed to, without doubt had a great Effect at firſt on many Perſons, who, without that, could not have been eaſily brought over to adhere to that Work: And this was a juſt and lawful Conſideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from Popery by this Means; there is not therefore ſuch a neceſſity for continuing them ſtill, as there was for keeping them up at firſt. I confeſs, it is not adviſeable, without good reaſon for it, to make great Changes, in things that are viſible and ſenſible; yet, upon juſt Grounds, ſome may be made without any Danger. No Inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the Croſs in Baptiſm, or on laying aſide Surplices, and regulating Cathedrals, eſpecially as to that indecent way of ſinging Prayers, and of Laymen's reading the Litany: All Bowings to the Altar have at leaſt an ill Appearance, and are of no uſe; the excluding Parents from being the Sponſors in Baptiſm, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a Mockery, rather than a ſolemn Sponſion, in too many. Other things may be ſo explained, that no juſt Exceptions could lie to them.

And Tenderneſs to ſcrupulous Conſciences.

Thus I wiſh the Terms of Communion were made larger and eaſier; but ſince all is now bound on us by a Law, that cannot be repealed but in Parliament, there muſt be a great Change in the Minds, both of Princes and People, before that can be brought about: Therefore the Diſſenters ought to conſider well, what they can do for Peace, without ſinning againſt God. The Toleration does not at all juſtify their Separation; it only takes away the Force of Penal Laws againſt them: Therefore, as lying in common Diſcourſe is ſtill a Sin, tho' no Statute puniſhes it; and Ingratitude is a baſe thing, tho' there is no Law againſt it; ſo ſeparating from a National Body and from the Publick Worſhip, is certainly an ill thing, unleſs ſome Sin be committed there, in which we think ourſelves involved, by joining with that Body, and in that Worſhip: So that the Toleration is only a Freedom from Puniſhment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

I ſay not this from any Diſlike of Toleration; I think it is a Right due to all Men; their Thoughts are not in their own Power; they muſt think of things, as they appear to them; their Conſciences are God's; he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the Authority of Parents over their Children is antecedent to Society, and no Law, that takes it away, can be binding; ſo Men are bound, antecedently to all Society, to follow what appears to them to be the Will of God; and, if Men would act honeſtly, the Rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would ſoon determine this Matter; ſince every honeſt Man muſt own, that he would think himſelf hardly dealt with, if he were ill uſed for his Opinions, and for performing ſuch Parts of Worſhip, as he thought himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to. Indeed the Church of *Rome* has ſome colour for her Cruelty, ſince ſhe pretends to be infallible. But theſe Practices are abſurdly unreaſonable among thoſe, who own that they may be miſtaken, and ſo may be perſecuting the Innocent and the Orthodox. Perſecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the Church of *Rome*, to Extirpation; for the bad Treatment of thoſe, who are ſuffered ſtill to live in a Society, is the creating ſo many Malecontents, who at ſome time or other may make thoſe, who treat them ill, feel their Revenge: And the Principle of Perſecution, if true, is that, to which all have a Right, when they have a Power to put it in Practice: Since they, being perſuaded that they are in the right, from that muſt believe they may lawfully exert againſt others that Severity, under which they groaned long themſelves. This will be aggravated in them by the Voice of Revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human Nature, chiefly when it comes with the Mask and Appearance of Zeal. I add

My Zeal againſt Perſecution.

not here any Political Conſiderations, from the apparent Intereſt of Nations, which muſt diſpoſe them to encourage the Encreaſe of their People, to advance Induſtry, and to become a Sanctuary to all, who are oppreſſed: But tho' this is viſible, and is confeſſed by all, yet I am now conſidering this Matter only as it is righteous, juſt, and merciful, in the Principle; for if it were not ſo well ſupported in thoſe reſpects, other Motives would only be a Temptation to Princes and States to be governed by Intereſt, more than by their Duty.

My Thoughts concerning the Clergy.

Having thus given my Thoughts in general, with relation to the Conſtitution of our Church and the Communion with it, I ſhall proceed, in the next place, to that which is ſpecial with relation to the Clergy. I have ſaid a great deal on this Head, in my Book of the *Paſtoral Care*, which of all the Tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the moſt: And, tho' it has brought much Anger on me from thoſe, who will not ſubmit to the Plan there laid down, yet it has done much Good during my own Life, and I hope it will do yet more Good, after I am dead: This is a Subject I have thought much upon, and ſo I will here add ſome things to what will be found in that Book.

An inward Vocation.

No Man ought to think of this Profeſſion, unleſs he feels within himſelf a Love to Religion, with a Zeal for it, and an internal true Piety; which is chiefly kept up by ſecret Prayer, and by reading of the Scriptures: As long as theſe things are a Man's Burden, they are infallible Indications, that he has no inward Vocation; nor Motion of the Holy Ghoſt to undertake it. The Capital Error in Men's preparing themſelves for that Function is, that they ſtudy Books more than themſelves, and that they read Divinity more in other Books, than in the Scriptures: Days of Prayer, Meditation, and Faſting, at leaſt once a quarter in the *Ember* Week, in which they may read over and over again both Offices of Ordination, and get by heart thoſe Paſſages in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that relate to this Function, would form their Minds to a right Senſe of it, and be an effectual Means to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourſelves often (for thus I addreſs myſelf to you, as if I were ſtill alive) would you follow that courſe of Life, if there were no ſettled Eſtabliſhment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the Croſs, and in danger of Perſecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the Prieſthood, for a piece of Bread: Study to keep alive in you a Flame of exalted Devotion; be talking often to yourſelves, and communing with your own Hearts; digeſt all that you read carefully, that you may remember it ſo well, as not to be at a loſs when any Point of Divinity is talked of: A little Study well digeſted, in a good ſerious Mind, will go a great way, and will lay in Materials for your whole Life: Above all things, raiſe within yourſelves a Zeal for doing Good, and for gaining Souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole Life, that I ſaw ſo little true Zeal among our Clergy: I ſaw much of it in the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, tho' it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I ſaw much Zeal likewiſe throughout the foreign Churches: The Diſſenters have a great deal among them; but I muſt own, that the main Body of our Clergy has always appeared dead and lifeleſs to me; and inſtead of animating one another, they ſeem rather to lay one another aſleep. Without a viſible Alteration in this, you will fall under an univerſal Contempt, and loſe both the Credit and the Fruits of your Miniſtry.

The Function of the Clergy.

When you are in Orders, be ever ready to perform all the Parts of your Function; be not anxious about a Settlement; ſtudy to diſtinguiſh yourſelves in your Studies, Labours, exemplary Deportment, and a juſt Sweetneſs of Temper, managed with Gravity and Diſcretion; and as for what concerns yourſelves, depend on the Providence of God; for he will in due time raiſe up Friends and Benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the Obſervation of my whole Life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himſelf by theſe Rules, but he was brought into good Poſts, or at leaſt into an eaſy State of Subſiſtence.

Do not affect to run into new Opinions, nor to heat yourſelves in Diſputes, about Matters of ſmall Importance: Begin with ſettling in your Minds the Foundations of your Faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with Unbelievers; for that is the ſpreading Corruption of this Age: There are few Atheiſts, but many Infidels, who are indeed very lit-

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tle better than the Atheiſts. In this Argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digeſted, and clearly laid in your Thoughts, that you may manage the Controverſy gently, without any Aſperity of Words, but with a Strength of Reaſon: In diſputing, do not offer to anſwer any Argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expoſe you, and the Cauſe you maintain; and, if you feel yourſelves grow too warm at any time, break off and perſiſt no longer in the diſpute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the Cauſe, which you endeavour to defend. In the Matter of Myſteries be very cautious; for the Simplicity, in which thoſe ſublime Truths are delivered in the Scriptures, ought to be well ſtudied and adhered to: Only one part of the Argument ſhould be inſiſted on, I mean, the Shortneſs and Defectiveneſs of our Faculties; which being well conſidered, will afford a great Variety of noble Speculations, that are obvious and eaſily apprehended, to reſtrain the wanton Sallies of ſome petulant Men.

Study to underſtand well the Controverſies of the Church of *Rome*, chiefly thoſe concerning Infallibility and Tranſubſtantiation; for, in managing thoſe, their Miſſionaries have a particular Addreſs. Learn to view Popery in a true Light, as a Conſpiracy to exalt the Power of the Clergy, even by ſubjecting the moſt ſacred Truths of Religion to Contrivances for raiſing their Authority, and by offering to the World another Method of being ſaved, beſides that preſcribed in the Goſpel. Popery is a Maſs of Impoſtures, ſupported by Men, who manage them with great Advantages, and impoſe them with inexpreſſible Severities, on thoſe who dare call any thing in queſtion, that they dictate to them. I ſee a Spirit riſing among us, too like that of the Church of *Rome*, of advancing the Clergy beyond their due Authority, to an unjuſt Pitch: This rather heightens Jealouſies and Prejudices againſt us, than advances our real Authority; and it will fortify the Deſigns of profane Infidels, who deſire nothing more than to ſee the publick Miniſtry of the Church firſt diſgraced, and then aboliſhed. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead Men into the other Extream: We are the Diſpenſers of the Word and Sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the World will pay ſo much the more Reſpect and Submiſſion to us: And our maintaining an Argument for more Power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unleſs the World ſees, that we make a good uſe of the Authority, that is already in our hands: It is with the Clergy as with Princes; the only way to keep their Prerogative from being uneaſy to their Subjects, and from being diſputed, is to manage it wholly for their Good and Advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: this will prevail more effectually, than all the Arguments of Lawyers, with all the Precedents of former Times. Therefore let the Clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much Authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to ſpeak plainly, *Dodwell*'s extravagant Notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the Power of the Church, and ſoured Men's Minds more againſt it, than all the Books wrote, or Attempts made againſt it, could ever have done: And indeed, the ſecret Poiſon of thoſe Principles has given too many of the Clergy a Biaſs towards Popery, with an Averſion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much Contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of Arguments for their Authority, which will never ſucceed, 'till they live better and labour more: When I ſay live better, I mean, not only to live without Scandal, which I have found the greateſt part of them do, but to lead exemplary Lives; to be eminent in Humility, Meekneſs, Sobriety, Contempt of the World, and unfeigned Love of the Brethren; abſtracted from the vain Converſation of the World, retired, and at home, faſting often, joining Prayer and Meditation with it; without which, faſting may do well with relation to the Body, but will ſignify little with relation to the Mind.

If, to ſuch a courſe of Life, Clergymen would add a little more Labour, not only performing publick Offices, and preaching to the Edification of the People, but watching over them, inſtructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occaſion is given, from Houſe to Houſe, making their Calling the Buſineſs of their whole Life; they would ſoon find their own Minds grow to be

in a better Temper, and their People would ſhew more Eſteem and Regard for them, and a Bleſſing from God would attend upon their Labours. I ſay it with great regret, I have obſerved the Clergy, in all the Places thro' which I have travelled, Papiſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts and Diſſenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the moſt remiſs in their Labours in private, and the leaſt ſevere in their Lives. Do not think I ſay this to expoſe you, or to defame this Church; thoſe Cenſures have paſs'd on me for my Freedom during my Life, God knows how unjuſtly, my Deſigns being all to awaken the Clergy, and by that means to preſerve the Church; for which, He, who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in ſecret, and faſting and praying before him. And let me ſay this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of Envy and Cenſure, unleſs a better Spirit poſſeſſes the Clergy, Arguments, (and which is more) Laws and Authority will not prove ſtrong enough to preſerve the Church; eſpecially if the Nation obſerves a Progreſs in that Biaſs, which makes many ſo favourable to Popery, and ſo ſevere towards the Diſſenters; this will recommend them the more to Pity and Favour, and will draw a general Odium upon you, that may end in your Ruin, or in a Perſecution; for which the Clergy of this Age ſeem to be very little prepared: God grant thoſe of the next may be more ſo.

Oh my Brethren, (for I ſpeak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of Perſons you ought to be, in all Holy Converſation and Godlineſs, that ſo you may ſhine as Lights in the World: Think of the Account you muſt give, for thoſe Immortal Souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the Blood of Chriſt, who has ſent you in his Name, to perſuade them to be reconciled to God, and at laſt to preſent them to him faultleſs with exceeding Joy; he ſees and obſerves your Labours, and will recompence them glorioufly in that great Day.

I leave all theſe things on your Conſciences, and pray earneſtly that God may give his Bleſſing to this poſthumous Labour of mine, that our Church may be ſo built up by your Labours, that it may continue to be long the Joy of the whole Earth, in the Perſecution of its Beauty, and may be a Pattern, as well as give Protection, to all the Churches of God.

My Advices to the Biſhops.

I now turn to my Brethren and Succeſſors in the Epiſcopal Order: You are they in whoſe hands the Government of the Church is put; in ſome reſpects it is believed to be wholly in you, tho' I know, and have often felt it, that your Power is ſo limited, that you can do little; Exemptions (a ſcandalous Remnant of Popery) take a great part of your Dioceſs out of your hands. This I have often wondred at, that ſome who plead, that the Government of the Church is ſettled by Divine Authority in the Biſhops, can yet, by the virtue of Papal Bulls, confirmed by an unhappy Clauſe in an Act of Parliament, exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the Secular Power, in oppoſition to that, which, according to their Principles, is ſettled by a Divine Appointment. Archdeacons Viſitations were an Invention of the latter Ages, in which the Biſhops, neglecting their Duty, caſt a great part of their Care upon them: Now their Viſitations are only for Form and for Fees; and they are a Charge on the Clergy; ſo, when this Matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons, with many other Burdens that lay heavy on the Clergy, ſhall be taken away. All the various Inſtruments, upon which heavy Fees muſt be raiſed, were the infamous Contrivances of the Canoniſts, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I ſay nothing to you of your Lives, I hope you are and ſhall ever be ſhining Lights; I wiſh the Pomp of Living, and the keeping high Tables could be quite taken away; it is a great Charge, and no very decent one; a great Devourer of Time; it lets in much promiſcuous Company, and much vain Diſcourſe upon you: Even Civility may carry you too far, in a Freedom and Familiarity, that will make you look too like the reſt of the World; I hope this is a Burden to you: It was indeed one of the greateſt Burdens of my Life, to ſee ſo much Time loſt, to hear ſo much idle Talk, and to be living in a luxurious Waſte of that, which might have been much better beſtowed. I had not ſtrength enough to break thro' that, which Cuſtom has impoſed on thoſe, provided with plen-

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tiful Biſhopricks; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The Wives and Children of Biſhops ought to be exemplary in their Apparel, and in their whole Deportment; remembring that no part of the Biſhops Honours belongs to them: The Wife of a Biſhop ought to viſit the Widow and the Fatherleſs, and by a grave Authority, inſtruct and admoniſh as well as oblige and favour the Wives of the reſt of the Clergy.

The Children of Biſhops ought to be well inſtructed, and managed with all Gravity; Biſhops ought not to preſs them beyond their Inclinations to take Orders: For this looks as if they would thruſt them, how unfit or unwilling ſoever, into ſuch Preferments as they can give or procure for them: On the contrary, tho' their Children ſhould deſire to go into Orders, they ought not to ſuffer it, unleſs they ſee in them a good Mind and ſincere Intentions, with the other neceſſary Qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unleſs they have a mind to deceive themſelves: It is a betraying of their Truſt, and the worſt ſort of Simony, to provide Children with great Dignities and Benefices, only as an Eſtate to be given them, without a due regard to their Capacities or Tempers. Ordinations are the only Parts of the Epiſcopal Function, on which the Law has laid no Reſtraint; ſo this ought to be heavy on your Thoughts.

Ordination Weeks were always dreadful Things to me, when I remembred thoſe Words, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, be not Partaker of other Men's Sins: Keep thy ſelf pure.* It is true, thoſe who came to me were generally well prepared as to their Studies, and they brought Teſtimonials and Titles, which is all that in our preſent Conſtitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my Chaplains: I did that always myſelf, and examined them chiefly on the Proofs of Revealed Religion, and the Terms of Salvation, and the New Covenant thro' Chriſt; for thoſe are the Fundamentals: But my principal Care was to awaken their Conſciences, to make them conſider whether they had a Motion of the Holy Ghoſt, calling them to the Function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a Spiritual Life, and to the Paſtoral Care. On theſe Subjects I ſpoke much and often to every one of them apart, and ſometimes to them all together, beſides the publick Examination of them with my Chapter.

An Expedient concerning Ordinations.

This was all that I could do: But alas! how defective is this! And it is too well known how eaſy the Clergy are, in ſigning Teſtimonials: That which I here propoſe is, that every Man, who intends to be ordained, ſhould be required to come and acquaint the Biſhop with it a Year before: that ſo he may then talk to his Conſcience, and give him good Directions, both as to his Studies and the Courſe of his Life and Devotions; and that he may recommend him to the Care and Inſpection of the beſt Clergymen, that he knows in the Neighbourhood where he lives; that ſo he may have from them, by ſome other Conveyance than the Perſon concerned, ſuch an Account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be propoſed, till our Univerſities are put in a better Method, or till Seminaries can be raiſed, for maintaining a number of Perſons, to be duly prepared for Holy Orders.

The Duties of a Biſhop.

As to the Labours of a Biſhop, they ought to think themſelves obliged to preach, as much as their Health and Age can admit of; this the Form of ordaining Biſhops ſets before them, together with the Senſe of the Church in all Ages; the complaint of the beſt Men, in the worſt Ages, ſhews how much the Sloth and Lazineſs of Biſhops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the Labours of preaching Biſhops have always been: The People run to hear them, and hearken to their Sermons, with more than ordinary Attention: You will find great comfort in your Labours this way, and will ſee the Fruits of them. The diſcreet Conduct of your Clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a diſtance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: A Biſhop's diſcourſe ſhould be well ſeaſoned, turned chiefly to good Subjects, Inſtruction in the matters of Religion, and the Paſtoral Care: And the more diverting ones ought to be matters of Learning, Criticiſm, or Hiſtory. It is in the power of a Biſhop to *let no Man deſpiſe him.*

A grave but ſweet Deportment and a holy Converſation will command a general Reſpect; and as for ſome hot and froward Spirits, the leſs they are meddled with, they will be the leſs able to do miſchief; they delight in oppoſition, which they think will make them the more conſiderable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them ſo much as neglect; the more abſtracted Biſhops live (from the World, from Courts, from Cabals, and from Parties) they will have the more quiet within themſelves; their Thoughts will be free and leſs intangled, and they will in concluſion be the more reſpected by all, eſpecially if an Integrity and a juſt Freedom appear among them in the Houſe of Lords, where they will be much obſerved; and Judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their Dioceſſes.

Their Abſtraction from Courts and Intrigues.

Nothing will alienate the Nation more from them, than their becoming Tools to a Court, and giving up the Liberties of their Country, and advancing Arbitrary Deſigns; nothing will work more effectually on the Diſſenters, than a courſe of Moderation towards them; this will diſarm their Paſſions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of Reaſon; all care ought to be taken, to ſtifle new Controverſies in their birth, to check new Opinions and vain Curioſities.

Upon the whole matter, Biſhops ought to conſider, that the honour given them, and the Revenues belonging to them, are ſuch Rewards for former Servivices, and ſuch Encouragements to go on to more Labour and Diligence, as ought to be improved, as ſo many Helps and Advantages for carrying on the Work of the Goſpel, and their heavenly Father's buſineſs: They ought *to meditate on theſe things, and be wholly in them; ſo that their profiting may appear to all.* They ought *to preach in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to exhort, admoniſh, and rebuke, with all Authority.*

But if they abandon themſelves to Sloth and Idleneſs, if they neglect their proper Function, and follow a ſecular, a vain, a covetous or a luxurious Courſe of Life; if they, not content with educating their Children well, and with ſuch a Competency as may ſet them afloat in the World, think of building up their own Houſes, and raiſing up great Eſtates, they will put the World on many unacceptable Enquiries: Wherefore is this Waſte made? Why are theſe Revenues continued to Men, who make ſuch an ill uſe of them? and why is an Order kept up, that does the Church ſo little good, and gives it ſo much ſcandal? The Violences of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and his promoting arbitrary Power ruined himſelf and the Church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful Conſequences: The Labours and the Learning, the Moderation and good Lives of the Biſhops of this Age have changed the Nation much, with relation to them, and have poſſeſſed them of a general Eſteem; ſome fiery Spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that, which is their true Glory: I hope another Age may carry this yet much further, that ſo they may be univerſally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted Fathers of the Church.

Concerning Patrons.

The Affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another Scene, to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Patronage of Benefices, which have a Care of Souls belonging to them: It is a noble Dignity in a Family; it was highly eſteemed in the times of Popery, becauſe the Patron was to be named, in all the Maſſes ſaid in his Church: There is a more real Value in it in our Conſtitution, ſince the Patron has the Nomination of him, to whom the Care of Souls is to be committed; which muſt take place, unleſs ſome juſt and legal Exception can be made by the Biſhop. Even that is not eaſy to be maintained, in the Courts of Law, where the Biſhop will ſoon be run into ſo great an Expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy Men into the ſervice of the Church, who are in the ſequel Reproaches to it; and this is often the caſe of the richeſt and beſt-endowed Benefices.

Some ſell the next Advowſon, which I know is ſaid to be legal, tho' the Incumbent lies at the point of Death; others do not ſtick to buy and ſell Benefices, when open and vacant, tho' this is declared to be Simony by Law: Parents often buy them for their Children, and reckon that is their Portion; in that caſe, it is true, there is no Perjury in taking the Oath, for the Perſon preſented

ſented is no party to the Bargain: Often Eccleſiaſticks themſelves buy the next Advowſon, and lodge it with Truſtees for their own Advantage.

Where nothing of all this Traffick intervenes, Patrons beſtow Benefices on their Children or Friends, without conſidering either their Abilities or Merit; Favour or Kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the Benefices of *England* are diſpoſed of, if not ſimoniacally, yet at leaſt unworthily, without regard to ſo ſacred a Truſt, as the Care of Souls? Certainly Patrons, who without due Care and Enquiry, put Souls into bad hands, have much to anſwer for.

I will not ſay, that a Patron is bound always to beſtow his Church on the beſt Man he can find; that may put him on Anxieties, out of which it will not be eaſy to extricate himſelf; nor will it be always poſſible to ballance the different Excellencies of Men, who may have various Talents, that lie ſeveral ways, and all of them may be uſeful, ſome more, ſome leſs: But in this I am poſitive, that no Patron anſwers the Obligation of that Truſt, unleſs he is well perſuaded, that the Clerk he preſents is a truely good Man, has a competent meaſure of Knowledge, Zeal and Diſcretion, ſo ſuited to the People, for whom he names him, that he has reaſon to believe, he will be a faithful Paſtor and a prudent Guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their Conſcience, to manage it with great caution, and in the Fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy Merchandize of the Souls of Men, which is too common; it is like to be a Moth on their Eſtates, and may bring a Curſe on their Families, as well as on their Perſons.

Non-reſidence and Pluralities.

I do not enter into the ſcandalous Practices of Non-reſidence and Pluralities, which are ſheltred by ſo many Colours of Law among us; whereas the Church of *Rome*, from whence we had thoſe and many other Abuſes, has freed herſelf from this, under which we ſtill labour, to our great and juſt Reproach: This is ſo ſhameful a Profanation of Holy Things, that it ought to be treated with Deteſtation and Horrour: Do ſuch Men think on the Vows, they made on their Ordination; on the Rules in the Scriptures, or on the Nature of their Function, or that it is a Care of Souls? How long, how long ſhall this be the peculiar Diſgrace of our Church, which, for aught I know, is the only Church in the World that tolerates it? I muſt add, that I do not reckon the holding poor Livings that lie contiguous, a Plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent Maintenance.

Concerning the Body of the People.

I have now gone thro' the moſt important things, that occur to my Thoughts with relation to the Clergy: I turn next to ſuch Obſervations, Reflections, and Advices, as relate to the Laity. I begin with the Body of the People: The Commonalty of this Nation are much the happieſt, and live the eaſieſt and the moſt plentifully of any, that ever I ſaw: They are very ſagacious and skilful in managing all their Concerns; but at the ſame time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are, in the Matters of Religion: The Diſſenters have a much larger ſhare of Knowledge among them, than is among thoſe who come to our Churches. This is the more to be wondered at, conſidering the Plainneſs, in which Matters of Religion are wrote in this Age, and the many ſmall Books concerning theſe, that have been publiſhed of late Years, which go at eaſy Rates, and of which many Thouſands are every Year ſent about, by charitable Societies in *London*, to be freely given to ſuch as will but take them, and read them: So that this Ignorance ſeems to be obſtinate and incurable.

Upon this Subject, all that I can propoſe, lies in two Advices to the Clergy: The one is, that they catechize the Youth much at Church, not only asking the Queſtions and hearing the Anſwers, but joining to that the explaining the Terms in other Words, and by turning to the Bible for ſuch Paſſages, as prove or enlarge on them: The doing this conſtantly, would infuſe into the next Age, a higher meaſure of Knowledge, than the preſent is like to be bleſs'd with. Long Sermons, in which Points of Divinity or Morality are regularly handled, are above the Capacity of the People; ſhort and plain ones, upon a large Portion of Scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the Hearers underſtand and love the Scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often, in their Sermons, on thoſe Sins that their Hearers muſt

needs know themſelves guilty of, if they are ſo; ſuch as Swearing, Lying, Cheating, Drunkenneſs, Leud Deportment, Breach of Promiſe, Love of the World, Anger, Envy, Malice, Pride and Luxury: Short Diſcourſes upon theſe, and often repeated, in many Glances and Reflections on them, ſetting forth the real Evil of them, with the ill Conſequences that follow, not only to others, but to the Perſons themſelves, are the beſt means can be thought of, for reforming them; and theſe will have an effect on ſome, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the reſt, they ought to be called on, upon all occaſions, to reflect on their ways, to conſider how they live, to pray in ſecret to God, confeſſing their Sins to him, begging Pardon and Mercy for what is paſt, and his Holy Spirit to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming ſincere Reſolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular Sin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the Clergy will faithfully do their Duty in this method, and join to it earneſt Prayers for their People, they may hope thro' the Bleſſing of God to ſucceed better in their Labours. The People ought to be often put in mind of the true End of the Reſt on the Lord's Day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity, for Meditations and Reflections on themſelves, on what they have ſaid or done, and on what has befallen them the former Week; and to conſider what may be before them, in the Week they are entring on. Miniſters ought to viſit their People, not only when they are ſick unto Death, but when they are in an ill ſtate of Health, or when they are under Affliction: Theſe are the times, in which their Spirits are tender, and they will beſt bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the diſcreeteſt and moſt affectionate manner: And a Clergyman ought not to be a Reſpecter of Perſons, and neglect the meaneſt of his Cure: They have as immortal Souls as the greateſt, and for which Chriſt has paid the ſame Ranſom.

Of the Gentry.

From the Commonalty I turn to the Gentry: They are for the moſt part the worſt inſtructed, and the leaſt knowing of any of their Rank, I ever went amongſt. The *Scotch*, tho' leſs able to bear the Expence of a learned Education, are much more knowing: The Reaſon of which is this; the *Scotch*, even of indifferent Fortunes, ſend private Tutors with their Children, both to Schools and Colleges; theſe look after the young Gentlemen, Mornings and Evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and ſo make them perfecter in it: They generally go abroad a Year or two, and ſee the World; this obliges them to behave themſelves well. Whereas a Gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: This makes him haughty and inſolent. The Gentry are not early acquainted with the Principles of Religion: So that, after they have forgot their Catechiſm, they acquire no more new Knowledge, but what they learn in Plays and Romances: They grow ſoon to find it a modiſh thing, that looks like Wit and Spirit, to laugh at Religion and Virtue; and ſo become crude and unpoliſh'd Infidels. If they have taken a wrong Tincture at the Univerſity, that too often diſpoſes them to hate and deſpiſe all thoſe, who ſeparate from the Church, tho' they can give no better Reaſon than the Papiſts have for hating Hereticks, becauſe they forſake the Church: In thoſe Seats of Education, inſtead of being formed to love their Country and Conſtitution, the Laws and Liberties of it, they are rather diſpoſed to love Arbitrary Government, and to become Slaves to abſolute Monarchy: A Change of Intereſt, Provocation, or ſome other Conſideration may ſet them right again as to the Publick; but they have no inward Principle of Love to their Country, and of publick Liberty: So that they are eaſily brought to like Slavery, if they may be the Tools for managing it.

The Danger of loſing Publick Liberty.

This is a diſmal Repreſentation of things; I have ſeen the Nation thrice, on the brink of Ruin, by Men thus tainted. After the Reſtoration, all were running faſt into Slavery; had King *Charles* the Second been attentive to thoſe bad Deſigns (which he purſued afterwards with more caution) upon his firſt Return, Slavery and abſolute Power might then have been ſettled into a Law, with a Revenue able to maintain it: He plaid away that Game without thought, and he had then honeſt Miniſters, who would not ſerve him in it; after all that he did

did, during the Courſe of his Reign, it was ſcarce credible, that the ſame Temper ſhould have returned in his Time; yet he recovered it in the laſt four Years of his Reign; and the Gentry of *England* were as Active and Zealous, to throw up all their Liberties, as their Anceſtors ever had been to preſerve them. This continued above half a Year in his Brother's Reign; and he depended ſo much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: But he, or rather his Prieſts, had the Skill and Dexterity to play this Game likewiſe away, and loſe it a ſecond time; ſo that, at the Revolution, all ſeemed to come again into their Wits. But Men, who have no Principles, cannot be ſteady; now the greater part of the capital Gentry ſeem to return again to a Love of Tyranny, provided they may be the Under-Tyrants themſelves; and they ſeem to be even uneaſy with a Court, when it will not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a folly of ſo particular a nature, that really it wants a Name; it is natural for poor Men, who have little to loſe, and much to hope for, to become the Inſtruments of Slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our Age, to ſee rich Men grow as it were in love with Slavery and Arbitrary Power. The Root of all this is, that our Gentry are not betimes poſſeſſed with a true Meaſure of ſolid Knowledge and ſound Religion, with a Love to their Country, a Hatred of Tyranny, and a Zeal for Liberty. *Plutarch*'s Lives, with the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtory, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all Hiſtory, more particularly that of our own Nation; which they ſhould not read in Abridgments, but in the fulleſt and moſt copious Collectors of it, that they may ſee to the bottom, what is our Conſtitution, and what are our Laws, what are the Methods bad Princes have taken to enſlave us, and by what Conduct we have been preſerved: Gentlemen ought to obſerve theſe things, and to entertain one another often upon theſe Subjects, to raiſe in themſelves, and to ſpread around them to all others, a noble Ardour for Law and Liberty. They ought to underſtand Popery well, to view it in its Politicks, as well as in its religious Corruptions, that they may obſerve and guard againſt their ſecreteſt Practices; particularly that main one, that prevails ſo fatally among us, of making us deſpiſe the foreign Churches, and hate the Diſſenters at home. The whole Body of Proteſtants, if united, might be an equal Match to the Church of *Rome*: It is much ſuperiour to them in Wealth and in Force, if it were animated with the Zeal, which the Monaſtick Orders, but chiefly the *Jeſuits*, ſpread thro' their whole Communion: Whereas the Reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as diſjointed in Matters that relate to Religion. The chief Maxim by which Men, who have a true Zeal for their Religion and their Country, ought to govern themſelves, is, to live within the Extent of their Eſtates, to be above Luxury and Vanity, and all Expences that waſte their Fortunes: Luxury muſt drive them to court Favour, to depend on Miniſters, and to aſpire after Places and Penſions; and as the ſeeking after theſe does often compleat the Ruin of broken Families, ſo in many they prove only a Reprieve, and not a Recovery; whereas he, who is contented with his Fortune, and meaſures his way of Living by it, has another Root within him; out of which every noble and generous Thought will naturally ſpring. Publick Liberty has no ſure Foundation but in Virtue, in Parſimony and Moderation: Where theſe fail, Liberty may be preſerved by Accidents and Circumſtances of Affairs, but it has no bottom to reſt ſecurely on. A knowing and virtuous Gentleman, who underſtands his Religion and loves it, who practiſes the true Rules of Virtue, without Affectation and Moroſeneſs, who knows enough of Law, to keep his Neighbours in order, and to give them good Advice; who keeps Meetings for his County, and reſtrains Vice and Diſorder at them, who lives hoſpitably, frugally and charitably; who reſpects and encourages good Clergymen, and worſhips God, both in his Family and at Church; who educates his Children well, who treats his Servants gently, and deals equitably with his Tenants and all others, with whom he has any Concerns; ſuch a Man ſhines, and is a publick Bleſſing to all that ſee him, or come near him. Some ſuch Inſtances are yet left among us; but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for Gentlemen to think it is one of the Honours of their Houſes, that none muſt go out of them ſober; it is but a little

more infamous to poiſon them, and yet this paſſes as a Character of a noble Houſe Keeper, who entertains his Friends kindly. Idleneſs and Ignorance are the Ruin of the greateſt Part, who' if they are not fit for better things, ſhould deſcend to any thing, rather than ſuffer themſelves to ſink into Sloth, that will carry them to the Exceſſes of Hunting, Gaming, and Drinking, which may ruin both Soul, Body and Eſtate. If a Man, by an ill-managed or a neglected Education, is ſo turned, that every ſort of Study or Reading is a Burden; then he ought to try if he has a Genius to any Mechaniſm, that may be an Entertainment to him: The managing a Garden is a noble, and may be made a uſeful Amuſement; the taking ſome part of his Eſtate into his own Hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his Time well, and may turn to a good Account; in a word, ſome Employments may be better than others; but there is no Employment ſo bad, as the having none at all; the Mind will contract a Ruſt, and an Unfitneſs for every good thing; and a Man muſt either fill up his Time with good or at leaſt innocent Buſineſs, or it will run to the worſt ſort of Waſte, to Sin and Vice.

Errors in Education.

I have often thought it a great Error, to waſte young Gentlemen's Years ſo long, in learning *Latin*, by ſo tedious a Grammar; I know thoſe, who are bred to the Profeſſions in Literature, muſt have the *Latin* correctly; and for that, the Rules of Grammar are neceſſary; but theſe are not at all requiſite to thoſe, who need only ſo much *Latin*, as thoroughly to underſtand and delight in the *Roman* Authors and Poets. But ſuppoſe a Youth had, either for want of Memory or of Application, an incurable Averſion to *Latin*, his Education is not for that to be deſpaired of; there is much noble Knowledge to be had in the *Engliſh* and *French* Languages; Geography, Hiſtory, chiefly that of our own Country, the Knowledge of Nature, and the more practical Parts of the Mathematicks (if he has not a Genius for the demonſtrative) may make a Gentleman very knowing, tho' he has not a Word of *Latin*; there is a Fineneſs of thought, and a Nobleneſs of Expreſſion indeed in the *Latin* Authors, that will make them the Entertainment of a Man's whole Life, if he once underſtands and reads them with delight: But if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the Education of an ill *Latin* Scholar is to be given over. A competent meaſure of the Knowledge of the Law is a good Foundation, for diſtinguiſhing a Genlteman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for ſome time in the Inns of Court will contribute much to this, if he is not a ſtudious Perſon: Thoſe who think they are there, only to paſs away ſo many of their Years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciouſly. I ſhould imagine it a much better way, tho' it is not much practiſed, to get a learned young Lawyer, who has not got into much Buſineſs, to come and paſs away a long Vacation or two with a Gentleman, to carry him through ſuch an Introduction to the Study of the Law, as may give him a full View of it, and good Directions how to proſecute his Study in it. A competent Skill in this makes a Man very uſeful in his Country, both in conducting his own Affairs, and in giving good Advice to thoſe about him: It will enable him to be a good Juſtice of Peace, and to ſettle Matters by Arbitration, ſo as to prevent Lawſuits; and, which ought to be the Top of an *Engliſh* Gentleman's Ambition, to be an able Parliament Man: to which no Gentleman ought to pretend, unleſs he has a true Zeal for his Country, with an inflexible Integrity and Reſolution to purſue what appears to him juſt and right, and for the good of the Publick: The Parliament is the Fountain of Law, and the Fence of Liberty; and no ſort of Inſtruction is ſo neceſſary for a Gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with Figure and Reputation.

And in Marriages.

Gentlemen in their Marriages ought to conſider a great many things more than Fortune, tho' generally ſpeaking, that is the only thing ſought for: A good Underſtanding, good Principles, and a good Temper, with a liberal Education, and acceptable Perſon, are the firſt things to be conſidered: And certainly Fortune ought to come after all theſe. Thoſe Bargains now in faſhion make often unhallowed Marriages, in which (beſides the greater Evils) more Fortune is often waſted, than is brought, with a vain, a fooliſh, an indiſcreet and a hated Wife. The firſt Thought in chooſing a Wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the Man: In a married State the mutual Study of both ought to be to help and

pleaſe

pleaſe one another: This is the Foundation of all domeſtick Happineſs; as to ſtay at home and to love home, is the greateſt help to Induſtry, Order and the good Government of a Family. I have dwelt the longer on this Article, becauſe on the forming the Gentry well, the good Government of the Nation, both in and out of Parliament, does ſo much depend.

Of Trade and Induſtry.

As for the Men of Trade and Buſineſs, they are, generally ſpeaking, the beſt Body in the Nation, generous, ſober, and charitable: So that, while the People in the Country are ſo immerſed in their Affairs, that the Senſe of Religion can not reach them, there is a better Spirit ſtirring in our Cities; more Knowledge, more Zeal, and more Charity, with a great deal more of Devotion. There may be too much of Vanity, with too pompous an Exteriour, mixed with theſe in the capital City; but upon the whole, they are the beſt we have: Want of Exerciſe is a great Prejudice to their Health, and a Corrupter of their Minds, by raiſing Vapours and Melancholy, that fills many with dark Thoughts, rendring Religion, which affords the trueſt Joy, a Burden to them, and making them even a Burden to themſelves; this furniſhes Prejudices againſt Religion to thoſe, who are but too much diſpoſed to ſeek for them. The too conſtant Intercourſe of Viſits in Town is a vaſt Conſumption of Time, and gives much occaſion to Talk, which is at beſt idle, if not worſe: This certainly wants Regulation, and is the Effect of Idleneſs and Vanity.

Of the Stage.

The Stage is the great Corrupter of the Town; and the bad People of the Town have been the chief Corrupters of the Stage; who run moſt after thoſe Plays that defile the Stage and the Audience: Poets will ſeek to pleaſe, as Actors will look for ſuch Pieces, as draw the moſt Spectators: They pretend their deſign is to diſcourage Vice; but they do really recommend it, in the moſt effectual manner. It is a ſhame to our Nation and Religion, to ſee the Stage ſo reformed in *France*, and ſo polluted ſtill in *England*. *Moliere* for Comedy, and *Racine* for Tragedy, are great Patterns; few can, and as few will ſtudy to copy after them. But, till another Scene appears, certainly our Plays are the greateſt Debauchers of the Nation. Gaming is a waſte of Time, that riſes out of Idleneſs, and is kept up by Covetouſneſs; thoſe who can think, read, or write to any purpoſe, and thoſe who underſtand what Converſation and Friendſhip are, will not want ſuch a Help to wear out the Day; ſo that upon the whole Matter, Sloth and Ignorance, bad Education and ill Company, are the chief Sources of all our Vice and Diſorders.

Of educating the other Sex.

The ill Methods of Schools and Colleges give the chief Riſe to the Irregularities of the Gentry, as the breeding young Women to Vanity, Dreſſing and a falſe Appearance of Wit and Behaviour, without proper Work or a due Meaſure of Knowledge and a ſerious Senſe of Religion, is the Source of the Corruption of that Sex: Something like Monaſteries without Vows would be a glorious Deſign, and might be ſo ſet on foot, as to be the Honour of a Queen on the Throne: But I will purſue this no further.

Of the Nobility.

My next Addreſs is to the Nobility; moſt of what I have propoſed to our Gentry does, in a more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their Condition is raiſed above other Gentlemen, ſo much the more eminent ought they to be in Knowledge and Virtue; the Share they have in Judicature in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould oblige them to acquaint themſelves with the Rules and Principles of Law; tho' an unbiaſſed Integrity, neither moved by Friendſhip nor Party, with a true Underſtanding, will for the moſt part direct them in their Judgment, ſince few Caſes occur, where the Point of Law is dark or doubtful.

Of their Education.

Every Perſon of a high Rank, whoſe Eſtate can bear it, ought to have two Perſons to manage his Education; the one a Governour to form his Mind, to give him true Notions, to repreſent Religion and Virtue in a proper Light to him, to give him a View of Geography, not barely deſcribing the Maps, but adding to it the Natural Hiſtory of every Country, its Productions, Arts and Trade, with the Religion and Government of the Country, and a general Idea of the Hiſtory of the World, and of the various Revolutions, that have happened in it. Such a View will open a young Perſon's Mind: It muſt be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient Government in *Greece*, but much more that of *Rome*, muſt be minutely delivered, that the Difference, between a juſt and a vi-

cious Government, may be well apprehended. The Fall of the *Roman* Greatneſs, under the Emperor's, by reaſon of the abſolute Power, that let Vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their Courts, but their Armies, ought to be fully opened: Then the *Gothick* Government, and the Feudal Law ſhould be clearly explained, to open the Original of our own Conſtitution. In all this, the chief Care of a wiſe and good Former of Youth ought to be, to poſſeſs a young Mind with noble Principles of Juſtice, Liberty and Virtue, as the true Baſis of Government; and with an Averſion to Violence and Arbitrary Power, ſervile Flattery, Faction and Luxury, from which the Corruption and Ruin of all Governments have ariſen.

To this Governour (qualified for all this, to be ſought out and hired at any rate) I would join a Maſter for Languages and other things, in which this young Lord is to be inſtructed; who ought to be put under the Direction and Eye of the Governour, that his Time may not be loſt in Trifles; that nothing of Pedantry or of Affectation may be infuſed into a young Mind, which is to be prepared for great Things. A Simplicity of Style, with a true and grave Pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young Nobleman ought to be accuſtomed, as he grows up, to ſpeak his Thoughts, on the ſudden, with a due Force and Weight both of Words and Voice. I have often wondred to ſee Parents, who are to leave vaſt Eſtates, and who ſtick at no expence in other Things, yet be ſo Frugal and Narrow in the Education of their Children. They owe to their Country a greater Care in preparing the Eldeſt, to make that Figure in it, to which he is born: And they owe to their younger Children, who are not to be ſo plentifully provided, ſuch a liberal Education, as may fit them to anſwer the Dignity of their Birth, and prepare them for Employments, by which they may in time give a further Strength and Addition to their Family. I have been amazed to ſee, how profuſe ſome are, in procuring good Dancing, Fencing, and Riding-Maſters for their Children, and ſetting them out in fine Clothes; and how ſparing they are in that, which is the chief and moſt important thing, and which in time may become the moſt uſeful, both to themſelves and to their Country. I look on the Education of the Youth, as the Foundation of all that can be propoſed, for bettering the next Age: It ought to be one of the chief Cares of all Governments, tho' there is nothing more univerſally neglected. How do ſome of our Peers ſhine, meerly by their Virtue and Knowledge; and what a contemptible Figure do others make, with all their high Titles and great Eſtates?

Of their Chaplains.

Noblemen begin to neglect the having Chaplains in their Houſes, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the Behaviour of too many of theſe, light and idle, vain and inſolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the Worſhip of God, and the Inſtruction of Servants is quite neglected: But, if a little more care were taken to chooſe well, a Lord might make a good uſe of a Chaplain, not only for thoſe ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading ſuch Books, as the Lord deſires to be well informed about, but has not leiſure to peruſe himſelf. Theſe he may read by his Chaplain, and receive an Account of them from him, and ſee what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leiſure, tho' not for the whole Book: By this means he may keep his Chaplain well imployed, and may encreaſe his own Stock of Knowledge, and be well furniſhed with relation to all new Books and new Queſtions, that are ſtarted. The Family of a Nobleman, well choſen and well ordered, might look like a little Court in his Country: For tho' it is a happineſs to the Nation, that the great number of idle and uſeleſs Retainers, that were about Noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet ſtill they muſt entertain many Servants, to be either Nuſances where they live, or to ſet a Pattern to others. The greater Men are, they ought to be the more modeſt and affable, and more eaſy of Acceſs, that ſo they may, by the beſt ſort of Popularity, render themſelves acceptable to their Country; they ought more particularly, to protect the Oppreſſed, to mortify Inſolence and Injuſtice, and to enter into the true Grievances of their Country; that they may repreſent theſe, where it may be proper; and ſhew at leaſt a tender Care of thoſe, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a Redreſs of their Grie-

vances.

vances. A continued Purſuit of ſuch Methods, with an exemplary Deportment, would ſoon reſtore the Nobility to their ancient Luſtre, from which they ſeem very ſenſible how much they are fallen, tho' they do not take the proper Methods to recover it. Have we not ſeen in our Time four or five Lords, by their Knowledge, good Judgment and Integrity, raiſe the Houſe of Peers to a pitch of Reputation and Credit, that ſeemed once beyond the Expectation or Belief of thoſe, who now ſee it? A Progreſs in this Method will give them ſuch Authority in the Nation, that they will be able, not only to ſupport their own Dignity, but even to ſupport the Throne and the Church. If ſo ſmall a number has raiſed Peerage to ſuch a Regard, that the People, contrary to all former Precedents, have conſidered them more than their own Repreſentatives; what might not be expected from a greater number purſuing the ſame Methods? Theſe would become again that, which their Title imports, the Peers of the Crown as well as of the Kingdom, of which that noble Right of putting on their Coronets, at the Coronation, is a clear Proof. Great Titles, ſeparated from the great Eſtates and the Intereſt their Anceſtors had in their Countries, muſt ſink, if not ſupported with ſomewhat of more Value, great Merit, and a ſublime Virtue.

Concerning the two Houſes of Parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greateſt Importance to the ſeveral Ranks of Men in the Nation, I go next to conſider that auguſt Body, in which they are all united; I mean the Parliament. As long as Elections are ſet to ſale, ſo long we are under a Diſeaſe in our Vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, muſt ruin us at laſt, and end in a Change of Government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of Elections.

All Laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure ſo great an Evil, till there comes to be a Change and Reformation of Morals in the Nation; we ſee former Laws are evaded, and ſo will all the Laws that can be made, till the Candidates and Electors both become Men of another Temper and other Principles, than appear now among them: The Expence of Elections ruins Families; and theſe Families will come in time to expect a full Reparation from the Crown; or they will take their Revenges on it, if that Hope fails them: The Commons will grow inſolent upon it, and look on the Gentry as in their dependance; during the War, and while the Heat of Parties ferments ſo much, it is not eaſy to find a proper Remedy for this. When the War is over, one Expedient in the power of the Crown is, to declare that Elections to Parliament ſhall be annual: But, if the ſame Heat and Rivalry of Parties ſhould ſtill continue, that would ruin Families but ſo much the ſooner.

The moſt promiſing Expedient, next to a general Reformation, which may ſeem too remote and too hopeleſs a Proſpect, is to try how this great Diviſion of the Nation into Whig and Tory may be leſſened, if not quite removed: Great numbers on both ſides are drawn, to take up many groundleſs Jealouſies one of another, with which Men of honeſt Minds are poſſeſſed.

Of the Parties of Whig and Tory.

There are many of the Tories, that without doubt look towards *St. Germains* and *France*; but this is not true of the Bulk of their Party. Many Infidels, who hate all Religion and all Churches alike (being only againſt the Church of *England* becauſe it is in poſſeſſion) do join with the Whigs and the Diſſenters, and appear for them; from thence the ill-diſpoſed Tories poſſeſs many of thoſe, who are better minded, with an Opinion, that the Whigs favour the Diſſenters, only to ruin and deſtroy Religion: And great Multitudes of unthinking and ignorant Men are drawn into this Snare. The Principles of the Whigs lead them to be for the Revolution, and for every thing that has been done to ſupport and eſtabliſh that; and therefore thoſe who, in their Hearts, hate the Revolution, fortify and promote their Deſigns, by keeping up a Jealouſy of all that Body, which alone can and muſt ſupport it. The Whigs are indeed favoured by the Diſſenters, becauſe they ſee their Principles are for Toleration, in which, it is viſible, that the Diſſenters acquieſce, without purſuing any Deſign, contrary to the Eſtabliſhed Church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few Conceſſions were made them. On the other hand, the Whigs ſeeing the Leaders of the Tories drive on ill Deſigns ſo viſibly, (endeavouring to weaken the Government, to disjoint the Alliance, and to put an untimely end to the War, thereby ſerving the Intereſts of *France* and of the *Pretender*) and that they

they are followed in this by the Body of the Tories, who promote their Elections, and adhere to them in all Diviſions in the two Houſes of Parliament, and are united in one Party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: And thus they are jealous of them all. This Averſion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the War laſts; when that is ended, it may poſſibly abate: but ſo great a Diſeaſe will not be cured, 'till a Prince of Spirit and Authority, managed with Temper and Diſcretion, undertakes the Cure. We ſee Oaths and Subſcriptions make no Diſcrimination, ſince the Abjuration, tho' penned as fully as Words can go, has been taken by ſome, who ſeem reſolved to ſwallow down every thing in order to the throwing up all at once, if they ſhould come to have a clear Majority in Parliament, and durſt lay aſide the Mask.

In the Parliament of 1701, called the Impeaching Parliament, and in the firſt Parliament called by the Queen, there was a Majority of Tories; yet it appeared, the Men of ill deſigns durſt not venture to diſcover themſelves to their Party and to the Nation; ſo they proceeded with Caution. They deſigned in 1701 to have had the Duke of *Anjou* acknowledged, in order to have diſgraced the late King, and his faithfulleſt Miniſters; that ſo the Princes abroad, who could do nothing without Aſſiſtance from *England*, deſpairing of that, might be forced to ſubmit to the Offers *France* made them. In the firſt Year of the Queen's Reign, they durſt make no viſible Steps that way neither; but they tried to raiſe the Heat againſt the Diſſenters, to make a Breach on the Toleration, and to give that Body of Men ſuch a Jealouſy of the Government, as ſhould quite diſhearten Them, who were always the readieſt to lend Money to the Publick, without which the War could not be carried on vigorouſly. By this it may appear, that many of the Tories have not thoſe Views and Deſigns, that perhaps ſome of their Leaders may be juſtly charged with. Now a wiſe and an active Prince may find Methods, to undeceive thoſe who are thus fatally impoſed on, and led blindfold into the ſerving the ill Deſigns of others; eſpecially, if he will propoſe it, as a ſure way to his Favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better Underſtanding and frequent Meetings, among the Men of good Lives and ſoft Tempers in both Parties, who by a mutual Converſation will ſo open themſelves to one another, that Jealouſies may by this means be eaſily removed. I can carry this no further at preſent; Men of good Intentions will eaſily find out proper Methods to bring about this worthy Deſign of healing a Breach, that has rent the Nation from top to bottom. The Parties are now ſo ſtated and kept up, not only by the Elections of Parliament-Men that return every third Year, but even by the yearly Elections of Mayors and Corporation-Men, that they know their Strength; and in every Corner of the Nation, the two Parties ſtand, as it were, liſted againſt one another. This may come, in ſome critical Time or other, at the Death of a Prince, or on an Invaſion, to have terrible Effects; as at preſent it creates, among the beſt of each Side, a Coldneſs and a Jealouſy, and a great deal of Hatred and Virulence among the much greater part.

The Correction of our Laws.

There are two things of a very Publick Nature, that deſerve the Care of a Parliament: The one muſt begin in the Houſe of Lords, and the other in the Houſe of Commons. The Law of *England* is the greateſt Grievance of the Nation, very expenſive and dilatory: There is no end of Suits, eſpecially when they are brought into *Chancery*. It is a matter of deep Study, to be exact in the Law; great Advantages are taken, upon inconſiderable Errors; and there are loud Complaints of that, which ſeems to be the chief Security of Property, I mean Juries, which are ſaid to be much practiſed upon. If a happy Peace gives us quiet, to look to our own Affairs, there cannot be a worthier Deſign undertaken, than to reduce the Law into Method, to digeſt it into a Body, and to regulate the Chancery, ſo as to cut off the Tediouſneſs of Suits, and, in a Word, to compile one entire Syſtem of our Laws. The Work cannot be undertaken, much leſs finiſhed, but by ſo great an Authority, as at leaſt an Addreſs from the Houſe of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the War is happily ended, can raiſe the Glory of her Reign more, than to ſee ſo noble a Deſign ſet on foot in her Time: This would make her Name ſacred to Poſterity, which would ſenſibly feel all the Taxes, they have raiſed, fully

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ly repaid them, if the Law were made ſhorter, clearer, more certain, and of leſs Expence.

The other Matter, that muſt take its riſe in the Houſe of Commons, is about the Poor, and ſhould be much laid to heart. It may be thought a ſtrange Motion from a Biſhop, to wiſh that the Act, for charging every Pariſh to maintain their own Poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this ſeems to encourage idle and lazy People in their Sloth, when they know they muſt be maintained: I know no other Place in the World, where ſuch a Law was ever made. *Scotland* is much the pooreſt part of the Iſland; yet the Poor there are maintained by the voluntary Charities of the People; *Holland* is the perfecteſt Pattern for putting Charity in a good Method; the Poor work as much as they can; they are humble and induſtrious; they never ask any Charity; and yet they are well relieved. When the Poor ſee, that their Supply muſt in a great meaſure depend on their Behaviour and on their Induſtry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themſelves, and move others to ſupply them more liberally; and when Mens Offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to Church or to Sacrament) this will oblige thoſe, who diſtribute them, to be exact and impartial in it; ſince their ill Conduct might make the Givers truſt them with their Charity no more, but diſtribute it themſelves. If a Spirit of true Piety and Charity ſhould ever prevail in this Nation, thoſe, whoſe Condition raiſes them above the Drudgery of ſervile Labour, might employ ſome Years of their Life in this Labour of Love, and relieve one another in their turn, and ſo diſtribute among them this noble Part of Government. All this muſt begin in the Houſe of Commons; and I leave it to the Conſideration of the wiſe and worthy Members of that Body, to turn their Thoughts to this, as ſoon as by a happy Peace we are delivered from the cares of the War, and are at leiſure to think of our own Affairs at home. Proviſions for the Poor.

One thing more I preſume to ſuggeſt, which is, that we may have fewer and ſhorter Seſſions of Parliament; the ſtaying long in Town both waſtes Eſtates, and corrupts the Morals of Members; their beginning ſo late in the Day to enter upon Buſineſs is one great occaſion of long Seſſions; they are ſeldom met, till about twelve a Clock; and except on a Day, in which ſome great Points are to be diſcuſſed, upon which the Parties divide, they grow diſpoſed to riſe after two or three Hours ſitting. The Authority of the Prince muſt be interpoſed to make them return to the old Hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they ſate till two, a great deal of Buſineſs might be diſpatched in a ſhort Seſſion. It is alſo to be hoped that, when the War is ended, Parliaments will not give the neceſſary Supplies from Year to Year, as in the time of War, but will ſettle Methods for paying the Publick Debt, and for the Support of the Government, for two, if not for three Years. The ill Effects of an Annual Meeting of Parliament are ſo viſible and ſo great, that I hope nothing but invincible Neceſſity will ever keep us under the Continuance of ſo great an Inconvenience. I ſpeak of this with the more Concern, becauſe this is not only a great Charge on Biſhops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer Biſhopricks; but chiefly, becauſe it calls them away from their Dioceſſes, and from minding their proper Work, and fills their Heads too much with Secular Thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with Secular Company; from which the more abſtracted they are, as their Minds will be purer and freer, ſo they will be able to follow their own Buſineſs with leſs diſtraction, in a more conſtant Attendance on the Miniſtry of the Word and Prayer, to which, in imitation of the Apoſtles, they ought to give themſelves continually. Of ſhorter Seſſions of Parliament.

I have now gone over what ſeemed to me moſt practicable, as well as moſt important, for all Ranks of Men ſeverally in the Nation, as well as for that great Union of them all, in the Repreſentative of the whole in Parliament: I have not gone into wild Notions of an imaginary Reformation, more to be wiſhed than hoped for; but have only touched on ſuch ill Practices, and bad Diſpoſitions, as with a little Care and good Government may be in ſome meaſure redreſſed and corrected. And now, having by all theſe, as by ſo many Steps, riſen up to the Throne, I will end this Addreſs to the Nation, with an humble Repreſentation to thoſe, who are to ſit on it.

An Addreſs to our Princes.

I have had the Honour to be admitted to much free Converſation, with five of our Sovereigns; King *Charles* the Second, King *James* the Second, King *William* the Third, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*. King *Charles*'s Behaviour was a Thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred Man, eaſy of Acceſs, free in his Diſcourſe, and ſweet in his whole Deportment; this was managed with great Art, and it covered bad Deſigns; it was of ſuch uſe to him that it may teach all ſucceeding Princes, of what Advantage an Eaſineſs of Acceſs, and an obliging Behaviour may be: This preſerved him; it often diſarmed thoſe Reſentments, which his ill Conduct in every thing, both Publick and Private, poſſeſſed all thinking People with very early, and all ſorts of People at laſt: And yet none could go to him, but they were in a great meaſure ſoftned, before they left him: It looked like a Charm, that could hardly be reſiſted: Yet there was no Good-Nature under that, nor was there any Truth in him. King *James* had great Application to Buſineſs, tho' without a right Underſtanding; that Application gave him a Reputation, till he took care to throw it off: If he had not come after King *Charles*, he would have paſt for a Prince of a ſweet Temper, and eaſy of Acceſs. King *William* was the reverſe of all this; he was ſcarce Acceſſible, and was always Cold and Silent; he minded Affairs abroad ſo much, and was ſo ſet on the War, that he ſcarce thought of his Government at home: This raiſed a general Diſguſt, which was improved by Men of ill Deſigns, ſo that it perplexed all his Affairs, and he could ſcarce ſupport himſelf at Home, whilſt he was the Admiration of all Abroad. Queen *Mary* was Affable, Cheerful and Lively, ſpoke much, and yet under great Reſerves, minded Buſineſs, and came to underſtand it well; ſhe kept cloſe to Rules, chiefly to thoſe ſet her by the King; and ſhe charmed all that came near her. Queen *Anne* is eaſy of Acceſs, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herſelf to ſo few, and is ſo Cold and General in her Anſwers, that People ſoon find that the chief Application is to be made to her Miniſters and Favourites, who in their turns have an entire Credit and full Power with her: She has laid down the Splendor of a Court too much, and eats privately; ſo that except on Sundays, and a few Hours, twice or thrice a Week at Night in the Drawing Room, ſhe appears ſo little, that her Court is as it were abandoned. Out of all theſe Princes Conduct, and from their Succeſſes in their Affairs, it is evident what ought to be the Meaſures of a wiſe and good Prince, who would govern the Nation happily and gloriouſly.

The firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt indiſpenſable Rule for a King is, to ſtudy the Intereſt of the Nation, to be ever in it, and to be always purſuing it; this will lay in for him ſuch a degree of Confidence, that he will be ever ſafe with his People, when they feel they are ſafe in him. No part of our Story ſhews this more viſibly, than Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which the true Intereſt of the Nation was conſtantly purſued; and this was ſo well underſtood by all, that every thing elſe was forgiven her and her Miniſters both. Sir *Simon Dewe*'s Journal ſhews a Treatment of Parliaments, that could not have been born at any other time, or under any other Adminiſtration: This was the conſtant Support of King *William*'s Reign, and continues to ſupport the preſent Reign, as it will ſupport all who adhere ſteadily to it.

A Prince, that would command the Affections and Purſes of this Nation, muſt not ſtudy to ſtretch his Prerogative, or be uneaſy under the Reſtraints of Law; as ſoon as this Humour ſhews itſelf, he muſt expect, that a Jealouſy of him, and an uneaſy Oppoſition to him, will follow thro' the whole Courſe of his Reign; whereas if he governs well, Parliaments will truſt him, as much as a wiſe Prince would deſire to be truſted; and will ſupply him in every War that is neceſſary, either for their own Preſervation, or the Preſervation of thoſe Allies, with whom mutual Intereſts and Leagues unite him: But tho', ſoon after the Reſtoration, a ſlaviſh Parliament ſupported King *Charles* in the *Dutch* War, yet the Nation muſt be ſtrangely changed, before any thing of that ſort can happen again.

One of the moſt deteſtable and fooliſheſt Maxims, with relation to our Government, is to keep up Parties and a Rivalry among them; to ſhift and change Miniſters, and to go from one Party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the Prince more Money, or to give him more Authority: this will

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in concluſion render him odious and contemptible to all Parties, who growing accuſtomed to his Fickleneſs, will never truſt him, but rather ſtudy to ſecure themſelves, by depreſſing him; of which the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France* is a ſignal Inſtance. We ſaw what Effects this had on King *Charles*'s Reign; and King *William* felt what an ill ſtep he had made, near the end of his Reign, in purſuing this Maxim. Nothing creates to a Prince ſuch a Confidence, as a conſtant and clear Firmneſs and Steadineſs of Government, with an unblemiſhed Integrity in all his Profeſſions; and nothing will create a more univerſal Dependance on him, than when it is viſible, he ſtudies to allay the Hears of Parties, and to reconcile them to one another: This will demonſtrate, that he loves his People, and that he has no ill Deſigns of his own.

A Prince, who would be well ſerved, ought to ſeek out among his Subjects the beſt and moſt capable of the Youth, and ſee to their good Education at home and abroad; he ſhould ſend them to travel, and order his Miniſters abroad to keep ſuch for ſome time about them, and to ſend them from Court to Court, to learn their Language, and obſerve their Tempers: If but twelve ſuch were conſtantly kept, on an Allowance of 250*l.* a-year, the whole Expence of this would riſe but to 3000*l.* a-year: By this inconſiderable Charge, a Prince might have a conſtant Nurſery for a wiſe and able Miniſtry. But thoſe ought to be well choſen, none ought to pretend to the Nomination; it ought to riſe from the Motion, of the honeſteſt and moſt diſintereſted of all his Miniſters, to the Prince in ſecret. As great a care ought to be had, in the Nomination of the Chaplains of his Miniſters abroad, that there may be a Breed of worthy Clergymen, who have large Thoughts and great Notions, from a more enlarged View of Mankind and of the World. If a Prince would have all that ſerve him grateful and true to him, he muſt ſtudy to find out, who are the propereſt and worthieſt Men, capable of Employments, and prevent their Applications, and ſurprize them with beſtowing good Poſts unſought, and raiſing them higher, as they ſerve well: When it is known, that a Prince has made it his Maxim, to follow this Method in diſtributing his Favours, he will cut off Applications for them; which will otherwiſe create a great Uneaſineſs to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many Pretenders, one muſt have the preference to all the reſt; ſo that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of Envy at him, who has obtained the Favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as poſſible. This has no where worſe Effects than among the Clergy, in the Diſpoſal of the Dignities of the Church: And therefore Queen *Mary* reſolved to break thoſe Aſpirings; which Reſolution ſhe carried on effectually for ſome Years: A conſtant purſuing that Maxim would have a great effect on the Nation.

Frequent Progreſſes round the Nation, ſo divided, that once in ſeven, eight or ten Years, the chief Places of it might be gone thro', would recommend a Prince wonderfully to the People; eſpecially if he were gentle and affable, and would ſo manage his Progreſs, that it ſhould not be a Charge to any, by refuſing to accept of Entertainments, from any Perſon whatſoever: for the accepting theſe only from ſuch, as could eaſily bear the Charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal Rank, tho' not of equal Eſtates, would likewiſe deſire to treat the Prince. So to make a Progreſs every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the ſure Method would be, according to the eſtabliſhed Rule of the Houſhold, for the Prince to carry the travelling Wardrobe with him, and to take ſuch Houſes in the way, as are moſt convenient for him; but to entertain himſelf and his Court there, and have a Variety of Tables for ſuch as may come to attend on him. On this Queen *Mary* had ſet her Heart, if ſhe had lived to ſee Peace in her Days; by this means a Prince may ſee and be ſeen by his People; he may know ſome Men, that deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed, of whom otherwiſe he would never have heard; and he may learn and redreſs the Grievances of his People, preventing all Parliamentary Complaints, except for ſuch Matters as cannot be cured, but by a Remedy in Parliament: Methods like theſe would make a Prince become the Idol of his People.

It is certain, that their Affections muſt follow a Prince, who would conſider Government and the Royal Dignity as his Calling, and would be daily employed

in it, ſtudying the Good and Happineſs of his People, purſuing the propereſt ways for promoting it, without either delivering himſelf up to the Sloth of Luxury and vain Magnificence, or affecting the Barbarity of War and Conqueſt; which render thoſe, who make the World a Scene of Blood and Rapine, indeed the Butchers of Mankind. If theſe Words ſeem not decent enough, I will make no other Apology, but that I uſe them, becauſe I cannot find worſe; For as they are the worſt of Men, ſo they deſerve the worſt of Language. Can it be thought that Princes are raiſed to the higheſt Pitch of Glory and Wealth, on deſign to corrupt their Minds with Pride and Contempt of the reſt of Mankind, as if they were made only to be the Inſtruments of their Extravagancies, or the Subjects of their Paſſions and Humours? No! they are exalted for the Good of their Fellow-Creatures, in order to raiſe them to the trueſt Sublimity, to become as like Divinity, as a mortal Creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great Treaſures and Authority, when they ſee it is all employed to make their People happy. None will envy their Greatneſs, when they ſee it accompanied with a ſuitable Greatneſs of Soul, whereas a magnified and flattered Pageant will ſoon fall under univerſal Contempt and Hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that Princes are made for the People, and not the People for them; and perhaps there is no Nation under Heaven, that is more entirely poſſeſſed with this Notion of Princes, than the *Engliſh* Nation is in this Age; ſo that they will ſoon be uneaſy to a Prince, who does not govern himſelf by this Maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great Care ought to be taken, in the Nomination of Judges and Biſhops. I join theſe together; for Law and Religion, Juſtice and Piety, are the Support of Nations, and give Strength and Security to Governments: Judges muſt be recommended by thoſe in the high Poſts of the Law; but a Prince may, by his own Taſte and upon Knowledge, chooſe his Biſhops. They ought to be Men eminent for Piety, Learning, Diſcretion and Zeal; not broken with Age, which will quickly render them incapable of ſerving the Church, to any good purpoſe: A Perſon fit to be a Biſhop at ſixty, was fit at forty; and had then Spirit and Activity, with a Strength both of Body and Mind. The vaſt Expence they are at, in entering on their Biſhopricks, ought to be regulated: No Biſhopricks can be, in any good degree, ſerved under 1000*l.* a Year at leaſt. The Judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no Temptation, to ſupply themſelves by indirect Ways: One part of a Prince's Care, to be recommended to Judges in their Circuits, is to know what Perſons are, as it were, hid in the Nation, that are fit for Employments, and deſerve to be encouraged; of ſuch, they ought to give an Account to the Lord Chancellor, who ought to lay it before the the Throne. No Crime ought to be pardoned, till the Judge who gave Sentence is heard, to give an Account of the Evidence, with the Circumſtances of the Fact, as it appeared on the Trial: no regard ought to be had to Stories that are told, to move Compaſſion; for in theſe, little regard is had to Truth: And an Eaſineſs in pardoning is, in ſome ſort, an encouraging of Crimes, and a giving Licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehenſive Rule of all is, that a King ſhould conſider himſelf, as exalted by Almighty God into that high Dignity, as into a Capacity of doing much good, and of being a great bleſſing to Mankind, and in ſome ſort a God on Earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his Miniſters ſhould ſtudy to advance his Service, his Intereſts and his Glory; and that, ſo much the more, as he raiſes them to higher Poſts of Favour and Honour; ſo he, whom God has raiſed to the greateſt Exaltation, this World is capable of, ſhould apply himſelf wholly to Cares, becoming his Rank and Station, to be in himſelf a Pattern of Virtue and true Religion, to promote Juſtice, to relieve and revenge the Oppreſſed, and to ſeek out Men of Virtue and Piety, and bring them into ſuch Degrees of Confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous Freedom in their Advices, to be ready to ſee his own Errors, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is ſuggeſted to him, for the Good of his People, and for the Benefit of Mankind;

kind; and to make a Difference between thoſe, who court his Favour for their own Ends, who ſtudy to flatter and by that to pleaſe him, often to his own Ruin, and thoſe who have great Views and noble Aims, who ſet him on to purſue Deſigns worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any Ends or Intereſts of their own. It is not enough for a Prince, not to encourage Vice or Impiety, by his own ill Practices; it ought to appear, that theſe are odious to him, and that they give him Horrour: A Declaration of this kind, ſolemnly made and ſteadily purſued, would ſoon bring on at leaſt an exteriour Reformation, which would have a great Effect on the Body of the Nation, and on the riſing Generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at firſt. Such a Prince would be perhaps too great a Bleſſing to a wicked World: Queen *Mary* ſeemed to have the Seeds of all this in her; but the World was not worthy of her: And ſo God took her from it.

An Exhortation to all, to become truly Religious.

I will conclude this whole Addreſs to Poſterity with that, which is the moſt important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing elſe along with it; which is to recommend, in the moſt ſolemn and ſerious manner, the Study and Practice of Religion to all ſorts of Men, as that which is both *the Light of the World*, and *the Salt of the Earth*. Nothing does ſo open our Faculties, and compoſe and direct the whole Man, as an inward Senſe of God, of his Authority over us, of the Laws he has ſet us, of his Eye ever upon us, of his hearing our Prayers, aſſiſting our Endeavours, watching over our Concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or puniſh us in another State, according to what we do in this: Nothing will give a Man ſuch a Deteſtation of Sin, and ſuch a Senſe of the Goodneſs of God, and of our Obligations to Holineſs, as a right Underſtanding and a firm Belief of the Chriſtian Religion: Nothing can give a Man ſo calm a Peace within, and ſuch a firm Security againſt all Fears and Dangers without, as the Belief of a kind and wiſe Providence, and of a future State. An Integrity of Heart gives a Man a Courage, and a Confidence that cannot be ſhaken: A Man is ſure that, by living according to the Rules of Religion, he becomes the wiſeſt, the beſt and happieſt Creature, that he is capable of being: Honeſt Induſtry, the employing his Time well, and a conſtant Sobriety, an undefiled Purity and Chaſtity, with a quiet Serenity, are the beſt preſervers of Life and Health: So that, take a Man as a ſingle Individual, Religion is his Guard, his Perfection, his Beauty, and his Glory: This will make him *the Light of the World*, ſhining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a Man as a piece of Mankind, as a Citizen of the World, or of any particular State, Religion is indeed *then the Salt of the Earth*: For it makes every Man to be to all the reſt of the World, whatſoever any one can with reaſon wiſh or deſire him to be. He is true, juſt, honeſt and faithful in the whole Commerce of Life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: He is a Lover of Mankind, and of his Country: He may and ought to love ſome more than others; but he has an Extent of Love to all, of Pity and Compaſſion, not only to the pooreſt, but to the worſt; for the worſe any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a Complacency and Delight in all that are truly, tho' but defectively good, and a Reſpect and Veneration for all that are eminently ſo: He mourns for the Sins, and rejoices in the Virtues of all that are round about him: In every relation of Life, Religion makes him anſwer all his Obligations: It will make Princes juſt and good, faithful to their Promiſes, and Lovers of their People: It will inſpire Subjects with Reſpect, Submiſſion, Obedience and Zeal for their Prince: It will ſanctify Wedlock to be a State of Chriſtian Friendſhip, and mutual Aſſiſtance: It will give Parents the trueſt Love to their Children, with a proper Care of their Education: It will command the Returns of Gratitude and Obedience from Children: It will teach Maſters to be gentle and careful of their Servants, and Servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their Maſters Concerns: It will make Friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and diſintereſted: It will make Men live in their Neighbourhood, as Members of one common Body, promoting firſt the general Good of the Whole, and then the Good of every Particular,

as far as a Man's Sphere can go: It will make Judges and Magiſtrates juſt and patient, hating Covetouſneſs, and maintaining Peace and Order, without reſpect of Perſons: It will make People live in ſo inoffenſive a manner, that it will be eaſy to maintain Juſtice, whilſt Men are not diſpoſed to give Diſturbance to thoſe about them. This will make Biſhops and Paſtors faithful to their Truſt, tender to their People, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the People an Eſteem for their Perſons, and their Functions.

Thus Religion, if truly received and ſincerely adhered to, would prove the greateſt of all Bleſſings to a Nation: But by Religion, I underſtand ſomewhat more than the receiving ſome Doctrines, tho' ever ſo true, or the profeſſing them, and engaging to ſupport them, not without Zeal and Eagerneſs. What ſignify the beſt Doctrines, if Men do not live ſuitably to them; if they have not a due Influence upon their Thoughts, their Principles, and their Lives? Men of bad Lives, with ſound Opinions, are ſelf-condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated Guilt; nor will the Heat of a Party, ariſing out of Intereſt, and managed with Fury and Violence, compenſate for the ill Lives of ſuch falſe Pretenders to Zeal; while they are a Diſgrace to that, which they profeſs and ſeem ſo hot for. By Religion I do not mean, an outward Compliance with Form and Cuſtoms, in going to Church, to Prayers, to Sermons and to Sacraments, with an external Shew of Devotion, or, which is more, with ſome inward forced good Thoughts, in which many may ſatisfy themſelves, while this has no viſible effect on their Lives, nor any inward Force to ſubdue and rectify their Appetites, Paſſions and ſecret Deſigns. Thoſe Cuſtomary Performances, how good and uſeful ſoever, when well underſtood and rightly directed, are of little value, when Men reſt on them, and think that, becauſe they do them, they have therefore acquitted themſelves of their Duty, tho' they continue ſtill proud, covetous, full of Deceit, Envy and Malice: Even ſecret Prayer, the moſt effectual of all other means, is deſigned for a higher end, which is to poſſeſs our Minds with ſuch a conſtant and preſent Senſe of Divine Truths, as may make theſe live in us, and govern us; and may draw down ſuch Aſſiſtances, as may exalt and ſanctify our Natures.

So that by Religion I mean, ſuch a Senſe of divine Truth, as enters into a Man, and becomes a Spring of a new Nature within him; reforming his Thoughts and Deſigns, purifying his Heart, and ſanctifying him, and governing his whole Deportment, his Words as well as his Actions; convincing him that, it is not enough, not to be ſcandalouſly vicious, or to be innocent in his Converſation, but that he muſt be entirely, uniformly and conſtantly pure and vertuous, animating him with a Zeal, to be ſtill better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, uſing Prayers and all outward Devotions, as ſolemn Acts teſtifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as Methods inſtituted by God, to be ſtill advancing in the uſe of them further and further, into a more refined and ſpiritual Senſe of divine Matters. This is true Religion, which is the Perfection of Human Nature, and the Joy and Delight of every one, that feels it active and ſtrong within him; it is true, this is not arrived at all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good Man: But, as thoſe ill Mixtures are the perpetual Grief of his Soul, ſo it is his chief Care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual Progreſs, ſtill gaining ground upon himſelf: And, as he attains to a good degree of Purity, he will find a noble Flame of Life and Joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more Concern and Emotion, becauſe I have felt this the true and indeed the only Joy, which runs thro' a Man's Heart and Life: It is that which has been for many Years my greateſt Support; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the Earneſt of that ſupreme Joy, which I pant and long for; I am ſure there is nothing elſe can afford any true or compleat Happineſs. I have, conſidering my Sphere, ſeen a great deal of all, that is moſt ſhining and tempting in this World: The Pleaſures of Senſe I did ſoon nauſeate; Intrigues of State, and the Conduct of Affairs have ſomething in them, that is more ſpecious; and I was, for ſome Years, deeply immerſed in theſe, but ſtill with Hopes of reforming the World, and of making Mankind wiſer and better: But I have found, *That which is crooked cannot be made ſtraight.* I acquainted my ſelf with Knowledge and Learning, and

that

that in a great Variety, and with more Compaſs than Depth: but tho' *Wiſdom excelleth Folly, as much as Light does Darkneſs*; yet, as it is a *ſore Travail*, ſo it is ſo very defective, that what is *wanting* to compleat it, *cannot be numbered*. I have ſeen that *two were better than one*, and that a *threefold Cord is not eaſily looſed*; and have therefore cultivated Friendſhip with much Zeal and a diſintereſted Tenderneſs; but I have found this was alſo Vanity and Vexation of Spirit, tho' it be of the beſt and nobleſt ſort. So that, upon great and long Experience, I could enlarge on the Preacher's Text, *Vanity of Vanities, and all is Vanity*; but I muſt alſo conclude with him; *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the All of Man*, the Whole both of his Duty, and of his Happineſs. I do therefore end all, in the Words of *David*, of the Truth of which, upon great Experience and a long Obſervation, I am ſo fully aſſured, that I leave theſe as my laſt Words to Poſterity. "*Come ye Children, hearken unto me; I will teach you* "*the Fear of the Lord; what Man is he that deſireth Life, and loveth many Days,* "*that he may ſee Good; keep thy Tongue from Evil, and thy Lips from ſpeaking* "*Guile; depart from Evil, and do Good, ſeek Peace and purſue it. The Eyes of* "*the Lord are upon the Righteous, and his Ears are open to their Cry; but the Face* "*of the Lord is againſt them that do Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them,* "*from the Earth. The Righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and delivereth them* "*out of all their Troubles. The Lord is nigh unto them, that are of a broken Heart,* "*and ſaveth ſuch as be of a contrite Spirit.*"

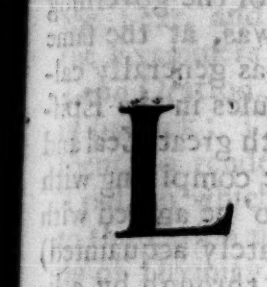
N. B. This was written in *June* 1708, when the Author thought himſelf near the End of the Hiſtory.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR:

By the EDITOR

THOMAS BURNET, Esq;



IT were to be wiſhed, that the Author himſelf had lived to have compleated his whole Deſign, and as he made *Thuanus* his Pattern in Hiſtory, like him to have cloſed his Work with an Account of his own Life: That he intended ſo to have done, is evident both from his laſt Will, and from a rough Draught or imperfect Sketch of this Nature, left behind him. He acted ſo conſiderable a Part in the World, in ſo many different Stations; he met with ſo large a ſhare of Favour from ſome, and ſo much Cenſure from others; and in a life, where the Scenes were ſo various, there muſt be ſo many Occurrences, which will be both uſeful and entertaining; that I feared the Publick would ſcarce forgive me, as an Editor, if I ſhould not endeavour to ſupply this only Part of the Author's Plan, which he himſelf did not live to execute. Tho' the producing Authorities for the ſeveral Facts, aſſerted in the following Sheets, might perhaps have exempted a Writer from future Cavils: yet

the inſerting Vouchers for every Particular *, would have rendred a Work of this nature both dry and tedious; I have only done it, where the Matter related ſeemed very eſſential, and the original Papers themſelves might prove an agreeable Entertainment. I have carefully avoided repeating all thoſe Parts of the Author's Life, which are already related in the *Hiſtory of his own Time*: They are only tranſiently mentioned here, ſo as to continue the Thread of my Narration, and the Reader is referred, for farther Information, to the Hiſtory itſelf.

The Author's Birth and Parentage.

Our Author, Dr. GILBERT BURNET, was born at *Edinburgh* on the eighteenth Day of *September* in the Year 1643. His Father was the younger Brother of a Family, very conſiderable for its Antiquity as well as Intereſt, in the Shire of *Aberdeen*; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he ſtudied for ſeven Years in *France*. His exceſſive Modeſty ſo far depreſs'd his Abilities, that he never made a ſhining Figure at the Bar, tho' he was univerſally eſteemed a Man of Judgment and Knowledge in his Profeſſion; he was eminent for Probity and Generoſity in his Practice; inſomuch that near one half of it went in Acts of Charity and Friendſhip: From the Poor he never took a Fee, nor from a Clergyman, when he ſued in the Right of his Church. In the Year 1637, when the Troubles in *Scotland* were breaking out, he was ſo diſguſted at the Conduct of the governing Biſhops there, he cenſured them with ſo much Warmth, and was, at the ſame time, ſo remarkable for his ſtrict and exemplary Life, that he was generally called a *Puritan*: But when he ſaw, that inſtead of reforming Abuſes in the Epiſcopal Order, the Order itſelf was ſtruck at, he adhered to it with great Zeal and Conſtancy; as he did to the Rights of the Crown, without once complying with that Party, which afterwards prevailed in both Nations. For tho' he agreed with *Barclay* and *Grotius* (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their Notions of Reſiſtance, where the Laws are broke through by a limited Sovereign; yet he did not think that was then the Caſe in *Scotland*.

Our Author's Mother was very eminent for her Piety and Virtue; ſhe was a warm Zealot for the Presbyterian Diſcipline; her Education that way had been very ſtrict; ſhe was Siſter to the famous Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun*, called Lord *Warriſtoun*, who, during the Civil Wars, was at the Head of the Presbyterians; and was too often hurried away, by his Attachment to them, into Exceſſes that were not ſuitable to his natural Temper; which was juſt, generous and ſelf-denying: Inſomuch that he left behind him but a very ſmall Proviſion, for a Family of thirteen Children, tho' for many Years he had been entruſted with the whole Government of *Scotland*. He was ſo zealous in the Intereſts of his Party, that neither Friendſhip nor Alliance could diſpoſe him, to ſhew favour to thoſe, who refuſed the ſolemn League and Covenant. Our Author's Father therefore, perſiſting in this Refuſal, at three ſeveral times was obliged to quit the Kingdom, and at one of them to remain an Exile for five Years: And, when his Return was afterwards connived at, as his Principles would not permit him to renew the Practice of the Law, much leſs to accept of the Preferments in it, offered him by *Oliver Cromwell*, he lived retired in the Country upon his own Eſtate, till the Reſtoration; when he was made one of the Lords of the Seſſion.

His Education.

His Father's Retirement from Buſineſs proved a conſiderable Advantage to our Author's Education, which was wholly under his Care, and ſo managed by him, that at ten Years old his Son was Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue: he was ſent at that Age to the College of *Aberdeen*, where he perfected himſelf in *Greek*, and went through the common Methods of the *Ariſtotelian* Logick and Philoſophy with Applauſe; he commenced Maſter of Arts before he was fourteen, and then applied himſelf to the Law, much to the regret of his Father, who had always deſigned him for a Clergyman. He continued ſtudying the *Civil* and *Feudal* Law for above a Year, by which he laid in ſuch true Notions of Society and Government, as are ſeldom found amongſt Divines; he then changed his Reſolution, and determined wholly to dedicate himſelf to the Church: Thereupon he

* Thoſe Facts for which no Voucher is alledged, are taken from the Biſhop's Manuſcript Notes of his own Life. And can be further ſupported by other Teſtimonies, if occaſion ſhould require.

he purſued a very hard Courſe of Study; he went through the old and new Teſtament, with all the ſeveral Commentaries upon the different Parts of it, then in repute; he examined into the moſt noted Authors in Controverſy, and read *Bellarmine* and *Chamier*, in oppoſition to each other, quite through; he peruſed ſome of the moſt received Syſtems of School-Divinity, but was ſoon diſguſted at the Subtlety of thoſe Writers, and readily obſerved, how little all their Diſputes, which the Jargon of the Schools rendred endleſs, could tend towards making Men wiſer or better. In his Hours of Amuſement, he ran through many Volumes of Hiſtory: And it is ſcarce conceivable, what a Progreſs he had made in theſe Studies, before he was eighteen, by an Application, which ſeldom fell ſhort of fourteen Hours in a Day.

He is admitted as a Probationer.

At that Age, he was put upon his Trial, as a Probationer or expectant Preacher; who' after having paſs'd Examination, is at liberty to preach whereſoever he is deſired, but has no particular Church, to which he is attendant. This is the firſt Step in *Scotland*, towards an Admiſſion into Orders, and was practiſed both under the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Oeconomy. The Method obſerved in it has ſomething ſo different from what is cuſtomary in *England*, that it may perhaps be worthy the Reader's Notice. Theſe Probationers are firſt appointed to preach practically on a Text aſſigned them; next, critically upon another, the Senſe of which is controverted; and then a mix'd Sermon, of Criticiſm on the Text, and practical Inferences from it, is expected from them. After this, the Examiners allot a Head of Divinity to each, on which they are to make a *Latin* Oration, and to give out *Theſes* upon it, which they undertake to defend in publick: Then a *Hebrew* Pſalm and a Portion of the *Greek* Teſtament is given them, to render into *Engliſh Extempore*; and laſt of all comes the Queſtionary Trial, in which every Miniſter of the Diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch Queſtions to the Perſon under Examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture or Body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he muſt produce a Teſtimonial of his good Life from the Miniſter of the Pariſh where he lives; and if during his Trial, which laſts for three Months, any Scandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aſide as unfit for the Church.

Refuſes a Preſentation to a Living.

This Probation our Author went through, at the Age of Eighteen; about which time his Father was made a *Lord* of the *Seſſion*, and his Couſin German, Sir *Alexander Burnet*, gave him the Preſentation to a very good Benefice, where his Family reſided, and which lay in the Center of all his Kindred. There is no Law in *Scotland*, that limits the Age a Miniſter muſt be of; but our Author thought his own ſo unfit for a Cure of Souls, that he abſolutely refuſed to accept of it, notwithſtanding the repeated Importunities of all his Relations except his Father, who left him wholly to his own Diſcretion.

His Father's Death and his further Purſuit of his Studies.

In the Year 1661, his Father died; and ſoon after his Brother *Robert*, who was then become very eminent at the Bar, as his other Brother *Thomas* was afterwards in Phyſick: Upon the occaſion of his Brother's Death, our Author was much ſollicited, by his Mothers Relations, to return to his former Study of the Law, wherein he was aſſured of the greateſt Encouragement; but he perſiſted in his former Reſolution, of devoting his Life to the Service of the Church, in which he was confirmed by Mr. *Nairn*, Miniſter of the Abbey Church at *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Nairn* was then the admired Preacher of that Country, remarkable for Accuracy of Style, as well as Strength of Reaſoning and Sublimeneſs of Thought: Him our Author purpoſed to make his Pattern, in this Branch of the Paſtoral Office; and was not a little ſurprized to find, that he always preached *extempore*. For though all Sermons in *Scotland* were delivered without Book, yet were they premeditated Diſcourſes, firſt written and then learn'd by heart; which was a loſs of time Mr. *Nairn* could not ſubmit to, and he ſoon put our Author upon attempting the ſame Method of Preaching, which he continued to to practiſe all the reſt of his Life *. He attained to an eaſineſs in it, chiefly by

* I ſhall only mention two remarkable Inſtances in relation to his preaching without Book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the Deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop *Williams* was appointed to preach one of the Conſecration Sermons at *Bow*-Church. But being detained by ſome Accident, the Clerk had twice ſet the Pſalm, and ſtill the Preacher did not appear

alloting many Hours of the Day to Meditation upon all ſorts of Subjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to ſpeak his Thoughts aloud, ſtudying always to render his Expreſſion correct. Mr. *Nairn* led him likewiſe into a new Courſe of Reading, by recommending to his Peruſal *Smith*'s *Select Diſcourſes*, Dr. *Moore*'s *Works*, and the Writings of *Plato* and his Followers; but no Book pleaſed him more than *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, from the Principles of which he never departed.

In the Year 1662, the *Scotch* Biſhops, who had been conſecrated at *Weſtminſter*, made a pompous Entry into *Edinburgh*, and, by the Pride of their firſt Appearance, gave no good Omen of their future Conduct. Biſhop *Leighton*, though one of their number, would have no ſhare in the State they took upon them, on this occaſion: He ſoon became acquainted with our Author's growing Fame, and as he conceived a great Affection for him, he took a peculiar Pleaſure in overlooking his Studies. By his Advice, he became converſant with all the Primitive Writers, going through the Apologys and other Treatiſes of the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries, and *Binnius*'s Collection of Councils, down to the ſecond Council of *Nice*.

At the ſame time, our Author contracted an Intimacy with another eminent Divine, Mr. *Charteris*, a Man of great Prudence, joined to an unaffected Simplicity of Behaviour: He was not only very knowing in his own Profeſſion, but was likewiſe a great Maſter of Hiſtory, both ancient and modern; of Geography and Books of Travels, and not a little skilled in Mathematical Learning. Theſe three Perſons, by their Converſation and Advice, contributed towards finiſhing an Education, which had been ſo happily begun. And indeed, what might not be expected from ſuch early Helps, where Nature had laid in Materials, ſo fit to be wrought upon? For there was a robuſt Conſtitution, capable of the hardeſt Labour and Study, an Apprehenſion that took things quickly, and a Memory that retained them long, an Imagination rather too lively, and a natural Fluency of Expreſſion.

His Journey to *England*.

In the year 1663, our Author took a ſhort Tour into *England*: He firſt viſited the two Univerſities; at *Cambridge*, he had an Opportunity to know and admire the extenſive Learning of Dr. *Cudworth*, the Judgment and Moderation of Dr. *Pearſon*, the fine luxuriant Imagination of Dr. *Burnet* (Author of the Theory) and the Free-Thinking of Dr. *Henry More*, one of whoſe Sayings, with relation to Rites and Ceremonies, then made great Impreſſion on him; *None of theſe*, ſaid he, *are bad enough to make Men bad, and I am ſure none of them are good enough to make Men good.* At *Oxford* our Author was much careſs'd, on account of his ready Knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr. *Fell*, and Dr. *Pocock*, that great Maſter of Oriental Learning; he was much improved there in his Mathematicks and Philoſophy by the Inſtructions of Dr. *Wallis*, who likewiſe gave him a Letter of Recommendation to the Learned and Pious Mr. *Boyle* at *London*. Upon his Arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, ſuch as *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *Lloyd*, *Whitchcot* and *Wilkins*, whoſe Characters are faithfully drawn by him in the Hiſtory. But no Converſation proved a greater Advantage to him, than that of Sir *Robert Murray*, not only as he brought him into the beſt Company, but as he alſo acted the part of a faithful Monitor, in reproving him for any Errors or Indiſcretions, his Youth might betray him into. After a Stay in *England* of about ſix Months, which, being ſpent in the manner I have mentioned, could not but be highly uſeful, he return'd to *Scotland*, where he was again preſs'd to enter into Orders, and accept of one of the beſt Benefices in the Weſt.

Delays accepting a good Benefice.

Sir *Robert Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, who, during his ſtay at *Paris*, had received many Obligations from his Father, hearing ſo great a Character of the Son, invited him down to his Seat, and had no ſooner heard him preach, than he offered him that

appear. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſired Dr. *Burnet*, then Biſhop of *Sarum*, to ſupply his Place, which he did; and, as the Archbiſhop declared, gave them the beſt Sermon he ever heard him preach. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving Sermon before the Queen at St. *Paul*'s; and as it was the only Diſcourſe he had ever wrote beforehand, ſo this was the only time that he was ever at a pauſe in Preaching, which on that occaſion laſted for above a Minute. Theſe two Incidents were ſo publickly known and ſpoke of, that I think it needleſs to alledge any particular Authority for them, unleſs they ſhould be queſtioned.

that Church, the Miniſter of it being nominated to one of the Vacant Biſhopricks. Our Author would have excuſed himſelf, as having determined for ſome Months to travel beyond Sea; and ſolicited the Living for his Friend Mr. *Nairn*: but Sir *Robert* would admit of no denial; and as the preſent Incumbent was not to be conſecrated immediately, reſolved to keep the Benefice vacant, till his return from his Travels.

His Travels into *Holland* and *France*.

It was in the Year 1664, that our Author went over to *Holland*; where, after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the ſeven Provinces, he fixed his Reſidence at *Amſterdam*. There, by the help of a learned *Rabbi*, he perfected himſelf in the *Hebrew* Language; he likewiſe became acquainted with the leading Men of the different Perſuaſions tolerated in that Country; as the *Arminians*, the *Lutherans*, the *Unitarians*, the *Brownifts*, the *Anabaptiſts*, and the *Papiſts*: Amongſt each of whom, he uſed frequently to declare he had met with Men of ſuch real Piety and Virtue, that there he became fix'd in that ſtrong Principle of univerſal Charity, and of thinking well of thoſe that differed from him, as likewiſe in an invincible Abhorrence of all Severities, on account of religious Diſſenſions, which hath often drawn upon him the bittereſt Cenſures from thoſe, who, perhaps by a narrower Education, were led into a narrower way of Thinking.

From *Holland* he paſt through the *Netherlands* into *France*; he remained for ſome time at *Paris*, and converſed often with the two famous Miniſters of *Charenton*, *Daillè* and *Morus*; the one renowned for his Learning and Judgment, the other for his bright Parts and Eloquence. He thought there entred too much of the Geſture of the Theatre into *Morus*'s delivery; his Sermons were full of Fire and of Turns, which being out of the common Road, at once ſurprized and pleaſed his Audience; but when theſe Flights, which paſt currently in a pathetick Diſcourſe, came to be coolly conſidered, they would hardly bear the Teſt: So that as our Author found in him much that deſerved Imitation, there was ſtill more that required Correction. His Stay in *France* was the longer, on account of the great Freedom and Kindneſs, with which he was treated by the Lord *Holles*, then Ambaſſador at the *French* Court. Towards the End of the Year he returned to *Scotland* through *London*, where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir *Robert Murray*, to be a Member of the Royal Society.

Is ſettled as Miniſter at *Saltoun*, and his Conduct there.

Soon after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, Sir *Robert Fletcher* came thither, and carried him down to *Saltoun*, giving him the Preſentation to that Church; but he declined taking it abſolutely at firſt, and reſolved to continue there four Months, performing all the Functions of a Miniſter, without engaging himſelf to the Pariſh, till he ſhould have the joint Requeſt of all the Pariſhioners; which he afterwards had, without one ſingle Exception: and thereupon he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1665. During the five Years he remained at *Saltoun*, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the Week Days; he catechiſed three times a Week, ſo as to examine every Pariſhioner, old or young, thrice over in the compaſs of a Year; he went round his Pariſh, from Houſe to Houſe, inſtructing, reproving or comforting them, as Occaſion required; thoſe that were ſick, he viſited twice a day; he adminiſtred the Sacrament four times a Year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch, as gave Notice they intended to receive it; all that remained above his own neceſſary Subſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in Charity. A particular Inſtance of his Generoſity that way, a Perſon * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his Service at *Salisbury*) uſed to recount: One of his Pariſhioners had been in Execution for Debt, and came to our Author for ſome ſmall Relief, who enquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his Trade; the Man named the Sum, and he as readily called to his Servant to pay it him, "Sir, "ſaid he, it is all we have in the Houſe." "Well, well, ſaid our Author, "pay it this poor Man; you do not know the Pleaſure there is in making "a Man glad." Thus as he knew the Concerns of his whole Pariſh, as he treated them with Tenderneſs and Care, and as he ſet them a fair Example of every Article of that Duty, which he taught them, he had ſoon gained the Affections

* This was a Story commonly well known at *Salisbury*, and which the Editor learnt from Mr. *Waſtefield*, a Gentleman now living there.

of them all, not excepting the Presbyterians; though he was then the only Man in *Scotland*, that made uſe of the Prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

As his Studies were chiefly bent upon the Paſtoral Care, in which he endeavoured to inſtruct himſelf from the beſt Writers, concerning the Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, during the three firſt Centuries, among whom St. *Cyprian* was the chief; he obſerved, that the Biſhops, who governed in *Scotland*, though they derived the ſtrongeſt Arguments for their Order, from theſe very Books, yet neglected all the Rules preſcribed in them. He therefore drew up a Memorial of their Abuſes, of which ſome Relation is given in the Hiſtory, as likewiſe of the harſh Treatment he met with, upon that Occaſion. However, as this Step had made ſome Noiſe, and might be imputed to Ambition, or a Deſire of becoming popular; he reſolved to live in a more retired manner, than he had done hitherto; and abſtracting himſelf from all mixt Company, confining himſelf wholly to Study and the Duties of his Function, he entred into ſuch an Aſcetick Courſe, as had well nigh put an end to his Life: for his bad Diet, joined to hard Study, had ſo corrupted the Maſs of his Blood, that in two ſucceſſive Fevers he was given over by the Phyſicians.

Much conſulted by the Miniſtry in *Scotland*.

In the Year 1668, as the Government of *Scotland*, both in Church and State, was put into the hands of moderate Men, among whom Sir *Robert Murray* was a principal Leader, our Author was frequently ſent for and conſulted by them; he was afterwards employed, as one of the chief Managers for the Church, in negotiating the Scheme of an Accommodation, between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian Parties; of which a full Account is given in the Hiſtory. He was, upon that Occaſion, introduced to the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*; who, though her Inclinations lay toward Presbytery, profeſſed her ſelf a Friend to moderate Counſels. By her he was invited, the Year following, to *Hamilton*, where he contracted an Acquaintance with the Regent of the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*; who conceived ſuch an Eſteem for him, that, their Chair of Divinity being vacant, he propoſed our Author, as the Perſon moſt proper to fill it; and he recommended this in ſo effectual a manner, that in a few Days after, he brought over to *Hamilton*, the Decree of the Univerſity, electing him their Profeſſor. As this Matter had been wholly tranſacted without his knowledge, ſo was he, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe what Reſolution to take; his Friends were all earneſt in perſuading him to accept of it, his Pariſhioners at *Saltoun*, for whom he had a moſt tender regard, were no leſs anxious to retain him: At length the Authority of the Archbiſhop *Leightoun* prevailed, and he removed to *Glaſgow* in the Year 1669, where he continued four years and a half, in no ſmall Exerciſe of his Patience. The Presbyterian Zealots hated him, as apprehending that his Schemes of Moderation would, in the end, prove the ſure Way of eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy amongſt them: The Epiſcopal Party, on the other hand, could not endure a Man, who was for exempting the Diſſenters from their Proſecutions.

Is made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Glaſgow*.

His Conduct in that Station.

As his principal Care, in this new Station, was to form juſt and true Notions in the Students of Divinity; he laid down a Plan for that purpoſe, to which no other Objection could be offered, but that it ſeemed to require the Labour of four or five, inſtead of one Man; yet he never failed executing every part of it, during his Reſidence at *Glaſgow*. On Mondays he made each of the Students, in his turn, explain a Head of Divinity in *Latin*, and propound ſuch *Theſes* from it, as he was to defend againſt the reſt of the Scholars; and this Exerciſe concluded with our Author's deciſion of the Point, in a *Latin* Oration. On Tueſdays he gave them a *Prelection* in the ſame Language, wherein he purpoſed, in the courſe of eight Years, to have gone through a compleat Syſtem of Divinity. On Wedneſdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical Commentary on St. *Mathew's* Goſpel, which he finiſhed before he quitted the Chair. On Thurſdays the Exerciſe was alternate; one Thurſday he expounded a *Hebrew* Pſalm, comparing it with the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar* and the *Engliſh* Verſion; and the next Thurſday, he explained ſome Portion of the Ritual and Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apoſtolical Canons his Text, and reducing every Article of Practice, under the Head of one or other of thoſe Canons. On Fridays he made each of his Scholars, in courſe, preach a ſhort Sermon,

mon, upon ſome Text he aſſigned; and when it was ended, he obſerved upon any thing, that was defective or amiſs, ſhewing how the Text ought to have been opened and applied. This was the Labour of the Mornings; in the Evenings, after Prayer, he every day read them ſome Parcel of Scripture, on which he made a ſhort Diſcourſe, and when that was over, he examined into the Progreſs of their ſeveral Studies, incouraging them to propoſe their difficulties to him, upon the Subjects they were then reading. This he performed, during the whole time the Schools were open; thereby anſwering the Duty of a Profeſſor, with the Aſſiduity of a School-Maſter: and in order to acquit himſelf with Credit, he was obliged to ſtudy hard from Four till Ten in the Morning; the reſt of the Day being of neceſſity allotted, either to the Uſe of his Pupils, or to hearing the Complaints of the Clergy; who, finding he had an Intereſt with the Men in Power, were not ſparing in their Applications to him.

He undertakes to write the *Memoirs of the Dukes of* Hamilton.

In times of Vacation, our Author made frequent Viſits to *Hamilton*; and was eaſily engaged by the Dutcheſs, to undertake the Task, of examining and putting in order all the Papers, that related to her Father's and her Uncle's Miniſtry; ſhe had kept theſe carefully together, but had not hitherto found a Perſon, whom ſhe thought ſafe to be entruſted with the Peruſal of them; yet now ſhe had ſo entire a Confidence in him, that ſhe put them all into his hands. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of *Lauderdale* no ſooner heard that he was compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, than he wrote to *Scotland*, earneſtly preſſing him to come up to Court, in order to receive ſuch Informations from himſelf, concerning the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, as he was able to furniſh. Our Author thereupon went to *London*, where he was received by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, with ſuch Marks of Confidence, as made it evident, that had he purſued the common Methods of cultivating an Intereſt, he might have raiſed himſelf to a great Fortune: But as he was a conſtant Enemy to all thoſe Artifices of a Court, whereby Men uſually riſe, ſo was he naturally of too frank a Spirit, to bear with the Earl's imperious Temper. All the uſe therefore he made, of his Freedom of Acceſs, was in negotiating and concluding a Reconciliation, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; who had Aſſignations given him, on the Revenues of the Crown, in ſatisfaction of thoſe Pretenſions, of which our Author had found authentick Vouchers, among the Papers entruſted to his Care; and the Duke, in return, promiſed to concur with the Meaſures of the Court, in the enſuing Parliament. Four Biſhopricks in *Scotland* becoming vacant at this time, our Author was offered his Choice of them; but he declined accepting a Station, for which he thought his Years were unfit, in which he foreſaw, he ſhould be much entangled, and in all probability would be capable of doing little Good.

He refuſes a Biſhoprick in *Scotland*.

Soon after his Return to *Glaſgow*, he married the Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſiles*, who lived in great Intimacy and Friendſhip with the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*: She was a Lady of diſtinguiſhed Piety and Knowledge; her own Sentiments inclined ſtrongly towards the Presbyterians, with whom ſhe was in high Credit and Eſteem; yet was ſhe far from entering into the rigid and narrow Zeal of ſome of their Leaders. As there was ſome Diſparity in their Ages, that it might remain without diſpute, that this Match was wholly owing to Inclination, not to Avarice or Ambition; the Day before their Marriage, our Author delivered the Lady a Deed, whereby he renounced all Pretenſion to her Fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no Intention to ſecure it.

His Marriage with the Lady *Margaret Kennedy*.

In the Year 1672, Duke *Lauderdale* was ſent down, as the King's Commiſſioner, to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and our Author was conſidered as the Perſon, who had the greateſt Influence over him; which was wholly employed in doing good Offices to needy Suitors, and in preventing a Breach, between him and Duke *Hamilton*; for which he was much exclaimed at, by the Party, then oppoſing the Court, who could have no hopes of prevailing, unleſs the latter would put himſelf at their head. About this time, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of* Scotland; wherein he ſtrongly maintained the Cauſe of Epiſcopacy, and the Illegality of Reſiſtance, merely on account of Religion. This was thought, in that juncture,

Again refuſes a Biſhoprick, with the Promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick. His Favour at Court.

ſuch a publick Service, that he was again courted to accept of a Biſhoprick, with the Promiſe of the next Archbiſhoprick, that ſhould be void; but he ſtill perſiſted in his Refuſal.

In 1673, he was obliged to take another Journey to *London*, in order to obtain a Licence, for publiſhing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of* Hamilton; he went likewiſe with a full deſign, to break off from farther meddling in Matters of State; he ſaw that Popery was at bottom the prevailing Intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of *York*, the Lord *Clifford* and other Papiſts in Employment had been excluded, was a meer Artifice of King *Charles*, to obtain Money for carrying on the War that Summer with *Holland*. He ſuſpected that the Deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate; he therefore uſed all the Freedom, he decently could, with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*; he pointed out to them the Errors of their Management in *Scotland*, and the ill Effects it would have, both upon themſelves, and upon the whole Nation; and when he ſaw no diſpoſition to rectify their Meaſures, he rejected all Offers of Preferment made to himſelf; though he could not decline being ſworn one of the King's Chaplains, which, as it was a Poſt of no Profit, ſo was it conferr'd upon him at his Majeſty's expreſs Nomination, upon having heard him preach. As Duke *Lauderdale*'s Enemies were ſoon informed of the Frankneſs, with which he had remonſtrated to his Grace, againſt the Methods of Adminiſtration, he was then purſuing; and as they knew his Friendſhip and Attachment to the *Hamilton* Family, they induſtriouſly magnified his Credit in *Scotland*, to ſuch a degree, that his Majeſty often ſent for him in private, and the Duke of *York* much oftener. He made no other uſe of the high Favour, ſhewn him by the latter, than firſt to introduce Dr. *Stillingfleet* to him; and afterwards to propoſe a Conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two and the chief of the *Romiſh* Prieſts: though there was little Reaſon at that time to hope, that any Arguments would be able to effect the Duke's Converſion, and the very Propoſal of ſuch a Diſpute, was in a great meaſure renouncing all Pretenſions to Preferment. He likewiſe ſought no other Advantage, from the great Freedom with which the King received him, than only to awaken in that Prince a Senſe of Religion, and to rouſe him from that Lethargy of Vice and Indolence, in which his natural great Talents ſeemed wholly buried. This is ſo much the reverſe of the Conduct of aſpiring Clergymen, it lies ſo directly out of the road to Power, Riches, or Dignity, that I hope it may acquit him from all Imputation of Ambition.

His Breach with Duke *Lauderdale*.

As ſoon as the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* were licenſed by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; which was the longer delayed, becauſe the King and many of the Miniſters were deſirous to read them in Manuſcript; our Author returned to *Scotland*: And on his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, finding the Animoſity, between the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Lauderdale*, riſen to a height not to be compoſed, he retired to his Station at *Glaſgow*, and refuſed to ſtir from thence all that Winter. This, joined to the Jealouſy, the Favour ſhewn him at *London* had raiſed, drew upon him a Storm, which purſued him for many Years after, with the utmoſt Violence. The Meaſures of the Court proving unſucceſsful in Parliament, Duke *Lauderdale* threw the Load of his own Miſcarriage upon our Author, whom he repreſented as the Cauſe and Inſtrument, under hand, of all the Oppoſition he had met with. This Accuſation made it incumbent on him, once more to return to Court in the Year 1674. The King received him coldly, and ordered his Name to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of Chaplains; yet, at the Duke of *York's* Intreaty, he admitted him to offer, what he thought proper in his own Juſtification: He thereupon gave his Majeſty ſo clear and ſatisfactory an Account of his Conduct, appealing for the Truth of all his Aſſertions to Duke *Hamilton*, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his Innocence, and ordered him home to *Glaſgow*. But the Duke of *York* diſſuaded him from returning thither, till his Peace ſhould be entirely made; for he aſſured him, that otherwiſe he would be clapp'd up in Priſon, and detained there perhaps as long as the ſame Intereſt prevailed at Court; his Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke *Lauderdale*; but that he found impracti-

practicable: the latter inſiſting, that our Author ſhould abandon his beſt Friends, and diſcover all the Secrets, he had hitherto been in; and the other, as firmly perſiſting in his Adherence to thoſe, who had ſhewn him Friendſhip, or repoſed a Confidence in him.

Is forced to quit his Profeſſorſhip at *Glaſgow*.

Thus it became neceſſary either, by going back to *Scotland*, to put himſelf in the power of Enemies, who were not likely to treat him with any regard to Juſtice or his own Innocence, or elſe to reſign his Profeſſor's Chair, and ſettle in *England*. He choſe the latter, if it may be called a Choice; and ſought an Eſtabliſhment in *London*: in which he met with all the oppoſition, the Miniſtry could give him; particularly in one Church (as he himſelf relates it in the Hiſtory) where the Electors were diſpoſed to have choſen him, had they not been deterred by a very ſevere Meſſage, in the King's Name. Though the being thus in a manner turn'd a-drift, could not at the time but ſeem a Misfortune, yet he ever ſpoke of it as the happieſt Event of his Life. He was but thirty Years old, and though the Charms of Ambition had not that Influence over him, which is uſual at thoſe Years; yet he thought it a ſignal Bleſſing, that any Accident had diſentangled him, from the Snares of ſo corrupt a Court, in whoſe Service he had been ſo far engaged, that he could not otherwiſe have been eaſily delivered from them.

Refuſes a good Benefice at *London*.

The Situation he was now in, might ſurely have excuſed his embracing the firſt Proviſion that offered; yet he could not be tempted by it, to overlook the niceſt Punctilio's of Juſtice or Honour; reſolved rather to ſuffer the utmoſt perſonal Difficulties, than purchaſe Preferment at the leaſt Expence of his Character. He therefore generouſly declined accepting the Living of St. *Giles's Cripplegate*, which about this time was vacant *; it was in the Gift of the Dean and Chapter of St *Paul's*, who had expreſſed ſome Inclination to beſtow it upon Dr. *Fowler* (afterwards Biſhop of *Glouceſter*) but being made acquainted with the Circumſtances of our Author, and the Hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an Offer of the Benefice: He thanked them for the Favour, but ſaid, that as he had been informed of their Intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it. After this, in the Year 1675, he was recommended by the Lord *Holles* to the Friendſhip of Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Maſter of the Rolls, by whom he was appointed Preacher to the Chappel there: and though the Court ſent firſt a Biſhop, and then Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, to perſuade Sir *Harbottle* to diſmiſs him, as one highly unacceptable to the King, yet he perſiſted in the Nomination he had made. By this means, our Author obtained a Settlement in *London*, in which he continued above nine Years; he was ſoon after choſen a Lecturer at St. *Clement's*, and grew to be one of the moſt followed Preachers in Town. His Sermons had not in them the ſtudied Phraſes or the rounded Periods, which were then too much in vogue; but there was a Force in his Reaſoning, a Warmth in his Expreſſion, and a Dignity in his Manner, joined to a Gracefulneſs in his Perſon, which commanded Attention; and as the Heart always ſpoke in him, ſo it ſeldom failed of ſpeaking to the Hearts of his Audience.

Is made Chaplain at the *Rolls*, and Lecturer at St. *Clement's*.

Writes the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

As the Apprehenſions of Popery grew daily ſtronger, the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of *England* ſignalized themſelves in the *Romiſh* Controverſy: Nothing of that kind was more taken notice of, than the *Account* our Author printed, in the Year 1676, *of a Conference*, which himſelf and Dr. *Stilling fleet* were engaged in with *Coleman* and the principal of the *Romiſh* Prieſts: This made him conſidered, as one who ſtood in the very Front of the Oppoſition to Popery. His Reputation, upon that account, was ſoon after raiſed to the higheſt pitch, by that great Performance, *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*; in which, as he took a Method wholly new, ſo was it univerſally applauded. The firſt Volume lay near a Year, after it was finiſhed, for the Peruſal and Correction of Friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed till the Year 1679, when the Affair of the *Popiſh*

* This Fact Mr. *Mackney*, a Gentleman now living at *Salisbury*, aſſured me he had from the Biſhop's own Mouth. And the ſame was confirmed to me by the Reverend Mr. *John Craig*, who lived with Dr. *Burnet* at the time when it happened.

Plot was in Agitation. This Book procured our Author an Honour, never before or ſince paid to any Writer; he had the Thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a Deſire that he would proſecute his Undertaking and compleat that valuable Work. Accordingly, in leſs than two Years after, he printed the ſecond Volume, which met with the ſame general Approbation, as the Firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the Hiſtorical Part, in the compaſs of Six Weeks, after all his Materials were laid in order.

His Converſion of *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*.

As our Author, though he had at this time no Parochial Cure, refuſed not his Attendance to any ſick Perſon, who deſired it; he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one, who had been engaged in a criminal Amour with *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*: The manner he treated her in, during her Illneſs, gave that Lord a great Curioſity of being acquainted with him: Whereupon, for a whole Winter, in a Converſation of at leaſt one Evening in a Week, he went over all thoſe Topicks with him, upon which *Scepticks* and Men of looſe Morals are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion. The Effect this had, firſt in convincing that Earl's Judgment, and afterwards in making him a ſincere Penitent, is ſo fully related in the Account of it publiſhed in 1681, that it will be needleſs to add any thing here upon that Subject.

Refuſes the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*.

During a great part of the Time, when the Enquiry into the *Popiſh Plot* was on foot, our Author was frequently ſent for by King *Charles*, and conſulted by him as to the State of the Nation: His Majeſty made him an Offer of the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter* then vacant, provided he would *entirely come into his Intereſts*. He anſwered "That he did not know what might be meant by that Expreſſion; "and he was unwilling to ſuffer any one, even to deceive themſelves by what he "ſhould ſay. He knew the Oaths, he was to take upon ſuch an occaſion, theſe "he would religiouſly obſerve; and deſired to be excuſed from any further En"gagements or general Promiſes, which were liable to different Conſtructions." But if his free Acceſs to the King did not procure him that Preferment, which very few with the ſame Opportunities would have miſs'd; it engaged him to write his Majeſty ſuch a Letter, as may perhaps offend the Delicacy of ſome, yet in Juſtice to his Memory ought not to be ſuppreſs'd.

May it pleaſe YOUR MAJESTY *, 29 *January* 167⅞.

His Letter to the King.

"I Have not preſumed to trouble Your Majeſty for ſome Months, not having "any thing worthy your Time to offer; and now I chooſe rather this way, "ſince the infinite Duty I owe you puts me under Reſtraints in Diſcourſe, which "I cannot ſo eaſily overcome. What I ſhall now ſuggeſt to your Majeſty, I do "it as in the preſence of Almighty God, to whom I know I muſt give an Ac"count of all my Actions: I therefore beg you will be graciouſly pleaſed to ac"cept this moſt faithful Zeal of your poor Subject, who has no other Deſign in it, "than your Good, and the Diſcharge of his own Conſcience.

"I muſt then firſt aſſure Your Majeſty, I never diſcovered any thing like a "Deſign of raiſing Rebellion, among all thoſe with whom I converſe; but I "ſhall add, on the other hand, that moſt People grow ſullen, and are highly diſ"ſatisfied with You, and diſtruſtful of You. Formerly Your Miniſters, or his "Royal Highneſs, bore the blame of things that were ungrateful; but now it "falls upon Your ſelf, and Time, which cures moſt other Diſtempers, encrea"ſes this. Your laſt Speech makes many think, it will be eaſy to fetch up Pe"titions from all Parts of *England*: This is now under Conſultation, and is not "yet determined; but I find ſo many inclined to promote them, that as far as I "can judge, it will go that way. If Your Majeſty calls a new Parliament, it is "believed, that thoſe who have promoted the Petitions will be generally elect"ed; for the inferior ſort of People are much ſet upon them, and make their "Judgment of Men, from their behaviour in that Matter. The ſoberer ſort of "thoſe, who are ill pleaſed at Your Conduct, reckon that either the State of "Your Affairs beyond Sea, or of Your Exchequer at home, will e'er long ne"ceſſitate Your meeting Your Parliament; and that then things muſt be rectified:

* The Original of this Letter is now in the Editor's hand, wrote by the Biſhop, with a Memorandum how it was delivered, and when: And how it was received.

" fied: and therefore they uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to keep all quiet. If " Your Majeſty has a Seſſion in *April*, for ſupporting Your Allies, I find it is re- " ſolved by many, That the Money neceſſary to maintain Your Alliances, ſhall " be put into the hands of Commiſſioners, to iſſue it as they ſhall anſwer to the " two Houſes: and theſe will be ſo choſen, that as it is likely, that the Perſons " will be very unacceptable to You, ſo they being truſted with the Money, " will be as a Council of State, to controul all your Councils. And as to Your " Exchequer, I do not find any Inclination to conſider Your Neceſſity, unleſs " many things be done to put them into another Diſpoſition, than I can obſerve " in them. The Things that will be demanded, will not be of ſo eaſy a Digeſ- " tion, as that I can imagine You will ever be brought to them, or indeed that " it will be reaſonable or honourable for You to grant them. So that, in this " Diſorder of Affairs, it is eaſy to propoſe Difficulties, but not ſo eaſy to find " out that, which may remove them.

" There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, in which all honeſt Men a- " gree, as that which can eaſily extricate You out of all Your Troubles; it is " not the Change of a Miniſter, or of a Council, a new Alliance, or a Seſſion of " Parliament, but it is (and ſuffer me, Sir, to ſpeak it with a more than ordi- " nary Earneſtneſs) a Change in Your own Heart, and in Your Courſe of Life. " And now, Sir, if You do not with Indignation throw this Paper from You, " permit me (with all the Humility of a Subject proſtrate at your Feet) to tell " you, That all the Diſtruſt Your People have of You, all the Neceſſities You " now are under, all the Indignation of Heaven, that is upon You, and appears " in the defeating all Your Councils, flow from this, that You have not feared " nor ſerved God, but have given yourſelf up to ſo many ſinful Pleaſures. Your " Majeſty may perhaps juſtly think, that many of thoſe that oppoſe You have " no regard for Religion, but the Body of Your People conſider it more than " you can imagine. I do not deſire Your Majeſty to put on a hypocritical Shew " of Religion, as *Henry* the Third of *France* did, hoping thereby to have wea- " thered the Storms of thoſe Times. No! that would be ſoon ſeen through, " and as it would provoke God more, ſo it would encreaſe Jealouſies. No! " Sir, it muſt be real, and the Evidences of it ſignal: All thoſe about You who " are the occaſions of Sin, chiefly the Women, muſt be removed, and Your " Court be reformed. Sir, if You will turn You to Religion ſincerely and ſe- " rioufly, You ſhall quickly find a ſerene Joy of another nature poſſeſs your " Mind, than what ariſes from groſs Pleaſures; God would be at Peace with " You, and direct and bleſs all Your Counſels; all good Men would preſently " turn to You, and ill Men would be aſhamed, and have a thin Party. For I " ſpeak it knowingly, there is nothing has ſo alienated the Body of Your People " from You, as what they have heard of Your Life, which diſpoſes them to give " an eaſy Belief to all other ſcandalous Reports.

" Sir, this Counſel is now almoſt as neceſſary for Your Affairs as it is for Your " Soul; and though You have highly offended that God, who has been infi- " nitely merciful to You, in preſerving You at *Worceſter* Fight, and during Your " long Exile, and who brought You back ſo miraculouſly, yet he is ſtill good " and gracious; and will, upon Your ſincere Repentance, and Change of Life, " pardon all Your Sins and receive You into his Favour: Oh, Sir, what if You " ſhould die in the midſt of all Your Sins? at the great Tribunal, where You " muſt appear, there will be no regard to the Crown You now wear; but it " will aggravate Your Puniſhment, that being in ſo eminent a Station, You have " ſo much diſhonoured God. Sir, I hope, You believe there is a God, and a " Life to come, and that Sin ſhall not paſs unpuniſhed. If Your Majeſty will " reflect upon Your having now been twenty Years upon the Trone, and in all " that time how little You have glorified God, how much You have provoked " him, and that Your ill Example has drawn ſo many after You to Sin, that " Men are not now aſhamed of their Vices, You cannot but think, that God is " offended with You: And if You conſider how ill Your Councils at home, and " Your Wars abroad have ſucceeded, and how much You have loſt the Hearts " of Your People, You may reaſonably conclude, this is of God, who will not " turn away his Anger from You, till You turn to him with Your whole Heart.

" I am no Enthuſiaſt, either in Opinion or Temper; yet I acknowledge, I " have been ſo preſs'd in my Mind to make this Addreſs to You, that I could " have no eaſe till I did it: And ſince you were pleaſed to direct me to ſend you, " through Mr. *Chiffinch*'s hands, ſuch Informations as I thought fit to convey to " You, I hope your Majeſty will not be offended, if I have made this uſe of " that Liberty. I am ſure I can have no other Deſign in it, but Your Good; " for I know very well, this is not the Method to ſerve any Ends of my own. " I therefore throw myſelf at Your Feet, and once more, in the Name of God, " whoſe Servant I am, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to conſider of " what I have written, and not to deſpiſe it for the Meanneſs of the Perſon, who " has ſent it; but to apply Yourſelf to Religion in earneſt: And I dare aſſure You " of many Bleſſings both Temporal and Spiritual in this Life, and of eternal Glo- " ry in the Life to come: But if you will go on in your Sins, the Judgments of " God will probably purſue You in this Life, ſo that You may be a Proverb to " After Ages; and after this Life, You will be for ever miſerable; and I, Your " poor Subject that now am, ſhall be a Witneſs againſt You in the great Day, " that I gave You this free and faithful Warning.

" Sir, no Perſon alive knows, that I have written to You to this purpoſe; and " I choſe this Evening, hoping that Your Exerciſe to-morrow may put you into " a Diſpoſition to weigh it more carefully. I hope Your Majeſty will not be of- " fended with this ſincere Expreſſion of my Duty to you; for I durſt not have " ventured on it, if I had not thought myſelf bound to it, both by the Duty I " owe to God, and that which will ever oblige me to be,

" *May it pleaſe* YOUR MAJESTY, *&c.*"

This is the Letter, of which ſome mention is made in Page 284, of the Firſt Volume of the Hiſtory, as likewiſe of the Effect it produced: It conveys to the Reader a much ſtronger Idea of the Author's Character, than any Deſcription can give; and I preſume, it will ſcarce be thought a Step, which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at Preferment than the ſtrict Diſcharge of his Duty.

The unprejudiced Part our Author acted, during the whole Time that the Nation was inflamed with the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*; his candid Endeavours to have ſaved the Lives of *Staley* and the Lord *Stafford*, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate Conduct in regard to the Excluſion of the Duke of *York*, and the Scheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that Excluſion; are all ſufficiently related in the Hiſtory: This only may be farther obſerved, that his Behaviour, in this critical Juncture, was ſo impartial, as to diſpleaſe both the Court and the Country Party; which, when Animoſities run high, will always be the Fate of thoſe few, who follow the Dictates of their own Judgment and Conſcience, without entring into the concerted Meaſures of any one Set of Men. A Character as valuable as it is rare.

His firm Adherence to his Friends

In 1682, when the Adminiſtration was wholly changed, in favour of the Duke of *York*, the Courtiers thought themſelves at liberty to rail at our Author; as if his Writings and Sermons againſt Popery had been only calculated, to facilitate the Project of the Excluſion. Yet ſo little did the Court regard the Reflections which were thrown upon him, that it being likely the Maſterſhip of the *Temple* would be ſoon vacant, the Earls of *Halifax* and *Clarendon* obtained the King's Promiſe of it for him: Upon which he was again ſent for by His Majeſty, and received with peculiar Marks of Favour and Kindneſs. But theſe were ſoon withdrawn, and he himſelf waved the Promiſe made him; when he found it was expected he ſhould break off Correſpondence with ſome of his beſt Friends. And as, during the Debates concerning the Excluſion, he had loſt all his Intereſt with Lord *Shaftesbury* and the Country Party, on account of his Intimacy with the Earl of *Halifax*, and his Endeavours to juſtify, or at leaſt excuſe the Earl's Conduct in that Affair: So now he choſe rather to ſacrifice all the Advantages, he might reap from that Lord's great Power at Court, than to abandon the Society of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel* and Sir *William Jones*. As he was, at this,

this time, much reſorted to by Perſons of all Ranks and Parties, in order to avoid the neceſſity of returning Viſits, he built a *Laboratory*, and for above a Year went through a courſe of Chymical Experiments; which, as it ſerved to enlarge his Philoſophical Notions, and was in itſelf an uſeful, as well as an innocent Amuſement, ſo it furniſhed him with a proper Excuſe for ſtaying much at home. The Earl (ſoon after created Marquiſs) of *Halifax* complains of this Retirement in a Letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

" *SIR*,* *October* 16, 1682.

" THough I was tender in adviſing you to wave any thing you might think " advantageous for you, yet ſince you have thought fit to do it, I am at li- " berty to approve it: And I only deſire you will not make too haſty Reſolu- " tions concerning yourſelf, and not be carried ſo far by the ſudden Motions of " a ſelf-denying Generoſity, as to ſhut the Door againſt thoſe Advantages, " which you may expect with Juſtice, and may receive without Indecency. On- " ly a little Patience is requiſite, and in the mean time no greater Reſtraint upon " your Behaviour and Converſation, than every prudent Man, under your Cha- " racter and Circumſtances would chuſe voluntarily to impoſe on himſelf. For " what concerns me, or any Part I might have, in endeavouring to ſerve you, I " had rather you ſhould hear it from any body, than from myſelf; and though " you ſhould never hear it from any body, I expect from your Juſtice you ſhould " ſuppoſe it. Your withdrawing yourſelf from your old Friends, on this cor- " rupted ſide of the Town, is that which I can neither approve for my own " ſake, nor for yours: For beſides many other Objections, ſuch a total Separa- " tion will make you by degrees think leſs equally, both of Men and Things, " than you have hitherto profeſſed to do, in what relates to the Publick. I " have no Jealouſies of this kind for my ſelf in particular, being reſolved, at what " diſtance ſoever, to deſerve your believing me unalterably

" *Your faithful humble Servant*,

HALIFAX.

Refuſes a Living on the Terms of not reſiding there.

Not long after this, a Living worth three hundred Pounds a-year, which was in the Gift of the Earl of *Eſſex*, becoming void, he offered the Preſentation to our Author, upon condition he would promiſe ſtill to reſide in *London*; adding, " That in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, His Friends could not permit him to be " abſent from the Town." He thereupon told the Earl, " That in caſe he was " preſented to a Cure of Souls, he muſt think himſelf under ſuch an Obligation to " Reſidence, as no other Conſiderations could diſpenſe with." And for this Reaſon the Benefice was given to another.

How he avoided being involved in any Plots.

In the Year 1683, when the *Rye Plot* broke out, and the Earl of *Eſſex* and Lord *Ruſſel* were taken into Cuſtody, all who knew his long and ſtrict Friendſhip with thoſe Great Men, concluded that he would have been involved in the ſame Accuſation. But as it had been his conſtant Principle, that Reſiſtance was not lawful, on account of ſingle Acts of Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, unleſs the very Baſis of the Conſtitution was ſtruck at; ſo in order to avoid being drawn into Secrets, he could not approve, he had declared to all thoſe he converſs'd with, that 'till he ſhould be convinced that Reſiſtance was warrantable, he ſhould think it his Duty to diſcloſe all Conſultations, which he was made privy to, tending to that End. By this Declaration, his moſt intimate Friends, when they entered into Cabals of this nature, were ſufficiently warned againſt communicating their Deſigns to him. And this now proved his Security.

His Behaviour at the Trial of the Lord *Ruſſel*; his Attendance on him in Priſon, and afterwards upon the Scaffold, at the time of his Execution; the Examination he underwent before the Council, in relation to that Lord's Dying

* The original Letter is in the Editor's Hands.

Speech, and the Boldneſs with which he there undertook to vindicate his Memory; as alſo the Indignation the Court expreſs'd againſt him, upon that occaſion; are all fully ſet forth in the Hiſtory. Thither I muſt likewiſe refer the Reader, for an Account of the ſhort Tour our Author took to *Paris*, and of the unuſual Civilities there ſhewn him, by the King of *France*'s expreſs Direction. His Friends at Court would indeed have perſuaded him to a longer ſtay there; they apprehended great Severities were preparing for him at home, which they repreſented in the ſtrongeſt Light: But neither their Intreaties, nor the Menaces of his Enemies could prevent his returning to *London*. He ſaid, "That "as he was conſcious of no Crime, which could be truly laid to his Charge, ſo "he would not alarm himſelf, with the continual Apprehenſion of what falſe "Witneſſes might invent againſt him: That how fatal ſoever his Return "might prove, he could not think himſelf at liberty to be abſent from the Du-"ties of his Function." This Objection was indeed ſoon after removed; for he was, that very Year, diſcharged from his Lecture at St. *Clement*'s, in purſuance of the King's Mandate to Dr. *Haſcard*, Rector of that Pariſh: And in *December* 1684, by an extraordinary Order from the Lord Keeper *North* to Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, he was forbid preaching any more in the Chapel at the *Rolls*.

Is diſmiſſed from his Lecture, and from the *Rolls*.

Thus at the Time of King *Charles*'s Death, he was happily diſengaged from all thoſe Ties, which might have rendered his Stay in *England* any part of his Duty. Upon King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown therefore, he deſired his leave to go out of the Kingdom; which the Marquiſs of *Haliſax* eaſily obtained, the Court regarding him as one, whom they had no proſpect of gaining, and whom it was their Intereſt therefore to keep out of the way. He firſt went to *Paris*, where he lived in great Retirement, in order to avoid being involved in any of the Conſpiracies, which the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends were then forming in his favour. When that Rebellion was at an end, having contracted an Acquaintance with Brigadier *Stouppe*, a Proteſtant Officer then in the *French* Service, he was prevailed upon to take a Journey with him into *Italy*; though many of his Friends thought it a bold Venture, conſidering how remarkably he had ſignalized himſelf, in the Controverſy with the *Romiſh* Church. But as he was not himſelf of a Conſtitution, very ſubject to Fear, ſo the Advice of the Lord *Mountague*, who was then at *Paris*, encouraged him to embrace this Opportunity of ſeeing *Rome*.

His Travels beyond Sea.

The Relation of theſe Travels is ſo amply given, in *The Letters* our Author publiſhed in the Year 1687, that there will be no occaſion to add any thing here concerning them; except as to one Particular, which may ſerve as a Proof, both of the great Regard paid him abroad, and of his own uniform Zeal for Toleration. He was much careſſed and eſteemed by the principal Men of *Geneva*; He ſaw they inſiſted ſtrongly upon their *Conſent of Doctrine* *, which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe, who were admitted into Orders. He therefore employed all the Eloquence he was Maſter of, and all the Credit he had acquired amongſt them, to obtain an Alteration in this Practice: He repreſented to them the Folly and ill Conſequence of ſuch Subſcriptions, whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt Men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their Native Country, and ſeeking a Subſiſtence elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs Virtue were induced to ſubmit, and comply againſt their Conſcience, and even begin their Miniſtry with mental Equivocations. The Warmth, with which he expreſſed himſelf on this Head, was ſuch, and ſuch was the weight of his Character, that the Clergy at *Geneva* were afterwards releaſed from theſe Subſcriptions, and only left ſubject to Puniſhment or Cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed Doctrine.

Is well received by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

After a Tour through the Southern Parts of *France*, then under Perſecution upon the Repeal of the Edict of *Nantes*, thro' *Italy*, *Switzerland*, and many Places of *Germany*, our Author came to *Utrecht* in the Year 1686, with an Intention to have ſettled in ſome quiet Retreat within the ſeven Provinces: But at his Arrival there he found Letters, from ſome of the principal Miniſters of State at the *Hague*, intreating him to fix upon no Settlement, 'till he ſhould have ſeen the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. When he was firſt admitted to an Audience of them,

* This is a Formulary commonly known by the Name of the *Conſenſus*.

them, he perceived that his Friends in *England*, eſpecially the Marquiſs of *Haliſax* and the Lady *Ruſſel*, had given him ſuch a Character, as not only enſured him a moſt gracious Reception, but ſoon after procured him an entire Confidence. When he was made acquainted with the Secret of their Councils, he adviſed the putting the Fleet of *Holland* immediately into ſuch Order, as might give Courage to their Friends in *Great Britain*, in caſe Matters there ſhould come to Extremities; he prevailed upon both their Highneſſes, to write a Letter to King *James*, in favour of the Biſhop of *London*, who was then under Suſpenſion; he ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs, the explaining herſelf, upon that nice but neceſſary Point, of the Share the Prince was to expect in the Government, in caſe the *Britiſh* Crown ſhould devolve on her; and when it was determined to ſend over Mr. *Dyckvelt*, as Ambaſſador to *England*, our Author was employed to draw his ſecret Inſtructions, of which the rough Draught is ſtill extant, in his own hand.

King *James* inſiſts on his being forbid that Court.

The high Favour now ſhewn him at the *Hague*, alarmed King *James*, who was much incenſed againſt him, for the Account he had printed of his Travels; in which he had ſo ſtrongly diſplayed the Miſeries, thoſe Nations groan under, where Popery and Arbitrary Power prevail, that it ſeemed to have a ſenſible Effect on the People of *England*. The King wrote two ſevere Letters againſt him to the Princeſs of *Orange*; and when the Marquiſs *d' Albeville* was ſent Envoy to *Holland*, he had Orders to enter upon no other Matter of Treaty, 'till our Author was firſt forbid the Court there; which, at his Importunity, was done: but he continued to be truſted and employed in the ſame manner as before; *Halewyn*, *Fagel*, and the reſt of the *Dutch* Miniſters conſulting him daily.

Is proſecuted in *Scotland* and in *England* for High-Treaſon.

The Report, that he was then upon the point of marrying a conſiderable Fortune at the *Hague*, having reached the *Engliſh* Court; in hopes to divert this, a Proſecution of High Treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him in *Scotland*. Before notice of this Proſecution came to the *States*, he had been naturalized in order to his Marriage: When therefore he undertook, in a Letter to the Earl of *Middletoun*, to anſwer all the Matters laid to his Charge, he added, *That being now naturalized in* Holland, *his Allegiance during his ſtay there, was transferred from his Majeſty to the* States. This Expreſſion was immediately laid hold of. So that dropping the former Proſecution, they now proceeded againſt him for *theſe Words*, as guilty of High-Treaſon; and a Sentence of Outlawry paſs'd upon him. *D'Albeville* thereupon, firſt demanded him to be deliver'd up; and when he ſaw this Demand was like to prove ineffectual, he inſiſted that he ſhould be baniſhed the ſeven Provinces, in purſuance of an Article in the laſt Treaty between the two Nations, which related to *Rebels* and *Fugitives*, tho' it could not be pretended that he came within either of theſe Deſcriptions. The *States*, in their Anſwer to the *Britiſh* Envoy's Memorial, ſaid, "That as Dr. *Burnet*, by Naturalization, was "become a Subject of their own, they could not baniſh him, unleſs ſome Crime "was legally proved upon him; if his *Britannick* Majeſty had any thing to lay "to his Charge, they would compel him to anſwer it; and if his Judges pro- "nounced him guilty, they would puniſh him according to their Laws; this "was all that in Reaſon or Juſtice could be demanded of them." As this An- "ſwer put an End to all farther Application to the *States*, ſo it gave Occaſion to ſome unwarrantable Deſigns of ſeizing his Perſon, and even deſtroying him, if he could not be taken. Of this our Author had Notice given him from ſeveral Hands, and one in particular, by the following Letter from Captain *Baxter*, a Gentleman of unqueſtioned Honour and Reputation, whoſe Father was at that time Steward to the Duke of *Ormond*'s Eſtate.

The *States* refuſe to deliver him up.

Deſigns to ſeize upon him.

"*Dear Sir*, * *Hague*, the 14th of *March*, 1688.

"THOUGH I have no Acquaintance with you, yet the Eſteem I have "for your Character, and the Benefit I have received by your Works, "obliges me to tell you the Proceedings againſt you in *England*. I happened "the other Day to go into the Secretary's Office, where I ſaw an Order for "Three Thouſand Pound, to be paid the Perſon, that ſhall deſtroy you. I "could hardly believe my Eyes, that I ſaw the Paper, it ſeemed ſo ſtrange to

* This Letter is in the Editor's hands, with the Biſhop's own *Memorandum* how he came to the Knowledge of the Perſon who wrote it, and of his Character.

" me: This I communicated in private to my Lord *Offory*, who told me, it was " true, for he had it from Prince *George*. My Lord desired me to be private in the " thing, till I came to *Holland*; and then, if I pleased, to tell you of it. Sir, I " am your Friend, and my Advice to you is, to take an especial Care of yourself, " for no doubt but that great Sum will meet with a mercenary Hand. Sir, you " shall never want a Friend, where I am.---"

His Marriage to Mrs. *Scott*.

Some Months before this, our Author had married Mrs. *Mary Scott*, a *Dutch* Lady of a large Fortune and noble Extraction. Her Ancestor, on the Father's side, was a younger Brother of the Family of *Buccleugh*, who, upon a Quarrel in *Scotland*, went over to *Holland*; his Son was a Brigadier-General at the Siege of *Middleburgh* in the Year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the Province of *Zealand* in the Assembly of the *States General*; his Grandson, *Apollonius Scott*, who was this Lady's Grandfather, was President of the high Court of Justice at the *Hague*, and by Marriage allied to the noblest Houses in *Zealand*: On the Mother's side, who was a *De Ruyter*, she was related to the principal Families in *Guelder*. With these Advantages of Birth, she had those of an extremely agreeable Person; she was well skilled in all sorts of Musick; drew and painted in great Perfection; she spoke *Dutch*, *English* and *French* equally well; she had a fine Understanding, and a Sweetness of Temper, that charmed all her Acquaintance; her Knowledge in Matters of Religion was such, as might rather be expected from a Student in Divinity, than from a Lady. In her, our Author, during the whole Course of her Life, found a religious, discreet and loving Friend, a dutiful Wife, a prudent Mistress of his Family, a careful Manager of his Affairs, and a tender Mother of his Children.

His Conduct at the Revolution.

The important share our Author had in the whole Conduct of the Revolution; his seasonable Counsels in every Step of that great Affair; the early Notice he gave of it to the Court of *Hanover*, intimating that the Success of this Enterprize must naturally end, in an Entail of the *British* Crown upon that Illustrious House; the unreserved Confidence reposed in him, both by the Prince of *Orange*, and by the Malecontents in *England*; the Assistance he gave in drawing that Prince's Declaration, and the other publick Papers, written to justify the Undertaking; his Courage in bearing a share in the Hazard of that Expedition, notwithstanding the peculiar Circumstances of Danger he was in; the Association proposed and drawn by him at *Exeter*; the good Offices he endeavoured to do King *James*, while detained at *Feversham* in the hands of a rude Multitude; the Care he took to protect the Papists and Jacobites, from the Insults of the Army and Populace, when the *Dutch* Troops arrived at *London*; his faithful Adherence to the Interests of the Princess of *Orange*, in the Affair of the Settlement of the Crown: These, as well as the other signal Services, our Author rendered his Country, when the Abdication of King *James* made it requisite to establish a new Government, are too fully related in the History, to need any farther mention here.

Declines the Offer of the Bishoprick of *Durham*.

Dr. *Crew*, then Bishop of *Durham*, had acted such a Part in the High Commission in King *James*'s Reign, that he thought it would be no ill Composition, if he could indemnify his Person at the Expence of his Spiritual Preferment; which he purposed to resign to our Author, trusting to his Generosity for an Allowance of a Thousand Pounds a-year out of the Episcopal Revenue, during his Life: He sent the Lord *Mountague* * with this Proposal to the Prince of *Orange*; but when the Message was carried to our Author, he absolutely refused to accept of the See upon those Terms, which he thought might justly be construed criminal. He was indeed so little anxious after his own Preferment, that when the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* became void, as it did soon after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were established on the Throne, he solicited for it, in favour of his old Friend Dr. *Lloyd* then Bishop of St. *Asaph*: The King answered him in a cold way, *That he had another Person in view*; and the next Day he himself was nominated to that See.

When

* This is taken from the Bishop's MS. Notes; and is confirmed by a Letter, from one who was Secretary of State, in King *William*'s Reign.

When the famous Bill, for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, was brought into the Houſe of Lords, as our Author had firſt intimated to the Houſe of *Hanover* the Probability of a Limitation in their Favour, King *William*, in preference to all his Miniſters, appointed him to be the Perſon, that ſhould propoſe the naming the Dutcheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of *Brunſwick*, next in Succeſſion after the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Iſſue. Though this Settlement did not then take effect otherwiſe than as it ſeemed imply'd in the Excluſion of all Papiſts; and was not explicitly eſtabliſhed till after the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death in 1701, (when our Author had the farther Merit of being Chairman of the Committee, to whom the Bill was referred) yet it made that illuſtrious *Houſe* from thenceforth conſider him, as one firmly attach'd to their Intereſts, and with whom they might therefore enter into the ſtricteſt Confidence. Accordingly, from that time her late Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Sophia* began a Correſpondence with him, which laſted to her Death, and of which above fifty Letters are extant, all written in her own hand. Two of theſe I ſhall here inſert, the one written in 1689, ſoon after the Propoſal of naming her in the Act of Succeſſion had been made; the other in 1701, when that Nomination took effect.

His Services to, and his Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Hanover*.

" *Monſieur*, *

" COmme j'ai toujours eu une Eſtime
" tres particuliere, pour le Me-
" rite de votre Reverence, & que j'ai
" cru la connoitre par ſes Ecrits, V. R.
" pourra aiſement juger par la, com-
" bien les Marques de votre Amitie
" m'ont é é agreables. Je vous aſſeure,
" que je les eſtime tres particulierement,
" & que je ſuis fort reconnoiſſante de la
" Ferveur, qu'il vous a plû temoigner
" pour mes Intereſts, ce qui eſt une auſ-
" ſi grande Satisfaction pour ma Per-
" ſonne, que ſi vos bonnes Intentions
" euſſent mieux reüſſi. Car je ne ſuis
" plus d'une Age à penſer à d'autre
" Royaume, que celui des Cieux; &
" pour mes Fils, ils doivent toujours
" eſtre dediez au Roy & au Royaume.
" Monſieur *Schutz* m'a mandé que V. R.
" etoit perſuadé, que ſa Majeſté auroit
" pour agreable, que j'en fis voir un en
" *Angleterre*; & comme mon ſecond Fils
" m'avoit deja mandé, qu'il ſeroit bien
" aiſe d'aller, apres la Campagne, pour
" feliciter le Roi, ſur ſon Avenement à
" la Couronne, & qu'il en demanderoit
" la Permiſſion à l'Empereur, dont il eſt
" Major-General; j'oſe prier V. R. de
" l'aſſiſter de vos Conſeils, pour bien
" faire ſa Cour, lors qu'il fera ce Voy-
" age. S'il eut voulu changer de Reli-
" gion, il auroit fort bien reüſſi dans ces
" Affaires aupres de l'Empereur, mais
" il a trop de ſon Oncle, le Prince *Ru-*
" *pert*, pour n'eſtre pas ferme dans ſa Re-
" ligion. Il eſt vray qu'elle porte le
" Nom de *Luthere*, mais nos Eccleſiaſ-
" tiques d'*Havovre* la diſent conforme à
" la

" *My Lord*,

" AS I ever had a moſt particular
" Eſteem for your Merit, and
" have fancied myſelf acquainted with
" you by your Writings, you may eaſi-
" ly judge by that, how agreeable the
" Marks you have given me of your
" Friendſhip muſt have been. I aſſure
" you I eſteem them in a very particular
" manner, and am very grateful for the
" Warmth, you have been pleaſed to
" teſtify for my Intereſts, which is as
" great a perſonal Satisfaction to me, as
" if your good Intentions had been more
" ſucceſsful. For I am no longer of an
" Age to think of any other Kingdom,
" than that of Heaven; and as for my
" Sons, they ought always to be devot-
" ed to the King and Kingdom. Mr.
" *Schutz* has informed me, that you were
" of opinion, that his Majeſty would be
" pleaſed, if I ſent one of them into
" *England*; and as my ſecond Son had
" already acquainted me, that he ſhould
" be glad to go, after the Campaign, to
" congratulate the King, upon his Ac-
" ceſſion to the Crown, and that he would
" ask the Emperor's Leave for it, being
" a Major General in his Service; I dare
" beg you to aſſiſt him with your Ad-
" vice, how to make his Court well,
" when he takes that Journey. If he
" would have changed his Religion, he
" might have ſucceeded well in his Af-
" fairs at the Imperial Court, but he
" has too much of his Uncle Prince *Ru-*
" *pert*, not to be firm in his Religion.
" It is true, it bears the Name of *Lu-*
" *ther*, but our Divines at *Hanover* ſay,
" 'tis

* The Original Letter is in the Editor's hands.

" la Religion *Anglicane*, & auroient vou-
" lu me donner le Saint Sacrement, dans
" la Crayance où je ſuis. Mais je n'ai
" pas voulu donner de Scandele à ceux
" de ma Religion, dont je crois que V.R.
" approuvera. Cependant je dois la feli-
" citer, qu'il a plu à Dieu de vous don-
" ner un Roi & une Reine d'un Merite
" infini : je le prie de vous les conſerver,
" & de donner à moi la Satisfaction, de
" temoigner à vous, & à tout ce qui vous
" eſt cher, par des Services agreables,
" combien je ſuis

" *Tres Affectionée à vous ſervir,*
SOPHIE PALATINE.

" 'tis conformable to that of the Church
" of *England*, and would have given me
" the Holy Sacrament in the Belief I am
" in. But I would not give any Scan-
" dal to thoſe of my Religion, which I
" believe you will approve. However,
" I ought to congratulate you, upon its
" having pleaſed God, to give you a
" King and a Queen of infinite Merit :
" I pray him to preſerve them to you,
" and to give me the Satisfaction of teſ-
" tifying to you, and every one that is
" dear to you, by agreeable Services,
" how much I am

" *Moſt Affectionate to ſerve you,*
SOPHIA PALATINE.

* *Herenhauſen*, 22 *Juin* 1701.

" VOUS avez bien de la bonté,
" Monſieur, de prendre part a
" tout ce qui regarde la Grandeur de la
" Maiſon, où je ſuis entrée : Et je dois
" vous remercier en particulier de l'Af-
" fection, que vous m'avez temoigné,
" dans l'Affaire de la Succeſſion, qui
" exclut en meme temps tous les Heri-
" tiers Catholiques, qui ont toujours
" causé tant de deſordres en *Angleterre*.
" Je ſuis par malheur trop vielle, pour
" pouvoir jamais etre utile à la Nation
" & à mes Amis, ce qui me feroit pour-
" tant beaucoup aimer la Vie. Cepen-
" dant je ſouhaiterois, que ceux qui vi-
" endront apres moi, ſe rendiſſent dig-
" nes de l'honneur, qu'ils auront : Et
" que je puiſſe au moins trouver lieu de
" vous temoigner, par des Services,
" l'Eſtime que j'ai de votre Merite.

SOPHIE ELECTRICE.

Herenhauſen, 22 *June* 1701.

" YOU are very obliging, my Lord,
" to take part in every thing, that
" regards the Grandeur of the Houſe, in-
" to which I am married ; and I ought
" to thank you in particular for the Af-
" fection, which you have teſtify'd to me,
" in the Affair of the Succeſſion, which
" excludes at the ſame time all Catho-
" lick Heirs, who have always cauſed ſo
" many Diſorders in *England*. I am un-
" fortunately too old, ever to be uſeful
" to the Nation, and to my Friends,
" which if I could be, it would make me
" much in love with Life. However, I
" ſhall wiſh, that thoſe who are to come
" after me, may render themſelves wor-
" thy of the Honour they will have :
" And that I may at leaſt find ſome oc-
" caſion of teſtifying, by my Services,
" the Eſteem I have for your Merit.

SOPHIA ELECTRESS.

Our Author maintained an unſhaken Credit with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, during their whole Reign ; indeed the King's Favour was ſometimes interrupted, with ſhort Diſguſts, at the uncourtly Liberty he took of ſpeaking his Mind, even upon ſome Subjects that he perceived were diſagreeable ; but the real Eſteem thoſe Princes had for him will appear beyond Conteſt, from ſeveral Facts in the Hiſtory, too numerous to be recapitulated here, and from ſome others, which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. The uſe he made of this Credit, is the principal Point, a Writer of his Life muſt be concerned for: It is that alone, muſt ſettle his real Character, which I am ſatisfy'd has been too commonly miſtaken; and never more egregiouſly, than by thoſe, who have repreſented him as an *Inveterate Party-Man*. That he was ſtedfaſt to his firſt Principles, that in all his Conduct relating to the Publick, he was rigidly ſtrict to theſe, is a Truth too much to his Honour, for me to diſpute: But it will be eaſy to demonſtrate, that his own particular way of thinking, as to Party-Matters, had no Influence over him, either in his Friendſhips, in his Charities, or in his Preferments, where the Publick was not immediately concerned. It might be tedious, I am ſure it would be voluminous, here to inſert all the Evidences in my hands, from whence it appears, how frequently his whole Intereſt

His Character as to Party-Matters.

was

* The Original is in the Editor's Hands.

was exerted in favour of Men, who neither from their publick nor their private Conduct, had any reaſon to expect ſuch Services from him. Some Inſtances of this nature, I ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to produce; but I ſhall content my ſelf here with one, which is very remarkable, and may alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his Reputation on this head. Some of the harſheſt Treatment, he had met with in the two former Reigns, had paſs'd through the hands of the Earl of *Rochester*; no two Men ever differed more widely in their Principles, both in Church and State: yet the firſt good Offices done that Earl, with the King and Queen (after all other Applications for Introduction had failed) their entire Reconciliation to him, and the firſt Advantages he reaped in conſequence of that Reconciliation, were owing to our Author. And when the Earl of *Clarendon* was afterwards unhappily engaged in the Conſpiracy, againſt the Government, in 1690; and ſome hotter Whigs were for the ſevereſt Methods, the Biſhop became a hearty and ſucceſsful Advocate in his favour. Theſe Matters are but curſorily mentioned in the Hiſtory, but will more fully appear from the four following original Letters; the firſt written by the Counteſs of *Ranelagh*, the other three by the Earl of *Rochester* himſelf.

" *My Lord*, *

" YOUR Lordſhip knows that, by my Lord *Rocheſter*'s deſiring me " to help him to thank you, for your forwardneſs to do him favours with " their Majeſties, (out of the Senſe he had, that he ought to be more grateful for " them, becauſe he had not at all deſerved them from your Lordſhip) he had in- " formed me, that you had done him ſuch Favours: And when, purſuant to " his Deſire, I began to give you humble Thanks for him (who is a Perſon in " whom I can be very ſenſibly obliged) I told your Lordſhip I was pleaſed in " paying this Duty, as much upon your account, as upon his Lordſhip's, as ha- " ving attempted to conquer him by Weapons, fit to be uſed by one of your " Profeſſion and Character; and I hoped he might be advantaged, as well by " being gained by you, as by reaping good Fruits of your Mediation, with their " Majeſties. And now I preſent your Lordſhip, in the Encloſed, with what " appears to me an Evidence, that my hopes of his making ingenuous Returns, " for your generous Advances towards a Friendſhip with him, were not ground- " leſs. Since he would ſure never have pitched upon you, to manage an Appli- " cation of his, about an Intereſt wherein the viſible Subſiſtence of his Family is " ſo deeply concerned, if he did not firmly believe the Reality of your Intentions " towards him; though he have no Merits of his towards you, or any thing " elſe, but your Chriſtian Beginnings towards him, to build that Faith upon. " Nor can he, in my poor Opinion, give you a clearer Proof of his being alrea- " dy overcome by you, than in chuſing you to be the Perſon, to whom he would " in ſuch an Intereſt be obliged: Since he thereby puts himſelf upon the Peril of " being faithfully Yours, or a very unthankful Man; which I do ſo much aſſure my " ſelf he will not be, that I humbly beg your Lordſhip to put this Obligation up- " on him, to perfect what you have already begun to do for him, of a like nature, " and to the ſame Royal Perſon: Who would not, I think, act unbecoming her " ſelf, nor the eminent Station, God has placed her in, in aſſiſting five innocent " Children, who have the honour to be related to her Royal Mother, who did " ſtill, with great Tenderneſs, conſider her own Family when ſhe was moſt " raiſed above it; eſpecially when, in aſſiſting them, her Majeſty will need on- " ly to concern her ſelf, to preſerve a Property, made theirs by the Law of *Eng- " land*, which as Queen of this Kingdom ſhe is obliged to maintain.

" I ſend your Lordſhip my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Letter to me, that you may ſee " he has Thoughts that juſtify what I have ſaid here for him, and has expreſs'd " them much better than I can do; ſo that as an Argument to gain your Par- " don, for this confuſed Scribble of mine, I preſent you with his good Writing. " I am,

Your Lordſhip's Humble and Affectionate Servant,

K. RANELAGH.

The 13th of *July*, 1689.

* The Original is in the Editor's Hands.

" *My Lord,* *

" THE good Offices, your Lordſhip has told me, you have endeavoured to
" do me with the Queen, of your own Accord and Generoſity, incline me to
" be deſirous to be obliged to your Lordſhip, for the Favour of preſenting the en-
" cloſed Petition to her Majeſty. Your Lordſhip will ſee, by the reading it, the
" Occaſion and the Subject of it; and I am ſure I need not ſuggeſt any thing to
" your own kind Thoughts, to add at the Delivery of it, ſave only this, which I
" thought not proper to touch in the Petition, that I have certainly as good a
" Title in Law to it, as any Man has to any thing he poſſeſſes; as likewiſe that
" the Penſion is appropriated, to be paid out of a part of the Revenue, which
" never was deſigned by any Act of Parliament, for any publick Uſe of the
" Government: which I think has ſomething of Weight and Reaſon, to diſtin-
" guiſh it from thoſe Penſions, that are placed on the more publick Branches of
" the Revenue.

" I know not, whether the Queen can do me any good in this Affair,
" but I will believe her Majeſty cannot but wiſh ſhe could; however, I
" think, I ſhould have been very wanting to my Children, if I had not laid
" this Caſe moſt humbly before her Majeſty: Leſt at one time or other, ſhe
" her ſelf might ſay, I had been too negligent in not making Applications
" to her; which having now done, I leave the reſt, with all poſſible Submiſſion,
" to her own Judgment, and to the Reflections, that ſome good-natured Mo-
" ments may incline her to make towards my Family. I ſhould ſay a great deal
" to your Lordſhip, for my own Confidence, in addreſſing all this to your
" Lordſhip, ſome Paſſages of my Life having been ſuch, as may very properly
" give it that Name: But, I think, whatever you would be content to hear on
" that Subject, will be better expreſſed by the Perſon, who does me the honour
" to deliver this to your Lordſhip, from

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient Servant,

July the 13th, 1689.

ROCHESTER.

" *My Lord,* †

" UPON what account ſoever it is, that your Lordſhip is pleaſed to let
" me hear from you, I take it to be ſomething of good fortune, whatſoever
" ill cauſe there may be in it too. Therefore I humbly thank your Lordſhip for
" the honour of yours of the 18th from *Salisbury*; which was ſent me to this
" pretty place, where I love to be, as much as you do at your Palace; and
" though I cannot do ſo much good to others, as your Lordſhip does there to
" all that are near you, yet I do more to myſelf, than I can do any where elſe.
" *Quid ſentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari? Sit mihi quod nunc eſt, etiam mi-*
" *nus, ut mihi vivam Quod ſupereſt ævi.* Forgive this tranſgreſſional Rapture,
" and receive my Thanks, which I pay your Lordſhip again, for your kind Let-
" ter: For indeed I do take it very kindly, that you were ſo much concerned,
" as to give me a kind hint of that unſeaſonable Diſcourſe, you came to be ac-
" quainted with, when you were laſt in *London:* I will make the beſt uſe of it, I
" can; to prevent the like for the future, if I have any Credit. And in
" the mean time, I muſt make uſe of this opportunity, to calm and ſoften
" your Reſentments, towards this Friend of mine, as you call him in the be-
" ginning of your Letter. I will allow you, as a Servant to the King and
" Queen, and a Subject to their Crown, to have as great a Deteſtation
" of

* The Original is in the Editor's Hands.

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" of the Contrivance, as you can wiſh; and upon my Word, I can accompany " you in it. But when I conſider you, as once you were, a concern'd Friend of " this Lord, to have a reſpect for his Family, and particularly for my Father, " who loſt not only all the Honours and Preferments of this World, but even " the Comforts of it too, for the Integrity and Uprightneſs of his Heart: You " muſt forgive me, if I conjure you, by all that's Sacred in this Generation in " which we live together, by the Character that you bear, and by the Religion " you profeſs, that you do not (as much as in you lies) ſuffer this next Heir of " my good Father's Name and Honour, to go down with Sorrow to the Grave. " I would not flatter myſelf, that your Lordſhip ſhould be moved with any " fondneſs of mine, to endeavour to bring to paſs, what is not fit for a wiſe and a " good Man to propoſe; that would be to make a very ill uſe of your Friendſhip " to me, and I would rather be corrected myſelf in my own Deſires, than ex- " poſe your Lordſhip on ſuch an account. But I hope that they, who are the " ſupreme Directors of this Matter under God, may in their great Wiſdom and " Goodneſs judge, that it may prove as much to their Honour and Safety too, to " paſs over this Particular, as if they ſhould purſue the ſtricteſt Meaſures of Juſtice " in it. Though I am a Brother, if I did not, upon the greateſt Reflection I " can make, think I ſhould be of the ſame opinion, if I were none, I would not " preſs this Matter upon you. For I cannot but think, that the Queen would " do, and would be glad to avow it too, a very great thing for the Memory of " that Gentleman, ſo long in his Grave. It is upon his account, I am begging " of your Lordſhip, to do all that's poſſible, to preſerve every Part and Branch " and Member of his Family, from the leaſt tranſient Stain of Infamy and Re- " proach. And if God was prevailed with by *Abraham*, to have ſaved a whole " City for the ſake of ten Righteous Men, I hope there may be as charitable an " Inclination, to ſpare the *Debris* of our broken Family, for the ſake of him, who " was the Raiſer of it.

" I ask your Lordſhip's Pardon, for being thus importunate; for I have great " need of your help, and I hope I ſhall have it from you. Loſſes of many and " good Friends I have born, and ſubmitted with Patience to the Pleaſure of Al- " mighty God: But a Calamity of this nature, that I now deprecate, has in it " ſomething ſo frightful, and on ſome accounts ſo unnatural; that I beg you for " God's ſake, from an angry Man yourſelf, grow an Advocate for me and for " the Family on this account. I am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful Humble Servant,

ROCHESTER.

New Park, *March* 22. 16$\frac{80}{97}$.

" *My Lord,* *

" I Was warm, I confeſs, in the laſt Letter I gave your Lordſhip the trouble " of, and I thank you for reproving the Vehemence of my Stile, in your laſt " of the 28th; I am grown cooler, and acknowledge my fault; neither did I " commit it, with an Apprehenſion that your Lordſhip was inexorable, or that " it would be ſo much as needful to deſire your Aſſiſtance in that Matter. But " you may remember, you had uſed a Word to me, when you were here, *An* " *Attainder*; that I acknowledge ſounded very harſh to me, and when I had re- " flected a little more upon it, as likewiſe that your Lordſhip did not uſe to " ſpeak by chance, and conſequently that you had good ground for what you " ſaid, I own it heated me all over; which made me expreſs my Thoughts to " you, with more Tranſport than was fit, and I will ſay no more of them, for " fear of running into new Exceſſes. What your Lordſhip propoſes for my " Lord *Clarendon* to deſire, is perfectly agreeable to my Mind; but I know not, " whether it be not a little too early, and that ſuch a Petition might be preſent- " ed with a better Grace, if he were once out of the *Tower* upon Bail, than it

* The Original Letter is in the Editor's Hands.

" would be while he is under this close Confinement. But as your Lordship
" says, the Affair of *Mons* must for the present put a stop to every Man's pri-
" vate Thoughts, for that is a Matter of such vast Importance to the Publick,
" that it is but very fit, that all particular Considerations should give way to it,
" and wait the Determination of that great Point; I cannot but believe the
" *French* are Masters of it before now, because all the Letters, that came by the
" last Post, that I could hear of, looked upon it, as a thing impracticable to relieve
" it, but we have had no Letters since *Saturday*. What the *French* will do next,
" whether send their Men into Quarters for two Months, or try to follow their
" Blow, is what Men are now most anxious about. One of my old Friends, with
" whom of late I have renewed my Acquaintance, says upon all these mighty oc-
" casions, *Prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit Deus, Ridetque si*
" *mortalis ultra Fas trepidat.* But I confess to you, I cannot be quite so over-
" come with Philosophy, as not to be concerned before-hand, at what this dark
" Night is to bring forth. One private Concern, in the midst of all these pub-
" lick ones, has given me a great deal of Uneasiness, and I doubt not will do so
" to your Lordship, when I tell you how very ill my Lady *Ranelagh* has been
" these two or three Days, with a Fever, which has almost quite destroyed her;
" I am afraid still for her: the last Night she had a little Rest; but she is so weak,
" and, you know, of late has been so very tender, that I am in great pain for her.
" I know your Lordship will be troubled to lose a very good Friend and
" humble Servant of your own, as well as a most wonderful good Person, to all
" that knew her. For my own part, I know no body alive, to whom I have so
" many Obligations, which I am sorry to see how little I can return, when there
" is most need of serving her. Amongst all her Favours, one that I shall never
" forget was, her Desire and Endeavours, not only to renew for me the Ac-
" quaintance, I formerly had with your Lordship, but to knit it closer into a
" Friendship; in which I am always to own your Lordship's ready Concur-
" rence; and, I hope, I shall not fail, as faithfully to perform all the part, that
" belongs to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

April the 2d, 1691. ROCHESTER.

Hitherto the Reader has view'd our Author, as a Divine, only in the private Character of a Minister in his Parish, a Professor in his Chair, or a Preacher in his Lecture; but we must now observe his Conduct in a higher Function. As soon as the Session of Parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his Diocese; where he formed such a Plan, for executing the Duties of his Episcopal Office, as he seldom afterwards had occasion to alter.

His Labours in his Diocese and Episcopal Function.

His primary Visitation could only be regulated, by the Practice of his Predecessors, who contented themselves with formal Triennial Visitations of their Diocese, in which they used always to confirm; but when he perceived the Hurry, the Disorder and Noise, that attended these publick Meetings, he thought them wholly unfit for solemn Acts of Devotion: They seemed much properer, for the Exercise of an *Ordinary*'s Jurisdiction according to Law, than for the Performance of the more Christian Functions of a Bishop: These were inconsistent with that Pomp and Shew, which perhaps the other required. He had always looked upon *Confirmation*, as the likeliest means of reviving a Spirit of Christianity; if Men could be brought to consider it, not as a meer Ceremony, but as an Act whereby a Man became a *Christian* from his own Choice; since upon attaining to the use of Reason, he thereby renewed for himself a Vow, which others had only made for him at Baptism. He wrote a short *Directory*, containing proper Rules how to prepare the Youth upon such occasions; this he printed, and sent Copies of it, some Months beforehand, to the Minister of every Parish, where he intended to confirm. He every Summer took a Tour, for six Weeks or two Months, through some District of his Bishoprick, daily preaching

ing and confirming from Church to Church, ſo as in the Compaſs of three Years (beſides his formal Triennial Viſitation) to go through all the principal Livings in his Dioceſe, the Clergy, near the Places he paſſed through, generally attended on him; therefore, to avoid being burthenſome in theſe Circuits, he entertained them all at his own Charge. He likewiſe, for many Years, entred into Conferences with them, upon the chief Heads of Divinity: One of which he uſually opened at their meeting, in a Diſcourſe that laſted near two Hours; and then incouraged thoſe preſent, to ſtart ſuch Queſtions or Difficulties upon it, as occurr'd to them. Four of theſe Diſcourſes againſt Infidelity, Socinianiſm, Popery and Schiſm, were printed in the Year 1694. When our Author had publiſhed *His Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Conferences of this Nature ſeemed in ſome meaſure needleſs: He therefore diſcontinued them, in order to apply himſelf wholly to the Work of *Confirmation*. To be more uſeful in it, he diſpoſed his annual Progreſs, during the laſt ten Years of his Life, in the following manner. He went through five or ſix of the conſiderable Market-Towns every Year: he fix'd himſelf for a whole Week in each of them; and though he went out every Morning, to preach and confirm in ſome Pariſh, within ſeven or eight Miles of the Place; yet at the Evening-Prayer, for ſix Days together, he catechiſed the Youth of the Town, in the principal Church there, expounding to them ſome Portion of the *Church-Catechiſm* every Day, till he had gone through the whole: And on *Sunday*, he confirmed thoſe, who had been thus examin'd and inſtructed, and then inviting them all to dine with him, he gave to each a uſeful Preſent of Books. As the Country flocked in, from all Parts, to hear him; he was in hopes this would encourage the Clergy to Catechiſe more, and would raiſe an Emulation in Chriſtian Knowledge, among the inferiour ſort of People, who were ignorant to a ſcandal.

In the Intervals of Parliament, when the Biſhop was not upon this Progreſs, his uſual Reſidence was at *Salisbury*; there he preached the *Thurſday*'s Lecture, founded at St. *Thomas*'s Church, during the whole time of his Stay; he likewiſe preached and confirmed every *Sunday* Morning *, in ſome Church of that City, or of the Neighbourhood round about it: And in the Evening he had a Lecture in his own Chappel, to which great Crouds reſorted, wherein he explained ſome Portion of Scripture, out of the Goſpels and Epiſtles in the Liturgy. He generally came down from *London*, ſome Days before *Lent*, on purpoſe to prepare the Youth of the two great Schools for Confirmation; by catechizing them every Week, during that Seaſon, in the *Cathedral* Church, and inſtructing them in the ſame manner, as he did thoſe in the other Towns of his Dioceſe. And to render this Task of Inſtruction more eaſy to the reſt of his Clergy, he at length publiſhed an *Explanation of the Church-Catechiſm* in the Year 1710.

The Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court, being much cry'd out againſt, as a Grievance both to the Clergy and Laity, he endeavoured to reform it, and for ſome Years went thither in Perſon; but tho' he might do ſome little Good by this Attendance, it was ſo little, that he at laſt gave it over; for the true Foundation of Complaints was, the dilatory Courſe of Proceedings, and the exorbitant Fees, which the Biſhop had no Authority to correct: Nay, he could not even diſcharge poor Suitors, who were oppreſs'd there with vexatious Proſecutions, any otherwiſe than by paying their Fees himſelf, as he frequently did.

No part of the Epiſcopal Office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the Examination of thoſe, who came for Orders: in this Matter the Law has left the Biſhop entirely at liberty, to admit or refuſe. He never turned them over to the Care of a Chaplain or Archdeacon, farther than to try their Skill in the learned Languages. He examined them himſelf as to the Proofs of the Chriſtian

* He was ſo punctual in this, that no Change of Weather could ever induce him, to diſappoint any Congregation where he was expected: And this Aſſiduity had well nigh coſt him his Life, in the Year 1698. For having appointed to preach and confirm, at the Pariſh Church of *Dinton*, within twelve Miles of *Salisbury*, on a prefixed *Sunday*; the Rains, that fell on that Day, and for ſome Days before, had ſo ſwelled a Brook, which he was to croſs, that his Coach was overturned in the Water, and his own Life hardly ſaved by a Miller, who jumped in and drew the Biſhop out of the Water: for which ſeaſonable Service, our Author paid him a yearly Gratuity all the reſt of his Life.

Religion, the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Nature of the Goſpel-Covenant. If they were deficient in thoſe, he diſmiſs'd them at once, with proper Directions how to be better prepared for a ſecond Trial: But if they were competently knowing in theſe eſſential Points, he went through the other Heads of Divinity with leſs ſtrictneſs. When he was once ſatisfied with their Capacity, he next directed his Diſcourſe to their Conſcience: He laid before them the Baſeneſs of taking up a Sacred Profeſſion, meerly for the Lucre or Subſiſtence it might afford; he gave them a diſtinct View of all the Branches of the *Paſtoral Care* (of which he publiſhed a Treatiſe, for the uſe of his Dioceſe, in 1692;) and endeavoured ſtrongly to diſſuade them from entring into Holy Orders, unleſs they were firmly reſolved to perform all the Duties of their Function; more particularly to lead ſuch Lives, as might not contradict the Doctrines, they were to teach. A Day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe whom he had accepted, to the Examination of the Dean and Prebendaries, that ſo he might have their Approbation.

In the Admiſſion of Preſentees, he could not be ſo ſtrict; the Law having in ſome meaſure taken the Judgment of their Qualifications out of the Ordinary; yet in this he went unuſual lengths, of which I ſhall mention one ſingluar inſtance*. In the latter part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Lord Chancellor preſented the younger Son of a noble Family in *Oxfordſhire* to a Parſonage within his Dioceſe, which was in the Gift of the Crown. Upon Trial, our Author found him ſo ignorant, that he refuſed to inſtitute him; the Miniſtry threaten'd him with a Law-Suit, but finding him reſolute, they at length acquieſced under the Refuſal. Thereupon the Biſhop ſent for the young Gentleman, and told him, "That as "his Patrons had given up the Conteſt, and he had no Deſign to do him any "perſonal Injury, if he could prevail on his Friends, to keep the Benefice va-"cant, he himſelf would undertake the Charge of qualifying him for it." Accordingly he took ſuch happy pains in his Inſtruction, that ſome Months after, the Preſentee paſs'd Examination with Applauſe, and had Inſtitution given him to the Living.

As the *Paſtoral Care*, and the admitting none to it, who were not duly qualified, was always uppermoſt in his Thoughts, he concluded that he could not render a more uſeful Service to Religion, to the Church, and more eſpecially to his own Dioceſe, than by forming under his Eye a number of Divines well inſtructed in all the Articles of their Duty. He reſolved therefore, at his own Charge, to maintain a ſmall Nurſery of Students in Divinity at *Salisbury*, who might follow their Studies, till he ſhould be able to provide for them. They were ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a Salary of thirty Pounds a-year: They were admitted to him once every day, to give an account of their Progreſs in Learning, to propoſe to him ſuch Difficulties as they met with, in the courſe of their Reading, and to hear a Lecture from him, upon ſome Speculative or Practical Point of Divinity, or on ſome part of the Paſtoral Function, which laſted above an Hour: During the Biſhop's abſence, the learned Dr. *Whitby* ſupplied his Place, in overlooking and directing their Studies. By this means, our Author educated ſeveral young Clergymen, who proved an honour to the Church; but as this came to be conſidered as a preſent Proviſion, with ſure Expectations of a future Settlement, he was continually importuned, and ſometimes impoſed upon, as to the Perſons recommended to be of this number: And the Foundation itſelf was ſo maliciouſly exclaimed at, as a deſign'd Affront upon the Method of Education at *Oxford*, that he was prevailed upon, after ſome Years, to lay it wholly aſide.

Our Author was a warm and conſtant Enemy to *Pluralities* of Livings, not indeed where the two Churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed, for in that caſe he rather encouraged them; as knowing the *Labourer was worthy of his Hire*. But whenſoever *Non-Reſidence* was the Conſequence of a Plurality, he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent it, and in ſome Caſes even hazarded a Suſpenſion, rather than give Inſtitution. In his Charges to the Cler-

gy,

* This I had from Mr. *Mackney*, as a Fact well known to himſelf, and to ſome others now alive.

gy, he exclaimed againſt Pluralities, as a ſacrilegious Robbery of the Revenues of the Church; a remarkable Effect of his Zeal upon this Subject may not be improper to be here related *. In his firſt Viſitation at *Salisbury*, he urged the Authority of St. *Bernard*, who being conſulted by one of his Followers, whether he might not accept of two Benefices, reply'd, "And how will you be "able to ſerve them both?" "I intend (anſwered the Prieſt) to officiate in "one of them by a Deputy." "Will your Deputy be damn'd for you too? "(cry'd the Saint.) Believe me, you may ſerve your Cure by Proxy, but you "muſt be damn'd in Perſon." This Expreſſion ſo affected Mr. *Kelſey*, a pious and worthy Clergyman there preſent, that he immediately reſigned the Rectory of *Bemerton*, worth Two Hundred Pounds a-year, which he then held with one of greater Value. Nor was this Chriſtian Act of Self-denial without its Reward; for though their Principles in Church Matters were very oppoſite, the Biſhop conceived ſuch an Eſteem for him, from this Action, that he not only prevailed with the Chapter to elect him a Canon, but likewiſe made him Archdeacon of *Sarum*, and gave him one of the beſt Prebends in the Church.

In the Point of *Reſidence*, our Author was ſo ſtrict, that he never would permit his own Chaplains to attend upon him, after they were once preferred to a Cure of Souls, but obliged them to be conſtantly reſident at their Livings. Indeed he conſidered himſelf, as under the ſame Obligation, as Paſtor of the whole Dioceſe, and never would be abſent from it, but during his neceſſary Attendance on Parliament; from which, as ſoon as the principal Buſineſs of the Nation was diſpatch'd, he always obtained leave to depart, in order to return to his Function. And though King *William*, upon his going over to *Ireland* or *Flanders*, always enjoin'd him to attend upon Queen *Mary*, and aſſiſt her with his faithful Counſel on all Emergencies; yet he would not, upon ſuch occaſions, accept of Lodgings at *Whitehall*, but hired a Houſe at *Windſor*, in order to be within his own Biſhoprick, and yet near enough to the Court, to pay his Duty twice a-week or oftener, if Buſineſs required it.

His univerſal Principle of Toleration extends to Nonjurors.

No Principle was more deeply rooted in him, than that of *Toleration*; it was not confined to any Sect or Nation, it was as univerſal as Chriſtianity it ſelf: He exerted it in favour of a Non-juring Meeting-Houſe at *Salisbury*, which he obtained the Royal Permiſſion to connive at; and when the Preacher there, Dr. *Beach*, by a ſeditious and treaſonable Sermon, had incurred the Sentence of the Law, our Author not only ſaved him from Puniſhment, but even procured his Pardon, without the Terms of a publick Recantation, upon which it was firſt granted; as may be collected from the following Letters, the one from the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State, the other from Dr. *Beach* himſelf.

Whitehall, 29 *March* 1692.

"*My Lord*, †

"I Have acquainted the Queen, at the Cabinet Council, with what your Lord-
"ſhip writes in behalf of Dr. *Beach*; and though her Majeſty is always in-
"clined to ſhew Mercy, and eſpecially to ſuch as your Lordſhip recommends
"to her Favour; yet ſince the Crime, and the Scandal of it, has been very
"publick, her Majeſty thinks the Acknowledgment of it ſhould be ſo too: And
"therefore would have him make it in the Church. When this is done, your
"Lordſhip's Interceſſion will eaſily prevail. I am, with great Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and faithful Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

* This Fact was told me by Mr. *Waſtefield*, and is well known at *Salisbury*.
† The Original is in the Editor's Hands.

"*My Lord,**

"WITH all due Deference of Honour, and with all the reſpectful Re-
"gard, that can be correſpondent to the no leſs generous, than ac-
"ceptable Meſſage, which I received from your Lordſhip by Dr. *Geddes*, I
"humbly tender this to your Lordſhip, hoping it may be favourably received,
"in lieu of my perſonal Attendance, which ſhall be readily paid (as it is due)
"at any time. Dr. *Geddes* has delivered me the deſirable Tidings of your Lord-
"ſhip's free Reſolution, to reſcue me, from the farther Proſecution of that un-
"happy Verdict, I labour under. It is my Deſire, being freed from this trouble-
"ſome Storm, to live in Peace and Quiet, without Diſturbance of the Govern-
"ment in general, and of any Perſon in particular. And I cannot but deeply
"reſent your obliging Readineſs to relieve me, becauſe it is not clogged with
"any bitter Conditions or Reſerves, that would leſſen the Favour. What your
"Lordſhip has reſolved, is what I humbly deſire, and do not doubt but your
"Lordſhip will purſue. The ſooner the Favour can be accompliſhed, and with
"the leſs Noiſe before Term, the more it will be endeared to, and challenge
"all Gratitude from,

My Lord,

Your much obliged and obedient Servant,

WM. BEACH.

Yet when this Spirit of *Moderation*, of which the Nonjurors felt the good Effects, was extended to the Diſſenters, our Author's Enemies repreſented him, as betraying the Church into their hands; tho' he was really taking the moſt effectual Means to bring them over, not indeed by Compulſion, but by the more Chriſtian Methods of Charity and Perſuaſion: In which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that many Diſſenting Families, in his Dioceſe, were by him brought over to the Communion of our Church, in which they ſtill continue; and of two Presbyterian Preachers, who were well ſupported when he firſt came to *Salisbury*, one was ſoon after obliged to quit the Place, and the other but poorly ſubſiſted in it.

His Scheme for augmenting poor Livings in his own Dioceſe.

He perceived that the chief Strength of the Sectaries lay in the Market-Towns; the Livings there were moſt commonly in the Gift of the Lord Chancellor; and as the Lord *Sommers*, during his Enjoyment of the Seals, left the Nomination to thoſe in the Dioceſe of *Sarum*, to the Biſhop; he endeavoured to place in them none but learned, pious and moderate Divines, as being the beſt qualified to prevent the Growth of Schiſm. But as theſe Benefices were generally ſmall, and a poor Church will be too often ſerved by as poor a Clerk; our Author determin'd to obviate this Difficulty, by beſtowing upon theſe Cures the Prebends in his Gift, as they became vacant; and till ſuch a Vacancy happen'd, out of his own Income he allowed the Miniſter of every ſuch Church a Penſion of Twenty Pounds a-year †: When the Prebend itſelf was conferred upon him, the Biſhop inſiſted on his giving a Bond to reſign it, if ever he quitted the Living. Though this Matter had been laid before the moſt eminent Prelates and Divines of our Church, as well as the moſt learned among the Canoniſts, who highly approved the Deſign; yet it was ſo warmly oppoſed by ſome of the Clergy, that in order to raiſe no farther Striſe in the Church, our Author was prevailed on to relinquiſh this Project, and give up all the Bonds he had taken. But as he could not, without the tendereſt Concern, behold the deſtitute Condition of theſe poor Benefices, moſt of which were attended with the largeſt Cure of Souls; ſo his Diſappointment in this Scheme, he had formed for his own Biſhoprick, only gave occaſion to a more univerſal Plan, which he projected for the Improvement of all the ſmall Livings in *England*, and which was liable to no Exception. This he preſs'd forward with ſo much Succeſs, that it terminated at length in an Act of Parliament, paſs'd in the ſecond Year of Queen *Anne*, *for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy*.

He

* The Original is in the Editor's Hands.

† This appears from his Steward's Accounts, and was confirmed to me by Mr. *Waſtefield*.

He had firſt laid this Propoſal before Queen *Mary*, who had undertaken to obtain the King's Approbation and Conſent; after her Death, the Proſpect of Peace in 1696, and the actual Concluſion of it in 1697, ſeemed to furniſh a proper Opportunity, for offering the ſame Scheme to King *William*, which he did by the two following Memorials.

His Scheme for augmenting all the poor Livings in *England*.

MEMORIAL *concerning the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths.*

Given in to the King in January 1696 *.

" THE Tenths and Firſt-Fruits were firſt laid on by Popes, on pretence " of ſupporting the Holy War; in the Twenty-ſixth Year of the Reign " of King *Henry* the Eighth, theſe were given to the Crown; and ſince that " time have been granted away in Penſions, by dormant Warrants. They are " now in the Hands of the Duke of St. *Albans*, Counteſs of *Plimouth*, Counteſs of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Oxford* and a few others. This Revenue " may juſtly be called in queſtion, as unlawful and ſacrilegious in its Nature; " the applying it to a good uſe is the beſt way to juſtify it.

" The condition of many Livings in this Kingdom is moſt miſerable; many " have not Twenty Pounds, and in ſome places, three of them put together " do not amount to Forty Pounds a-year. A poor Clergyman may be ſcandalous, but he muſt be contemptible and ignorant. To this, in a great meaſure, " we owe the Atheiſm and Impiety, the Sects and Diviſions, that are ſpread over " the Nation.

" It would be a noble Demonſtration, both of Zeal for the Honour of God " and Religion, and Affection for the Church of *England*, if the King would " appropriate this Revenue, to the raiſing of the Livings in this Nation to ſome " juſt Proportion, beginning at thoſe in Corporations, and thoſe within the King's " Gift, but not excluding others, upon condition that the King ſhall have his " Turn in preſenting, in proportion to the Augmentation that ſhall be made by " this Proviſion.

" A Corporation might be ſettled, as was from the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* " down to that of *Charles* the Firſt, with Power to receive the Gifts of Charitable Perſons, to the ſame pious End: And all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters " might be obliged to pay towards it a Fourth or Fifth of every Fine that they " received.

" This, by the Bleſſing of God, would make the Concerns of Religion and " of the Church put on another Face, it would much raiſe his Majeſty's Name " and Character in the preſent, and in all ſucceeding Ages; by this the King " gives away nothing, that is in his own Poſſeſſion; he only gives away the " Power of granting ſuch new Penſions, as may be vacant in his Time. And " there is little doubt to be made, (beſides a Bleſſing from God, which may be " expected upon ſo noble a Deſign) that this would be made up to the Crown " by Parliament: And would alſo give ſuch an Impreſſion of the King, as would " have good Effect on all his Affairs.

A Second MEMORIAL *concerning the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits.*

Given in to the King in December, 1697 †.

" IT is humbly propoſed, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſider, how " proper it will be at this Time, to declare his Reſolution of applying the " Firſt-Fruits and Tenths to mending the State of the poor Livings in *England*.

" The Peace being now concluded, this will be a noble Beginning of his Majeſty's Reign in Peace, and a ſuitable Return to God, for his great Bleſſings

* The Memorial in the Biſhop's own Hand, with a Memorandum when it was delivered, is in the Editor's Hands.

† The Memorial in the Biſhop's own Hand, with a Memorandum when he delivered it, is in the Editor's Hands.

" on his Royal Perſon and Affairs; it will gain him the Hearts of all true " Friends of the Church of *England*; and ſince the Burroughs are generally the " worſt ſerved, their Livings being univerſally very ſmall, this may probably have " a great Effect on all the King's Affairs, perhaps on the ſucceeding Elections " of Parliament.

" If his Majeſty be reſolved to do it, it is humbly ſuggeſted, that he would " declare his Reſolution in the Treaſury, and appoint the Commiſſioners to ac- " quaint the Houſe of Commons with it, who will no doubt very quickly make " it up to the Crown. Upon this, it is propoſed, that the King will order a " Commiſſion for managing this Fund, and making it moſt effectual to the End " intended by it.

" The Perſons proper for ſuch a Commiſſion, would be the two Archbiſhops, " with two other Biſhops, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, the " two Secretaries of State, the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Chancel- " lor of the Exchequer, the two Chief Juſtices, the Chief Baron, and the King's " Attorney-General."

Though this Propoſal was highly acceptable to the King; though it was ſtrongly ſeconded by the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who deſired Copies to be given her of the two foregoing Memorials; yet underhand it met with ſuch Oppoſition among the Miniſtry, as for a time obſtructed the Execution of it. The Biſhop would not however be diſcouraged in it; but renewed his Sollicitations upon this Head, ſo powerfully, in the Year 1701, that nothing but the Death of King *William* could have prevented its then taking effect. He had concerted his Meaſures upon this occaſion, with the Earl of *Godolphin* (who afterwards carried this Deſign into Execution) and with the Lord *Sommers*, whoſe Letter upon that Subject I ſhall here inſert.

" *My Lord*, * 22 *Novemb.* 1701.

" I Acknowledge the Honour of your Lordſhip's Letter of the 17th, with great " Thankfulneſs; I wiſh it may lie in my power to contribute to the excellent " Deſign, you propoſe; no Man will enter into it more willingly, nor ſhall la- " bour in it more heartily. The Point of the Firſt Fruits and Tenths is what " I have propoſed ſeveral times, with much Earneſtneſs, but without Succeſs. " When I have the Happineſs of ſeeing your Lordſhip, we ſhall, I hope, diſ- " courſe at large upon the whole Subject. In the mean time allow me to aſſure " you, that I am with great and ſincere Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant,

SOMMERS.

Having thus given a ſhort Account of every principal Part of our Author's Conduct, that properly relates to his Epiſcopal Character, of which I thought the Reader would be beſt able to judge, if it were laid before him in one general View, without any ſtrict regard to the Series of Time; I ſhall now return to the Thread of my Narration, by relating the other remarkable Incidents of his Life, in the Order, in which they happened.

The Death of Queen *Mary* and of Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon*.

The Year 1694 proved greatly unfortunate to him, I might have ſaid to the whole Nation, by the Death of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; a Name too well known to need an Encomium; whoſe Funeral Sermon our Author preach'd, and whoſe Vindication he undertook, againſt a Writer, who had virulently attack'd his Memory. This great Loſs to the Church was ſoon after followed by a greatter, that of the excellent Queen MARY, who had always honoured our Author with

* The original is in the Editor's Hands.

with a high degree of Favour and Confidence. The ſtrong Impreſſion her uncommon Talents and ſhining Qualities had made upon him, occaſioned that *Eſſay on her Character*, which he publiſhed in the Year 1695.

During her Life, the Affairs and Promotions in the Church had wholly paſs'd through her hands; it was an Article of Government, for which the King thought himſelf unqualified, yet was unwilling to commit to the Care of his Miniſters: Upon her Death therefore, a Commiſſion was granted to the two Archbiſhops, to our Author, and to three other Prelates; whereby they, or any three of them, were appointed to recommend to all Biſhopricks, Deaneries, or other vacant Preferments in the Church, ſignifying the ſame to his Majeſty, by writing under their hands: And during the King's Abſence beyond Sea, they were empowered, of their own Authority, to preſent to all Benefices in the gift of the Crown, that were under the Value of an Hundred and Forty Pounds a-year. A like Commiſſion was granted in the Year 1700, and the Biſhop of *Salisbury* continued ſtill to be of the Number. It would be tedious here to enumerate the ſeveral Marks King *William* gave him, of his Friendſhip, during the whole Courſe of his Reign; but though he obtained of his Majeſty Employments, Penſions and Gratuities for others, even to the Value of Ten Thouſand Pounds to *One Perſon* now living; yet there was not one ſingle Inſtance, wherein he ſollicited a Favour for himſelf or his Family: On the contrary, he declined Preferment when it was offered to him.

He is one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to recommend to Preferments.

In the Year 1698, when it became neceſſary to ſettle the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Family, the King ſent the Earl of *Sunderland*, with a Meſſage to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, acquainting her, "That he put the whole Management of her Son's "Houſhold into her hands, but that he owed the Care of his Education to him-"ſelf and his People, and therefore would name the Perſons for that purpoſe." Accordingly the Earl of *Marlborough* being nominated his Governour, the Biſhop of *Salisbury* was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Dioceſe, having lately loſt his Wife by the Small Pox. He took that occaſion therefore to wave the Offer of this important Charge; though he was aſſured, the Princeſs had teſtify'd her Approbation of the King's Choice. He wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to uſe his Intereſt, that he might be excuſed, and in return received from him the following Letter.

Is made Preceptor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Which he endeavours to decline.

"*My Lord*, * *June* 29.

"I Am extremely troubled for your Loſs, it being, by all that I have heard, "a very great one: But you muſt not leave ſerving the Publick, upon any "private Conſideration. I intend to be in Town next Week, and if I have "any Credit at all, you may be aſſured that you ſhall be ſent for, and ſhall come "thither, unleſs you will fall out with all your Friends, and with the King in "the firſt place. I am, with great Truth,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

Our Author wrote likewiſe to his Friend Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, deſiring him to wait on the King in his Name, and intreat his Majeſty, to allow him to decline this Employment: The Archbiſhop replied, and offered many Arguments to perſuade him to accept of it; which only produced a ſecond Letter, ſtronger than the former, and to the ſame purpoſe: To which his Grace, by King *William*'s Direction, returned the following Anſwer.

* The original Letter is in the Editor's Hands.

" *My Lord*, *. *Lambeth, June* 28, 1698.

" I Received your Second, in which you ſeem to inſiſt on the Contents of the " Firſt; upon that account, I waited on the King, not being willing to de- " cline doing, what you ſo earneſtly preſs'd. The King expreſs'd himſelf with " great Tenderneſs upon this Subject; he commanded me to let you underſtand, " that he had ſent for you, before this time, if this Misfortune had not hap- " pen'd; and that he ſtill deſires you to come, as ſoon as with Decency you can. " He looks upon you, as a Divine, who in ſuch Caſes had comforted many, and " thinks it will look beſt, not to ſuffer ſuch a Croſs, to get ſuch Power over you, " as to make you decline ſo publick a Service. He ſpoke to this effect, without " my urging my private Opinion, which is, what it was in my firſt. I heartily " pray for you, I pity you as my own Brother, but I cannot bring myſelf in " this, to be of your Lordſhip's Opinion. It is true, if no Steps had been made " in this Affair, your Excuſe would the eaſier have made its way; but ſeeing " things are ſo far advanced, it ſeems not proper to go back. If upon this, that " hopeful Prince ſhall fall into ſuch Hands, as are unfit, your Lordſhip would " then reflect, upon your having declined the Service, with Pain and Grief. Pray " next Poſt, let me have ſome Anſwer, our good Maſter the King may be pleaſed " with. I am,

My Lord,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR'.

As the reſt of the Biſhop's Friends concurred in the ſame ſtrain, earneſtly preſſing him not to refuſe a Station, wherein he might do his Country ſuch ſignal Service, as in the right Education of the Duke of *Glouceſter*; he thought it might be conſtrued Obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his Compliance, in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

" *My Lord*, † *Kenſington, July* 4. 1698.

" LATE laſt Night the King ſpoke again about your coming up; the " Time you mention (*Friday* Fortnight) he thinks much too long; he there- " fore commanded me to ſend an Expreſs to you, in order to your coming up " as ſoon as poſſible you can: He having time, little enough to ſettle that Matter, " before his going beyond Sea; which will not now be long; becauſe the Par- " liament may ſpeedily end, perhaps this Day. He conſiders very graciouſly " the Commendableneſs of your Submiſſion in theſe Circumſtances, which is in- " deed worthy of you. Pray haſten as much as you poſſibly can, and may God " bring you ſafely hither. I am,

Your affectionate Brother,

P.S. *The Parliament riſes to-morrow, and the King goes ſoon to* Windſor, *where you may wait on his Majeſty.*

THO. CANTUAR".

†† When our Author, upon his Arrival at *Windſor*, had his firſt Audience of the King, he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his Intention to decline ſo honourable an Employment, as the Educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the Crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that Truſt; but as the Diſcharge of his Duty in this Station muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal Function, he deſired leave to reſign his Biſhoprick. The King was much ſurprized at the Propoſal, to which he would

* The original is in the Editor's Hands.
† The Original is in the Editor's Hands.
†† This Fact was related to the Editor by Mr. *Mackney*, who then attended the Biſhop to *Windſor*, and had it from his own Mouth.

would by no means conſent: However, finding our Author perſiſted in it, he was at length prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke ſhould reſide all the Summer at *Windſor*, and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten Weeks allowed him every Year, to viſit the other Parts of his Dioceſe.

The Method he purſued in the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Education, and the amazing Progreſs made in it, during the ſhort time that Prince was under his Care, are mentioned in the Hiſtory: To which I ſhall only add, that he conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the Princeſs of *Denmark* ever after retained a peculiar Regard for him, of which he received ſome ſenſible Marks, when ſhe came to the Throne, even at Times, when he was engaged in a publick Oppoſition to the Meaſures of her Miniſters.

His Marriage with Mrs. *Berkeley*.

The aſſiduous Attendance our Author was obliged to, whilſt he was Preceptor to the Duke, and the tender Age of his own Children, made it requiſite to look out for a proper Miſtreſs to his Family. He fix'd upon Mrs. *Berkeley*, a Lady of uncommon degrees of Knowledge, Piety and Virtue; as may appear from *Her Method of Devotion*, which bore ſeveral Impreſſions in her Life-time; and was reprinted after her Death, with an Account of her Life, by Dr. *Goodwyn*, (the late Archbiſhop of *Caſhel* in *Ireland*) which renders it unneceſſary here to enlarge upon her Character.

He writes an *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles.*

In the Year 1699, our Author publiſh'd *his Expoſition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of* England. He was firſt engaged in this Undertaking by Queen *Mary*, who had ſo highly approved of his *Four Diſcourſes to his Clergy*, and his Treatiſe of *the Paſtoral Care*, that She, as well as Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, judged no Man ſo proper as himſelf, to render this Important Service to the Church. At their Intreaty therefore, he undertook this Laborious Task, which he perform'd in leſs than the compaſs of a Year, though he kept it by him five Years, for Correction. It was firſt reviſed, and in many places altered by Dr. *Tillotſon*, whoſe Opinion of this Performance will beſt be learnt from one of his own Letters.

"*My Lord*,* *Lambeth-Houſe, October* 23. 1694.

"I Have with great Pleaſure and Satisfaction read over the great Volume, you "ſent me; and am aſtoniſh'd to ſee ſo vaſt a Work, begun and finiſh'd in ſo "ſhort a time. In the Article of the Trinity you have ſaid all, that I think "can be ſaid upon ſo obſcure and difficult an Argument. The *Socinians* have "juſt now publiſhed an Anſwer to us all; but I have not had a ſight of it. The "negative Articles againſt the Church of *Rome*, you have very fully explained, "and with great Learning and Judgment. Concerning theſe, you will meet "with no Oppoſition amongſt ourſelves. The greateſt Danger was to be ap"prehended from the Points in difference between the *Calviniſts* and *Remon"ſtrants*, in which you have ſhewn, not only great Skill and Moderation, but "great Prudence in contenting yourſelf, to repreſent both ſides impartially, "without any poſitive Declaration of your own Judgment. The Account given "of *Athanaſius*'s Creed, ſeems to me no-wiſe ſatisfactory; I wiſh we were well "rid of it. I pray God long to preſerve your Lordſhip, to do more ſuch Ser"vices to the Church. I am,

My Lord,
Yours moſt affectionately,
JO. CANT'.

This Work was afterwards peruſed and approved by Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, Archbiſhop *Sharp*, Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *Loyd*, *Hall* and *Williams*: The laſt of theſe ſtrongly recommended, the conſidering them only as Articles of Peace, in which Men were bound to acquieſce without Contradiction; not as Articles of Faith, which they were obliged to believe. There might perhaps be reaſon to wiſh, that they had only been impoſed as ſuch, but there was nothing in our Conſtitution to warrant an Expoſitor, in giving that Senſe to them:

* An atteſted Copy of this Letter, in the hand-writing of the preſent Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, is in the Editor's hands.

The Book likewiſe paſs'd thro' the hands of many learned Men in both *Univerſities*, and was generally applauded. Upon its firſt Appearance in Print, it was univerſally well received; thoſe, who had been employed to criticiſe every Work the Biſhop had publiſhed for ſome Years, were ſilent as to This. Indeed when the Convocation met, and the two Houſes were warmly engaged in Diſputes, relating to their reſpective Privileges, in which our Author bore a conſiderable Share: the Lower Houſe, in Reſentment, brought up a general Cenſure of *His Expoſition*, but refuſed to point out the Particulars, upon which it was grounded: Though the Upper Houſe remonſtrated, how neceſſary that was, in order to enable them to concur in the Cenſure, which they could not pretend to do, till they were informed of the Reaſons for it.

For five or ſix Years before his Death, our Author grew more abſtracted from the World, than the Situation he had been in, during the former Parts of his Life, had permitted. To avoid the Diſtraction of uſeleſs Viſits, he ſettled in St. *John's Court* in *Clerkenwell*, and kept up only an Intercourſe with his moſt ſelect and intimate Acquaintance: Their Names will be an Honour to his Memory, and therefore I beg leave to mention the moſt conſiderable amongſt them. Such were the late Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcaſtle* and *Shrewsbury*; the Earls of *Godolphin*, *Cowper* and *Halifax*; the Lord *Somers* and *Pelham*: And the preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of *Marlborough*, the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxburgh*; the Lord *Townſhend*, the Lord King, the Maſter of the Rolls Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Eyre*, and Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood*, who, as he was his near Relation, ſo he always lived with him in the Friendſhip and Freedom of a Brother.

His Diligence in his Calling whilſt in *London*.

I have ſaid nothing in relation to the Part our Author acted in Parliament, in Convocation, or in the ſeveral Matters of State, wherein he was conſulted and employed; this is fully and impartially ſet forth in the Hiſtory itſelf. Yet I ought to inform the Reader, that the Biſhop's neceſſary Attendance on the Houſe of Lords, in the Winter Seaſon, was not a means of abating his Diligence in the Duties of his Calling, though it diverted the Exerciſe of it, from the proper Scene, his Dioceſe. For whilſt he ſtaid in Town, he failed not of preaching every *Sunday* Morning, in ſome Church or other in *London*; and as he was much followed, he was generally engaged for Charity Sermons, at which he himſelf was always a liberal Contributor: In the *Sunday* Evening, he had a Lecture in his own Houſe, upon ſome ſelect Portion of Scripture; to which many Perſons of Diſtinction reſorted, though at firſt it was only intended, for the Benefit of his own Family.

Writes a *Third Volume* as a Supplement to his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

As he lived to ſee the Turn, which the Affairs of *Great Britain*, I might ſay of *Europe*, took upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, for whom he always had the higheſt perſonal Veneration, but whom he thought unwarily engaged in Meaſures, which might have proved fatal: I need not ſay, with what comfort he ſaw a Succeſſion take place, of which he himſelf had been the *firſt Mover*; and a Family eſtabliſhed, in whoſe Intereſts he had been ſo ſteadfaſt and zealous, and by whom he had been ſo much entruſted. He publiſhed a *Third Volume*, as a Supplement to his two former, *of the Hiſtory of the Reformation*, at the time of his late Majeſty's Arrival in *England*, to whom it was dedicated. And as if his Life had only been prolonged to ſee this great Work compleat, and the Proteſtant Intereſt in a fair Proſpect of Security, he died ſoon after.

His Domeſtick Character.

Thus I have endeavoured to give ſome Account of our Author's Behaviour, in all the different Stations he paſs'd through in Publick: it may be expected, I ſhould ſay ſomething of him, in Domeſtick Life.

His Time how employed.

His Time, the only Treaſure of which he ſeemed covetous, was employed in one regular and uniform manner. His conſtant Health permitted him to be an early Riſer, he was ſeldom in Bed later than five a-Clock in the Morning during the Summer, or than ſix in the Winter. Private Meditation took up the two firſt Hours and the laſt Half-Hour of the Day. His firſt and laſt Appearance to his Family was, at the Morning and Evening Prayers, which were always read by himſelf, though his Chaplains were preſent. He drank his Tea in company with his Children, and took that opportunity of inſtructing them in Re-

Religion; he went through the Old and New Teſtament with them three times, giving his own Comment upon ſome Portion of it, for an Hour every Morning. When this was over, he retired to his Study, where he ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often more than eight Hours in a Day. The reſt of his time was taken up with Buſineſs, Exercise and neceſſary Reſt, or beſtowed on friendly Viſits and chearful Meals. As he kept an open Table, in which there was Plenty without Luxury, ſo no Man was more pleaſed with innocent Mirth there, no Man encouraged it more, or had a larger Fund of Entertainment to contribute towards it. His Equipage, like his Table, was decent and plain; and all his Expences denoted a Temper generous, but not profuſe. The Epiſcopal Palace, when he came to *Salisbury*, was thought one of the worſt; and when he died, was one of the beſt in *England*.

An affectionate Huſband.

The Character I have given his Wives, will ſcarce make it an Addition to his, that he was a moſt affectionate Husband. His tender Care of the firſt, during the Courſe of Sickneſs, that laſted for many Years; and his fond Love to the other two, and the deep Concern he expreſs'd for their Loſs, were no more than their juſt due, from one of his Humanity, Gratitude and Diſcernment.

His Care of his Children's Education.

His Love to his Children, perhaps accompanied with too much Indulgence, was not exerted in laying up for them a Hoard of Wealth, out of the Revenues of the Church, but in giving them a noble Education; tho' the Charge of it was wholly maintained out of his private Fortune. At ſeven Years old, he entered his Sons into *Latin*, giving each of them a diſtinct Tutor, who had a Salary of Forty Pounds a-year, which was never leſſen'd on account of any Prebend the Biſhop gave him. After five or ſix Years had perfected his Sons in the Learned Languages, he ſent them to the *Univerſity*; the Eldeſt a Gentleman Commoner to *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, the other Two Commoners to *Merton College* in *Oxford*; where, beſides the College Tutor, they had a private one, to aſſiſt them in their Learning, and to overlook their Behaviour. In the Year 1706, he ſent them abroad for two Years to finiſh their Studies at *Leyden*; from whence two of them took a Tour thro' *Germany*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*. The Eldeſt and Youngeſt, by their own Choice, were bred to the Law, and the Second to Divinity.

His Firmneſs in his Friendſhips.

In his Friendſhips, our Author was warm, open-hearted and conſtant: From thoſe I have taken the liberty to mention, the Reader will perceive, that they were formed upon the moſt prudent Choice, and I cannot find an Inſtance of any one Friend he ever loſt, but by Death. It is a common, perhaps a juſt Obſervation, That a hearty Friend is apt to be as hearty an Enemy; yet this Rule did not hold in our Author. For though his Station, his Principles, but above all his ſtedfaſt Adherence to the *Hanover Succeſſion*, raiſed him many Enemies; yet he no ſooner had it in his power, to have taken ſevere Revenges on them, than he endeavoured, by the kindeſt good Offices, to repay all their Injuries, and overcome them, by returning Good for Evil. I have already given ſome Inſtances of this nature here, and many more will occur to the Reader in the Hiſtory.

His Conduct to thoſe in Employment under him.

The Biſhop was a kind and bountiful Maſter to his Servants, whom he never changed, but with Regret and through Neceſſity: Friendly and obliging to all in Employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the Choice of them; eſpecially in that of the Steward to the Biſhoprick and his Courts, *William Waſtefield*, Eſq; (a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, at the time of his accepting this Poſt) and in that of his Domeſtick Steward Mr. *Mackney*. Theſe were both Men of approved Worth and Integrity, firmly attach'd to his Intereſts, and were treated by him, as they well deſerved, with Friendſhip and Confidence. To them, I muſt appeal, for the Truth of many Facts here related, particularly thoſe concerning his Labours in his Dioceſe; from them I likewiſe had an Account of his extenſive Charities.

His Charities.

This was indeed a principal Article of his Expence, impoſſible now to fix as to all the Particulars; our Author being as ſecret, as he was liberal, in thoſe Charities, which he diſtributed with his own hands: Yet the greateſt part of them could not be hid from the Perſons, who were entruſted with the Management of his Affairs. His Gifts, for the Augmentation of ſmall Livings, of an

Hundred Pounds at a time; his conſtant Penſions to poor Clergymen, to their Widows, to Students for their Education at the Univerſities, and to induſtrious Families, that were ſtruggling with the World; the frequent Sums given by him, towards the Repairs or Building of Churches and Vicarage-Houſes; his liberal Contribution, to all publick Collections, to the Support of Charity-Shools (one of which for Fifty Children at *Salisbury* was wholly maintained by him,) and the many Apprentices, at different times put out to Trades at his Charge, were Charities that could not be wholly concealed. Nor were his Alms confined to one Nation, Sect or Party; Want and Merit in the Object were the only Meaſures of his Liberality. Thus when Mr. *Martin* (Miniſter of *Compton Chamberlein*) for refuſing to take the Oaths to the Government, ſoon after the Revolution, had forfeited his Prebend in the Church of *Sarum*; the Biſhop, out of his own Income, paid him the yearly Value of it, during his Life. His uſual Allowance for Charity was Five Hundred Pounds a-year, which he often exceeded; particularly in the two Years, that he was Preceptor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in which time this Article amounted to One and Twenty Hundred Pounds. In a word, no Object of Chriſtian Compaſſion ever came within his Knowledge, without receiving a proportionable Relief. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his Epiſcopal Revenue, as a meer Truſtee for the Church, bound to expend the whole, in the Maintenance of a decent Figure ſuitable to his Station, in Hoſpitality, and in Acts of Charity. And he had ſo faithfully ballanced this Account, that at his Death no more of the Income of his Biſhoprick remained to his Family *, than what was barely ſufficient for the Payment of his Debts.

His Care of the Revenue of the See.

But if he was thus liberal of his own Purſe, he was not leſs ſtrict in preſerving the Revenues of his See, for the Benefit of his Succeſſors, of which this remarkable Inſtance may ſuffice †. One of his Predeceſſors had converted a large Eſtate at *Monckton Farley*, held of the Biſhop, from a Leaſe of One and Twenty Years, into an Eſtate for three Lives, and had received a valuable Conſideration for ſo doing. Our Author reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore it to the former Tenure, as being much more advantageous to the See: when therefore one of the Lives fell, he refuſed to renew; and when, the other two Lives being very unhealthy, Sir *John Talbot* offered him a Thouſand Pounds for the Renewal of that one Life, and the Change of the other two, he ſtill perſiſted in his Refuſal: Till at length the Tenant, apprehending the whole Eſtate would have fallen in, agreed to accept of a Leaſe for One and Twenty Years, for which the Biſhop would take no more than Four Hundred Pounds Fine to himſelf; but made it part of his Agreement, that the Tenant ſhould pay Ten Pounds yearly Rent, to the Miniſter of the Pariſh, as a perpetual Augmentation to that poor Living, beſides the uſual Reſerved Rent to the See.

His Death.

In *March* 17$\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{2}$, being the Seventy-ſecond Year of his Age, our Author was taken ill of a violent Cold, which ſoon turn'd to a Pleuritick Fever; he was attended in it, by his worthy Friend and Relation Dr. *Cheyne*, who treated him with the utmoſt Care and Skill: But finding the Diſtemper grew to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all Remedies, he called for the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Hans Sloane* and Dr. *Mead*, who quickly found his Caſe was deſperate. His Character was too well known, to induce any one to conceal from him the Danger his Life was in. He bore the Notice of it, with that calm Reſignation to Providence, which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt Trials. As he preſerved his Senſes to the laſt, ſo he employed the precious Remnant of Life, in continual Acts of Devotion, and in giving the beſt Advice to his Family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt Tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt Conſtancy of Mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the Terrors of Death, as to embrace its Approach with Joy; he could not but expreſs a Concern, for the Grief he ſaw it cauſed in others; he died on the Seventeenth Day of that Month.

It

* This Mr. *Mackney* his Steward aſſured me appeared in his Accounts.

† This I had from the Miniſter of *Monckton*, *Farley*, and many others at the Time, and it was confirmed to me ſince by Mr. *Waſtfield* and Mr. *Mackney*.

It would be a Preſumption in me to attempt the drawing his Character; when it has been done by ſo elegant a Hand, as that of the late Marquiſs of *Halifax:* As this beautiful Piece, I believe, has never been made publick, the Reader will pardon my inſerting it here.

His Character by the Marquiſs of *Halifax.*

" Dr. *Burnet* * is like all Men, who are above the ordinary Level, ſeldom " ſpoke of in a Mean, he muſt either be railed at or admired; he has a Swift- " neſs of Imagination, that no other Man comes up to; and as our Nature hard- " ly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he can- " not at all times ſo hold in his Thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run " away with him; as it is hard for a Veſſel, that is brim-full, when in Motion, " not to run over; and therefore the Variety of Matter, that he ever carries " about him, may throw out more, than an unkind Critick would allow of. His " firſt Thoughts may ſometimes require more Digeſtion, not from a Defect in " his Judgment, but from the Abundance of his Fancy, which furniſhes too faſt " for him. His Friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall Faults; or if they do, " think that his greater Talents give him a Privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict " Rules of Caution, and exempt him from the ordinary Rules of Cenſure. He pro- " duces ſo faſt, that what is well in his Writings calls for Admiration, and what " is incorrect deſerves an Excuſe; he may in ſome Things require Grains of Al- " lowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. " He is not quicker in diſcerning other Men's Faults, than he is in forgiving " them; ſo ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his own, that from Blemiſhes " they become Ornaments. All the repeated Provocations of his Indecent Ad- " verſaries, have had no other Effect, than the ſetting his Good-Nature in ſo " much a better Light; ſince his Anger never yet went farther than to pity " them. That Heat, which in moſt other Men raiſes Sharpneſs and Satire, in him " glows into Warmth for his Friends, and Compaſſion for thoſe in Want and " Miſery. As dull Men have quick Eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller Faults of " thoſe, that Nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one Blot " he makes; and being beholden only to their Barrenneſs for their Diſcretion, " they fall upon the Errors, which ariſe out of his Abundance; and by a Miſ- " take, into which their Malice betrays them, they think that by finding a Mote " in his Eye, they hide the Beams that are in their Own. His Quickneſs makes " Writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his Spirits are neither waſted nor ſoured " by it: The Soil is not forced, every thing grows, and brings forth without " Pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of " the Lamp, as a good Palate will diſcern between Fruit, which comes from a rich " Mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly Pains, that have been beſtowed " upon it. He makes many Enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured Example of " Living, which they are not inclined to follow. His Indifference for Prefer- " ment, his Contempt not only of Splendour, but of all unneceſſary Plenty, his " degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful Duties of his Calling; are " ſuch unprelatical Qualities, that let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, " in theſe he muſt be a Diſſenter: Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many Hereſies, " in the opinion of thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the Primitive Injunctions, " ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent Frailty of Mankind. No won- " der then, if they are angry, ſince it is in their own Defence, or that from a " Principle of Self-Preſervation they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a Man, whoſe " Parts are a Shame, and whoſe Life is a Scandal to them."

* The Copy from which this is printed, was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquiſs of *Halifax's* own Hand-writing, which was in the Editor's hands, but is at preſent miſlaid.

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